APOSTOLIC SUFFERING
IN THE FLESH AND IN THE NARRATIVE:
DISMEMBERING THE ‘BODY’ OF *ANDREAS SAGA POSTOLA I*

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ABSTRACT

THIS doctoral thesis focuses on the earliest known version of the Old Norse-Icelandic life of St Andrew, known as *Andreas saga postola I* and first attested in what is believed to be the fullest compilation of saints' lives found in Iceland before c. 1250. *Andreas saga postola I* is a translation and compilation of Latin texts. The overall aim of this thesis is to offer a yet unprecedented study of the linguistic strategies and symbolism in *Andreas saga postola I* which takes into account its translated nature but makes a case for it to be read as a work in its own right, characterised by elaborate style and structural originality. *Andreas saga* contains 'the longest, most detailed and dramatic' account of the apostle's martyrdom amongst the earliest translated saints' lives, contained in AM 645 4to and AM 630/652 4to. This study's particular focus is the narrative representation of suffering and torment through the language of which the nature of grace and apostolic service are revealed.

This thesis follows the saga from the calling of Andrew to the discipleship (chapter 1), to his initiation into the apostolicity through torture in Mirmidon (chapter 2), and, then, finally, his martyrdom and death on the cross in Patras (chapter 3). The introduction places *Andreas saga postola I* within the cult of the saint as well as its historical and geographical contexts. Chapter 1 addresses the saint's introductory portrait and the nautical imagery which structures the saga by marking the stages of Andrew's further development in the narrative. Chapter 2 examines the body of the saint and his response to tortures; part of the chapter discusses the saint's emotions (joy and sorrow) and the insights they offer into wider theological and literary landscapes. Chapter 3 focuses on St Andrew's crucifixion and the manner in which the imagery (arboreal, light, etc.) and the rhetorical devices are used to highlight the mimetic nature of his martyrdom. By means of close reading of the key passages, meticulous analysis of stylistic and lexical choices made by the translator-compiler and their further contextualisation in the contemporary intellectual culture, these chapters demonstrate how *Andreas saga postola I* conceptualised grace, suffering, and salvation; these chapters further suggest the manner in which the text of the saga could have been used as a tool for rumination and refer its audience to liturgical practices.

The thesis concludes with a supplementary chapter (4) addressing the reception of the Andrean cult and life in the contemporary *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar* — the saga infused with hagiographic overtones and featuring St Andrew at the crucial moment in its plot. If the majority of chapters demonstrate the importance of careful study of *Andreas saga postola I* as an original and creative work — as well as other saints' lives which are often neglected — to enrich our understanding of medieval Icelandic literature and lived religion, chapter 4 further exemplifies the practical application of the study of *Andreas saga postola I*, and that of other hagiographical works and saints' lives, to the wider corpus of Old Norse-Icelandic literature by considering the religious patterning and imagery these two texts have in common.

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Feast of St Joseph the Worker
May 1, 2025

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

API	*Andreas saga I,* in *Postola sögur: Legendariske fortællinger om apostlernes liv deres kamp for kristendommens udbredelse samt deres martyrdød*, ed. Carl R. Unger (Christiania: Bentzen, 1874), pp. 318–353.
APII	*Andreas saga II,* in *Postola sögur*, pp. 354–389.
APIII	*Andreas saga III,* in *Postola sögur*, pp. 389–404.
APIV	*Andreas saga IV,* in *Postola sögur*, pp. 404–412.
Biblia sacra	*Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 2 vol., ed. Bonifatio Fischer, Robert Weber, et. al. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975).
Bonnet (= the Epistle)	*Passio sancti Andreae apostoli,* in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, v. 2., ed. R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 1–37.
CeD	*Conversante et Docente,* the version cited is contained in *Historia Apostolica,* see *Fabr.*, pp. 507–515.
Grágás	*Grágás. Islændernes Lovbog i Fristatens Tid, v. 1–2*, ed. Vilhjálmur Finsen (Kjøbenhavn, 1952) [Repr.: Odense, 1974].
Douay-Rheims	*The Holy Bible. Douay Version,* ed. Richard Challoner (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1956).
Fabr.	*De gestis beati Andreae Apostoli*, in *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, II, ed. Johann A. Fabricius (Hamburg, 1703), pp. 456–515.
A Handlist	Hans Bekker-Nielsen, 'Legender-Helgensagaer,' in *Norrøn fortællekunst: kapitler af den norsk-islandske middelalderlitteraturs historie,* ed. Bekker-Nielsen et al. (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1965).
Homiliu-bók	*Homiliu-bók. Isländska Homilier*, ed. Theodor Wisén (Lund, 1872).
Hrafns saga	*Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar,* ed. Guðrún P. Helgadóttir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)
Cleasby-Vigfússon	*An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, ed. Richard Cleasby, Guðbrandur Vigfússon, and William. A. Craigie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

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PREFACE

This thesis focuses on the earliest known version of the Old Norse-Icelandic life of St Andrew, known as *Andreas saga postola I* and surviving in two manuscripts: the mid-thirteenth century AM 645 4to preserves only fragments of the apostolic passion and the rest is known from AM 630/652 4to which is extant in a seventeenth-century paper copy of a late thirteenth-century codex. Both manuscripts are believed to be the fullest compilations of saints' lives found in Iceland before the end of the thirteenth century; they contain the same version of the saga with some minor and largely insignificant variants.[1] Like other sagas in these manuscript collections, *Andreas saga postola I* is a translation of Latin texts. This particular saga is a close translation of the so-called Pseudo-Abdian *De gestis beati Andreae Apostoli* combined with the anonymous *Passio sancti Andreae*;[2] while the former is used for the *vita* section of the saga, an almost *verbatim* translation of the latter constitutes its *passio* part. The overall aim of this thesis is to offer a study of the linguistic strategies and symbolism in *Andreas saga postola I* which takes into account its translated nature and yet sees it as a work in its own right, characterized by stylistic and structural originality. In contrast to other texts in these manuscript collections, *Andreas saga* contains 'the longest, most detailed and dramatic' account of the apostle's martyrdom amongst the earliest translated saints' lives.[3] It is only appropriate, therefore, that this study's particular focus is the narrative representation of suffering and torment through which the nature of grace and apostolic service are revealed.

This thesis is structured around a close reading of the saga, focusing primarily on the beginning, where St Andrew is introduced as a disciple of Christ, and on the two episodes where St Andrew is first tortured and then martyred as an outcome of his apostolic ministry. The first torture-scene follows on closely from the beginning of the saga and is the first narrated deed of the saint: it recounts Andrew's journey to Mermedonia — or, as the Old Norse text has it, Mirmidon — and the rescue of his fellow apostle Matthew, followed by his own preaching, which results in torments and leads to the final conversion of the city-dwellers. The second torture-scene occurs at the end of the saga and is part of a broader episode of the apostolic martyrdom which takes place in Patras and constitutes the *passio* section of the narrative. The use of these two episodes at the beginning and the end of the saga frames the Old Norse-Icelandic narrative and puts the motif of apostolic suffering on display; the Mirmidonian episode plays as important a role as the passion and reveals the Christ-like nature of Andrew's own suffering, being a milestone on his way towards *imitatio Christi*.

Just as the saga depicts Andrew progressing from a simple fisherman to a fisher of men, and then to a 'worthy imitator of Christ', so this thesis follows the flow of the text, revealing in each chapter different aspects of Andrew's apostolic service through the analysis of lexis, narrative structure, and imagery: it presents a series of case-studies, where a sometimes minute detail is capable of providing a glimpse of broader theological and cultural concepts embodied in the text. As 'men resemble their times more than they resemble their fathers' or so says an old Arab proverb,[4] so it is with texts: to this end, the saga is considered in close connection to the intellectual culture of its time, both local and universal. Among the texts with which *Andreas saga postola I* shares a conceptual and lexical affinity are the Old Icelandic Homily Book, *Homiliu-bók*, and the translated 'Descent into Hell', *Niðrstigningar saga,* from the Gospel of Nicodemus. The provenance of all three has been associated with Skálholt and most likely they were produced and circulated within the same reading community, which shared in the same cultural and intellectual background.[5] This shared familiarity with the same set of texts and ideas would explain the richness of allusions and intertextual references, easily recognized by the members of the same reading community.

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[1] Philip Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to: Study and Translation of Two Thirteenth-Century Icelandic Collections of Apostles' and Saints' Lives' (Doctoral thesis, University of Colorado, 2002), p. 196.
[2] Kirsten Wolf, *The Legends of the Saints in Old Norse-Icelandic Prose* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 29–35. On the term 'Pseudo-Abdian', see p. 34 of this thesis.
[3] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to', p. 199.

The **introductory chapter** places *Andreas saga postola I* within the context of its place and time, both as a local literary work and a product of the universal saint's cult. To this end, this chapter offers, first, an overview of hagiographic and religious literature as a genre in medieval Iceland and, then, a summary of the cult of St Andrew and the literary tradition associated with the apostle in the medieval West. Finally, after demonstrating the intellectual density and interconnectedness of medieval European culture in general, the introduction proceeds to focus on the veneration of St Andrew in thirteenth-century Iceland, discussing both his cult and the surviving Old Norse literary works related to the apostle.

The **first chapter** explores the etymology of the name *Andreas* and the insight it gives us into the idea of apostolicity in the source texts: tracing it from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages, when the initial Acts of Andrew were revised and reshaped in such a way as to fit contemporary ideas of the Church and apostolic service. A close reading of the beginning of *Andreas saga postola I* provides a better understanding of how the idea of apostolicity was translated into the Old Norse-Icelandic context: the chapter then considers its gradual development in the saga, signposted by the structural repetition and lexical echo expressed by the 'seastrand'-topos. To this end, the chapter considers three core episodes of the saga: its beginning, St Andrew's first recounted mission in Mirmidon, and the miracle of the apostle resurrecting forty drowned men. It seeks to demonstrate how the implementation of the 'seastrand'-topos serves to highlight the teleological continuity of Andrew's adventures — towards ultimate *imitatio Christi* — and how this is achieved through the imaginative use of repetition, echoing, rhythm, and alliteration.

By focusing entirely on the Mirmidon-episode, the **second chapter** examines in greater detail the apostolic suffering and its physical depiction, conceptualizing it within the so-called agonistic and anaesthetic medieval traditions of thinking about suffering. Beginning with the blood-related imagery in the saga and its soteriological meaning, the chapter moves on to discuss the role of apostolic tears in the episode with regard to both contrition and eloquence. It considers such lexical units as *gráta beiskliga* (to weep bitterly), *fagnaðar fundr* (a happy meeting), and their place in secular as well as religious Old Norse-

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[4] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, tr. Peter Putnam (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), p. 35.
[5] Dario Bullitta, *Nidrstigninga saga*, *Sources, Transmission and Theology of the Old Norse Decent into Hell* (University of Toronto Press, 2017), pp. 9–29.

Icelandic literature. The chapter then brings together both motifs, mixing blood and tears to talk about divinely inspired eloquence; it argues that the figures of a skald and an apostle have more in common than first meets the eye. This argument is built upon the meticulous and contextualized reading of the collocation **kátr ok kennandi* and the sentence within which it appears – 'hann var sem mest kennandi ok katastr, er þeir pindu hann sem mest' [he was the merriest of men and the best of preachers when they tortured him the most].[6] A further argument is made for the significance of this interpolation to shaping Andrew into the apostle and its connection to the idea of bearing 'witness'.

The **third chapter** focuses exclusively on the *passio:* it discusses the martyrdom of the apostle Andrew in *Andreas saga postola I* and its relationship to the Latin sources. This chapter considers translation techniques, rhetorical strategies, and religious imagery, used to illustrate the progression of Andrew from a fisherman to a worthy imitator of Christ as they highlight the typological link between the martyrdom of St Andrew and the passion of Christ. The chapter further examines the verbal parallels between the *vita* and *passio* parts of *Andreas saga postola I* and argues that some interpolations introduced to the Mirmidon episode were fashioned in such a way as to link both parts together (by means of verbal parallelism).

Across the chapters this thesis will demonstrate that — since *Andreas saga postola I* abounds not only in recurrent motifs and foreshadowing but also in liturgical, homiletic, and Biblical references — the hagiographic narrative creates a space for meditation. This suggests that *ruminatio* was a potential mode of perception whereby the audience might have approached the model of *lectio divina* in their reading of the saga. This thesis therefore closes with a **final chapter** which shows a model reader represented by the protagonist of *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, who is said to ask for *Andreasdrápa* – a poem about St Andrew's martyrdom – to be read to him and who then proceeds to comment on the apostolic passion as it is being read out. As *Hrafns saga* is saturated with hagiographical undertones,[7] the chapter also demonstrates how the life of a saint, and in particular St Andrew's life, might have served — through circumstantial evidence — as a model to imitate both in one's life and in the narrative surrounding it.

Overall, this thesis shows that the text of *Andreas saga postola I* is shaped in such a way as to create a net of associations and allusions referring the reader to other texts both religious and secular. The narrative is characterised by its rich intertextual nature and invites the audience to follow the apostle on his path of *imitatio Christi.* This doctoral project incorporates this approach in its structure and aspires to take its readers along for the journey following Christ, St Andrew, and the readers of the saga. It therefore proceeds to read it closely and meticulously, and operates by 'dismembering' the body of the text: not as a butcher but as an aestheticist keen on spotting anatomical details and building an intimate relationship with the story. Thus both linguistic and literary analysis serve as tools, and the surviving corpus of contemporary literary works — both secular and religious, vernacular and Latin — serve as context. As the saints' lives are often studied in bulk and as a part of their genre, this new approach to the text grants many new insights into it. A wider, universal significance is revealed through the accumulation of details: seemingly small things, when put together, grant a bird's eye view on apostolicity, sanctity, and suffering.

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[6] *API*, p. 321.

[7] Úlfar Bragason, 'The Structure and Meaning of *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*', *Scandinavian Studies* 60. 2 (1988), pp. 267-292 (p. 269).

INTRODUCTION

APOSTLE IN THE NORTH

> Friðr se yðr ollum kristnum monnum, er settir eruð i Kristz nafni
> i ausrti ok vestri, i norðri ok suðri […].[1]
>
> *Andreas postola saga I*, p. 336

> This is an island, and therefore Unreal.[2]
> 'Journey to Iceland',
> *W.H. Auden*

> No Man is an *Iland*, intire of it selfe;
> every man is a peece of the *Continent*.[3]
> 'Meditation XVII',
> *John Donne*

WAVES OF CHRISTIANITY washed over the continent and reached remote isles such as Iceland by the turn of the first millennium. The truly universal catholic nature of the teaching was ensured by the continuous ministry of Christ's disciples: they were apostles who went all over the known world, in all four corners of it, to spread their teacher's and friend's word — to spread the Word. With time the original Twelve were followed by other missionaries, some of whom would reach Iceland, and it would be with them that the New Testament apostles made their way to the far-away island in the confluence of the North Atlantic and Arctic oceans. Even though the conversion did not happen until late, it did happen relatively peacefully, at the General Assembly, *Alþingi*, in the year 999, or 1000.[4] From 1097 Icelanders were paying a tithe and, from the conversion on, small churches were being established near farmsteads, the earliest monastery not appearing until 1133; the country itself was eventually divided between the diocese of Skálholt (1056) in the South and that of Hólar (1106) in the North.[5] And it was in religious institutions where, '[t]hrough hymns and prayers, preaching and readings', medieval Icelanders were learning their faith and their place in salvation history.[6] As to what they thought and what views they held, only the surviving texts can tell us this now. However, due to the scarcity of surviving documents, not much is known about saints' cults and religious life in Iceland from its conversion up to the thirteenth century. And yet, some documents preserved from the twelfth century are able to shed more light on insular religious practices: the Icelandic Homily Book, *Hómiliu-bók*, was written down by the mid–eleventh century, and there are grounds to suspect that some of its contents were in circulation well before then.[7] Indeed, the First Grammatical Treatise — composed c. 1150 and devising a system of orthographical conventions — mentions 'þyðingar helgar' among contemporary writings. There is no unanimously acknowledged way to translate the expression and it is rendered differently by scholars; even so, no one doubts that it refers to things religious (*helgar*). Sometimes it is given as 'interpretations of sacred writings' and sometimes as 'sacred' or 'holy expositions'.[8] The same confusion applies to the nature of these works, which might have been sermons or saints' sagas, patristic or biblical commentaries; some scholars suggest they were general works of religious edification, translations of biblical material or hagiographical texts.[9]

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[1] 'Peace be with you all Christian people who are set in the name of Christ in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South'.

[2] W.H. Auden and Louis MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), p. 12.

[3] John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal, 1975), p. 87.

[4] On conversion, see, for example, chapter 2 in Régis Boyer, *La vie religieuse en Islande, 1116–1264: d'après la Sturlunga Saga et les Sagas des Évêques* (Paris: Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1979), pp. 31–39. Also, for a brief summary, see 'Inngangur: Íslensk kristni', in Guðrún Nordal, Sverrir Tómasson, *Íslensk Bókmenntasaga I*, ed. Vésteinn Ólasson (Reykjavík: Mál og Menning, 2006), pp. 41–43.

[5] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words: A Cultural History of Christianity and Politics in Medieval Iceland (11th–13th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 1–3.

[6] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, pp. 1–3, 55, 234.

In any case, it is generally established that they were works of a religious nature and counted among such established genres as laws, genealogies, and historical writings. All this means that the work of translation 'had begun by the middle of the twelfth century', or even that 'the emergence of ecclesiastical literature in the vernacular could be dated to the early 12th century at the latest'.[10] The period, from which these texts are attested in their earliest manuscript form, neither marks the beginning of the cult of saints in Iceland, nor does it necessarily mark the beginning of the Old Norse vernacular literary tradition.[11] If the earliest attested vernacular saints' lives date to the second half of the twelfth century, the obligatory observance of the saints' feasts (by the laity) — many of whom are mentioned in these lives — was recorded already in *Kristinna laga þáttr*, 'Christian Laws Section', of the law code *Grágás,* 'Grey Goose'*,* which was produced sometime between 1122 and 1133.[12] As Margaret Cormack has put it, in medieval Iceland 'faith and basic knowledge pertaining to it were a matter of law'; the law-code recorded 'the requirement to abstain from work and from certain kinds of food on numerous occasions throughout the year'.[13] The Christian Laws section gives a list of feasts to observe and supplies the Icelanders with instructions for fasting. There, St Andrew is found among other names, and this is what is said of his feast: „[þaðan ero] vii. nœtr til Andreas messo oc fasta fyrir dag oc nott" [thence are seven nights until St Andrew's feast and fast (is to be held) for a day and a night].[14]

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[7] *The Icelandic Homily Book: Perg. 15 4to in the Royal Library Stockholm*, ed. Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1993), p. 1; 'Guðfræði og heimspeki', in Guðrún Nordal, Sverrir Tómasson, *Íslensk Bókmenntasaga I*, ed. Vésteinn Ólasson (Reykjavík: Mál og Menning, 2006), pp. 543–561 (pp. 542, 546). On the relationship between Latin homilies, their translations, and original material in both the Old Norwegian and the Icelandic Homily Book, see Christopher Abram, 'Anglo-Saxon Influence in the Old Norwegian Homily Book', *Medieval Scandinavia* 14 (2004), pp. 1–35 (pp. 4–5), also David M. McDougall, 'Homilies (West Norse)', in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Philip Pulsiano, Kirsten Wolf et al. (New York, London: Garland Publishing, 1993), pp. 290–292. For the beginning of the discussion, see Karel Vrátný, 'Enthält das Stockholmer Homilienbuch durchweg Übersetzungen?', *Arkiv für nordisk filologi* 32 (1916), pp. 31–49.

[8] Natalie Van Deusen and Kirsten Wolf, 'Mapping Hagiographical Literature in Medieval and Early Modern Iceland', in *Faith and Knowledge in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavia*, ed. Karoline Kjesrud and Mikael Males (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020)*,* pp. 97–122 (p. 97). Also, see Jónas Kristjánsson, *Eddas and Sagas: Iceland's Medieval Literature*, tr. Peter Foote (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1988), pp. 127–129. Of some interest is his observation that: 'It has been suggested that saints' lives translated from Latin into Icelandic were also among the Grammarian's *þýðingar helgar*. The use of the word *þýða* ("to translate") and *þýðing* ("a translation") in Old Icelandic does not appear to conflict with the possibility that the Grammarian was also referring to the oldest translations of saints' lives, which would then mean that they are older than the middle of the twelfth century. A number of these are extant in very ancient manuscripts, and the reading aloud of such stories in the vernacular was normal Christian practice in the early days of the Church.'

[9] Jónas Kristjánsson, *Eddas and Sagas: Iceland's Medieval Literature*, tr. Peter Foote (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1988), p. 127.

[10] Margaret Cormack, 'Christian Biography', in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (Blackwell Publishing, 2005), pp. 27–42 (p. 29); Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words,* pp. 32–3. Also, see Van Deusen and Wolf, 'Mapping Hagiographical Literature', pp. 97–8.

[11] Jonas Wellendorf, 'The Attraction of the Earliest Old Norse Vernacular Hagiography', in *Saints and Their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe* (*c.1000-1200),* ed. Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010) pp. 241–258 (p. 244).

[12] Cormack, 'Christian Biography', p. 29.

All in all, by the time to which the surviving manuscripts date, Christianity was already well established in the North and so was the new archbishopric in Niðaróss, Norway, while liturgical practices were soon to be codified in the ordinal of the archdiocese. Given this context, translation of texts telling stories about saints might be seen as, at least, a 'second traceable wave in the dissemination of the saints' lives' in medieval Scandinavia; as a rule, it was the 'most appealing' of them that were rendered into the vernacular.[15] At the same time, once the other sources — such as ordinals, church dedications, legal materials — are addressed, the preserved vernacular hagiographic texts cannot be seen as a sole and accurate representation of veneration practices.[16]

It was due to monastic culture and cathedral schools that literacy spread and, therefore, amongst other writings, the religious ones were the first to flourish in Iceland. First in Latin and largely borrowed from the continent, mostly from Norway, they received their own authentic production: copying, compiling, composition, and dissemination. Religious writings, and saints' lives in particular, are traditionally seen as a starting point for literary development and booklore in medieval Iceland: ever since Gabriel Turville-Petre's seminal work on the origins of Icelandic literature, they have 'entered mainstream scholarly discussion and have been marked as 'not among the best or most interesting of Icelandic literature', albeit fundamental for its development.[17] And so, Turville-Petre wrote about religious writings that 'only occasionally do they express the thoughts or the artistic taste of the Icelandic people, and they tell little about the traditions and antiquities of the North'. However, this statement might be seen as both simplification and far-reaching generalisation: 'the extent to which translated lives have been influenced by native taste and narrative conventions' is often overlooked.[18]

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[13] Margaret Cormack, 'How Do We Know, How Did They Know? The Cult of Saints in Iceland in the Late Middle Ages', in *Faith and Knowledge in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavia*, ed. Karoline Kjesrud and Mikael Males (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), pp. 123–147 (p. 124).

[14] The law-code *Grágás* composed around (1122–1133), p. 31, shows a list of feasts and fasts to be observed. Cf. Cormack, 'Christian Biography', p. 29.

[15] Wellendorf, 'The Attraction', p. 244. For Wellendorf's outline of the two waves of dissemination, see 'The Attraction', p. 244.

[16] Wellendorf, 'The Attraction', p. 247.

[17] Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 142–43. Jonas Wellendorf, 'Ecclesiastical Literature and Hagiography', in *The Routledge Research Companion to the Medieval Icelandic Sagas,* ed. Ármann Jakobsson and Sverrir Jakobsson (London, New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 48–58 (p. 48).

[18] Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, pp. 142–43; Margaret Cormack, 'Saints' Lives and Icelandic Literature in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Saints and Sagas: A Symposium*, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen and Birte Carlé (Odense University Press, 1994), pp. 27–47 (p. 30). Also, on discussion of style and the relationship between native and Latinate models, see Lucy Collings, 'The *Codex Scardensis*: Studies in Icelandic Hagiography' (Doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 1969), pp. 139–146.

I. Hagiographic and Religious Literature as a Genre: The Case of Medieval Iceland

As Iceland was only a small island in the confluence of the oceans, so was the written word in 'a sea of oral literature' in the Middle Ages — the oral tradition would leave its mark on most writings: to this hagiography would be as susceptible as any other genre.[19] The relationship between spoken word and written text affects the conversation about the saints' lives as much as any other writings. Although not much is known about their dissemination and readership,[20] there are grounds to assume that these sagas were, if not retold orally and freely, read out loud to the Icelanders — to which end, 'several sagas begin "Today is the feast of" the saint in question'.[21] Compared to the volume of religious writings, the acclaimed corpus of family and kings sagas manuscripts are just an island in the vast sea of written texts as they barely amount to even just the extant saints' lives which in their turn often survive in a number of manuscripts. Unsurprisingly, hagiography easily outnumbers other genres: after all, it constituted a majority or at least 'a sizable part of libraries of cathedrals, cloisters and, major churches'.[22]

However, as a genre, hagiography is a broad term: in its widest meaning it can refer to 'any work whose protagonist was considered to be a saint, whether canonized or not'.[23] Therefore, it 'is best understood not as a single genre, but as a multiplicity',[24] and not in terms of belonging to the generic multitude but of participation in it.[25] At the same time, regardless of the challenge in defining it as a genre, '[h]agiography, for all its range and variety, constitutes a fairly uncontentious set of genres: the term *heilagra manna sögur* ('sagas of holy people') is well attested in Old Norse-Icelandic, as are terms for different kinds of hagiographic narrative: *lífssaga* ('life-saga', i.e. *vita*), *píslarsaga* ('martyrdom-saga', i.e. *passio*), *jarteinir* ('miracles')'.[26] It is notable that hagiography was initially foreign to Iceland and arrived there in the form of Latin texts, many of which date as far back as Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages.[27] They were, however, soon to be adopted and put to use: the Icelanders set out promptly to compose their own *vitae*, first in Latin and then in the vernacular. The saints' lives were important to those 'who wrote, copied, read, and listened to them'[28] and, both translated and vernacular, they grew to enjoy high status; in the end, what is known of 'the literature about saints is known primarily from surviving vernacular translations and original compositions'.[29] Overall, 'Latin literature, whether translated or not, lies in the background of the entire Icelandic saga corpus': when saints' lives became a vernacular literary genre, there was no distinction made within it between translations and original Old Norse compositions.[30] The first texts to be translated from Latin and written down, saints' lives — being the major medieval genre — continued to be circulated and produced even as the native Icelandic sagas emerged.[31] Hagiography, therefore, was no longer seen as foreign, but became a 'mainstream literary activity' and was 'produced at centres across Iceland, including Þingeyrar, Möðruvellir, Munka-Þverá and Helgafell'.[32] In no way was it exclusively confined to monastic culture, but, on the contrary, involved 'close contact […] between secular sponsors and clerical scribes, between native tradition and foreign learning, between Norse and European culture'.[33]

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[19] '"In the Middle Ages, the written word was a small island in a sea of oral literature, and this left its mark on most writings." This is as true of hagiography as of other genres.' Julia M. H. Smith, in her article 'Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850–1250', *Speculum* 65.2 (1990), pp. 309–343 (p. 311) quotes Aron Gurevich's *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, tr. János M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge, 1988), p. 4.

[20] Natalie M. Van Deusen,'"Inn besti hlutr"? Martha of Bethany and Women's Roles in Medieval Iceland', in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 126 (2011) pp. 73–91 (p. 88): 'Unfortunately, as is the case with most vernacular saints' lives from medieval Iceland, the extant source material gives no indication as to the readership and reception […].'

[21] Cormack, 'How Do We Know', p. 127. On the performative nature of these texts, see Wellendorf, 'The Attraction', pp. 244–5; Cormack, 'Saints' Lives and Icelandic Literature', pp. 34–37. Lars Lönnroth, 'Sponsors, Writers and Readers of Early Norse Literature', in *The Academy of Odin: Selected Papers on Old Norse Literature* (University Press of Southern Denmark, 2011), pp. 25–36 (p. 36), who has noted that 'the indigenous Old Norse genres were based primarily on native oral tradition, but it has also become increasingly clear that their passage into written form was to a large extent influenced by translation of foreign literature, provided by the clerics'.

[22] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, p. 33. Also, see Wellendorf, 'The Attraction', pp. 242–43.

[23] Cormack, 'Saints' Lives and Icelandic Literature', p. 27.

[24] Siân E. Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero: Hagiography and Early Icelandic Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017), p. 2.

[25] Grønlie suggests that it may be 'better to think of medieval texts as participating in genres than as belonging to them, since every text inevitably changes the genre(s) in which it is situated'. Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* pp. 25–26. For the idea of participation in a variety of genres without belonging to any of them ('*participation sans appartenance*'), see Jacques Derrida, 'La loi du genre', in *Parages* (Paris: Galilée, 1986), pp. 248–287 (p. 256).

[26] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p. 24; Guðrún Nordal, Sverrir Tómasson, *Íslensk Bókmenntasaga I*, pp. 421–422.

[27] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, p. 24.

To this end, both stylistically and thematically, there is a significant overlap between 'secular' and 'hagiographic' literatures, and 'many situations in the lives of saints might have struck an Icelandic audience as variations on familiar themes'.[34] For instance, the style of the earliest vernacular saints' lives can be seen as 'moulded both by the Latin of the originals and by spoken Norse'.[35] As for the thematic overlap, Bill Friesen has noted that borrowing is 'a fundamental aspect of the ecclesiastical tradition' — although he discusses it in connection to Anglo-Saxon literary tradition, it appears to be true for the Old Norse-Icelandic case as well — and that hagiography is 'deliberately generic' and draws 'on authoritative precedents by using the same motifs, narrative trajectories, figurative methods, character types and typological machinery'; 'by means of this borrowing' vernacular saints' lives gesture back to 'the stock traditions of hagiography in general, which in its turn echoes scripture, especially the gospels.'[36] It is not surprising, therefore, that hagiography is often said to be monotonous and that to read one saint's life is enough to know all of them.[37]

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[28] Wellendorf, 'The Attraction', p. 243.

[29] Cormack, 'How Do We Know', p. 123. Also, see Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* pp. 33–34. In *Force of Words*, p. 24, Haraldur Hreinsson notes that 'the largest part of the [ecclesiastical] corpus is not in the strictest sense "original" material but translations, copies, and reproductions of material that has been imported from elsewhere, […].'

[30] Annette Lassen, 'Indigenous and Latin Literature', in *The Routledge Research Companion to the Medieval Icelandic Sagas*, ed. Ármann Jakobsson and Sverrir Jakobson (London, New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 74–87 (p. 82); also, see Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero*, pp. 33–4.

[31] Siân Grønlie, 'Saint's Life and Saga Narrative', in *Saga-Book* 36 (2012), pp. 5–26 (p. 5); Wellendorf, 'The Attraction', p. 242.

[32] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p. 23.

[33] Lönnroth, 'Sponsors, Writers and Readers', p. 35.

[34] Cormack, 'Saints' Lives and Icelandic Literature', pp. 37–38.

[35] Wellendorf, 'Ecclesiastical Literature and Hagiography', pp. 50–51; cf. Jónas Kristjánsson 'Learned Style or Saga Style?', in *Speculum Norroenum: Norse Studies in Memory of Gabriel Turville-Petre*, ed. Ursula Dronke et al. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1981), pp. 260–292 (p. 264).

[36] Bill Friesen, 'Legends and Liturgy in the Old English Prose *Andreas*', in *Anglo-Saxon England* 43 (214), pp. 209–229 (p. 210).

This intertextuality is not limited, however, exclusively to religious writings but could also encompass vernacular folk tales, anecdotes, and stories, all of which share in a common pool of stock-scenes, motifs, and themes. Often it would be the same scribes who were copying both hagiographic and secular texts, and therefore it is likely that 'the same people who appreciated a good saint's life also read and enjoyed the Icelandic sagas'; it is therefore unsurprising that the scribes employed narrative and linguistic techniques from and for either genre in their work.[38] As the sagas produced in a particular temporal setting 'conform to its literary tastes and expectations', the boundary between hagiography and secular literature presents itself as very permeable.[39] Often there is an argument made for hagiographic writings influencing the secular: there is a general understanding that '[t]he learned literature did not teach the Icelanders what to think' or to say, but 'it taught them how to say it'.[40] However, alongside this copiously quoted outlook, the flow of ideas might be seen as going in both directions, where 'native taste and narrative conventions must also have had an effect on the Icelandic saints' lives', even if these were 'translated lives of international saints'.[41] Often the local tradition would be first presented in Latin and then 'subsequently reconstructed in the vernacular from Latin models', so that the two traditions were enriching each other both synchronically and diachronically.[42] Therefore, the saints' lives in their turn can be seen as 'mirrors of society, mediums through which to both convey and reflect societal and behavioral expectations'.[43] At the same time, this early imported literature and its further development not only reflected the local society and the people who inhabited Iceland but also, first and foremost, 'embraced the Icelanders in a hitherto unacknowledged universality'.[44] Even in itself, the appearance of 'an international literature in Iceland', later affecting indigenous literature, can be interpreted as mirroring the increasing prominence of the Church in the insular society alongside the latter's subsequent incorporation into the ecumenical world of Christianity.[45] Consequently, one may talk about 'the reciprocal relationship between the ecclesiastical discourse and the historical agents in 11–13th century Iceland'; the former may be capable of revealing medieval Icelanders' perceptions of the world and their place in it, as well as in salvation history.[46] All in all, Old Norse intellectual culture — known to us exclusively from the literary medium[47] — was not simply that of appropriation but also of innovation: Latin learning and secular tradition came together to assume new forms, and sometimes new substance. Even by the simple act of translation, the Latinate ideas would change their shape and acquire new meanings.

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[37] Grønlie in *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p. 2, evokes James Earl as cited by Alexandra Hennessey Olsen in '"De historiis sanctorum": A Generic Study of Hagiography', *Genre* 13 (1980), pp. 407–429 (p. 410).

[38] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p. 24.

[39] Cormack, Saints' Lives and Icelandic Literature', p. 43; Grønlie, 'Saint's Life', p. 6.

[40] Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic* Literature, pp. 142–43; Foote, 'Saints' Lives and Sagas', p. 74.

[41] Grønlie, 'Saint's Life', p. 6; Wellendorf, 'The Attraction', p. 242.

[42] Wellendorf, 'Ecclesiastical Literature and Hagiography', p. 54.

[43] Van Deusen,'"Inn besti hlutr"?', p. 79.

[44] Peter Foote, 'Saints' Lives and Sagas', in *Saints and Sagas: A Symposium*, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen and Birte Carlé (Odense University Press, 1994), pp. 73–88 (p. 74); cf. Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, pp. 142–43.

[45] Lassen, 'Indigenous and Latin Literature', p. 74.

[46] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, p. 31.

At the same time, these changes happen likewise in a process of transmission, both written and oral: 'most of the textual material was performative' and it was 'heard by the audience when read aloud or retold in churches, monasteries and elsewhere'.[48] This means it was not confined within the learned and educated circles but circulated more widely and was enriched in the process by vernacular, secular, even vulgar, traditions. This further means that any of these sagas, and not only so-called indigenous ones, might be seen as a 'patchwork quilt', where 'multiple components of different origins, […] together constitute a larger whole'.[49] Given that the scribes and the writers were educated men well-versed in the booklore of their time, it is natural to assume that 'their readings could easily creep into their own writings, whether consciously or unconsciously': as models or as a source of inspiration, or even as direct borrowings.[50] As 'religious discourse emerges not in some abstract zone, but in lived experiences and practices in the spaces of the world',[51] so can the Icelandic literary hagiographic tradition be seen as place- and time- specific and, therefore, indigenous in more than one way.

At the same time as it is deeply bound to the 'lived experiences and practices in the spaces of the world', so — paradoxically — the chronotope of the saints' lives '[defies] time and change' as the narrative transcends literal meaning and collapses 'historical difference into the eternity of sacred time'.[52] In hagiography, historical time and place are unclear: its chronotope is 'shaped by the eternity of sacred time, in which events from different historical eras simultaneously coexist'.[53] As Jacque Le Goff said — albeit about Dante's *Purgatorio* — it is '[a]long the boundary between human time and divine eternity' that 'miracles occur'.[54] And thus, through the specificity of the chronotope both landscape and time are reconfigured and, 'adopting Todorov's vocabulary briefly, one could say that in the realm of the saints' lives we have already entered the realm of the marvellous.'[55] Marvellous as the events described were, they did not necessarily mean that these texts were seen as altogether alien.[56] As Haraldur Hreinsson has noted:

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[47] Gunnar Harðarson, 'Old Norse Intellectual Culture: Appropriation and Innovation', in *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Scandinavia, c. 1100–1350*, ed. Stefka Georgieva Eriksen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 34–73 (p. 45): 'A fundamental characteristic of Old Norse-Icelandic intellectual culture, as it has come down to us, is that it is to a large degree a *written* culture and a culture — a cult, even — of writing […]'.

[48] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, p. 23; Wellendorf, 'The Attraction', pp. 244–245. Wellendorf, amongst others, notes that there is 'no definitive information available about the nature of the audiences or about the modes of interpretation they applied to the text' and calls us to caution when making assumptions.

[49] Lassen, 'Indigenous and Latin Literature', p. 74.

[50] Lassen, 'Indigenous and Latin Literature', p. 74.

[51] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, p. 23, quoting Laura Salah Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church Amid the Spaces of Empire* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 1.

[52] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* pp. 8, 28. Cf. Hugh Magennis, 'Conversion in Old English Saint's Lives', in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet Wilson (London: King's College Centre for Latin Antique and Medieval Studies, 2000), pp. 287–310 (p. 287); Régis Boyer, 'Vita–Historia–Saga', *Gripla* 6 (1984), pp. 113–127 (p. 119); cf. 'Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel', in M. M. Bahktin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. Michael Holquist, tr. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 84–258 (p. 158), where he discusses this chronotope's ability 'to lay open the world as a cross-section of pure simultaneity and coexistence (a rejection of the inability to see the whole of time that is implicit in any *historical* interpretation)'.

[53] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p. 28.

[54] Jacque Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory,* tr. Arthur Goldhammer (Scholar Press, 1990), p. 353.

> […] even though the corpus of early Icelandic ecclesiastical literature consists mostly of translations, it should not be considered as something foreign or alien to the native Icelanders but as a discursive reservoir they came to make use of and respond to according to their own understanding and for their own purposes in the socio-cultural context in which they lived.[57]

Fredrik Paasche 'saw a great divide between ecclesiastical and the non-ecclesiastical literature', but even so his approach to the religious poetry can be applied to the whole set of imported writings as it encapsulates only too well their essence. He saw these texts as more than 'just a soulless transfer' but as 'the European symbolism and legend […] perceived with clarity and recreated with intense feeling' that not only 'absorb the shell' but also 'seize the spirit'.[58] To this end, Gunnar Harðarson has insisted that the diverse vernacular intellectual practices 'are not slavish imitations of the Latin models or presuppositions, but rather appropriations of Latin forms by the Norse intellectuals for purposes of their own'.[59] And Jonas Wellendorf has pointed out 'a dynamic early phase in the history of Icelandic prose literature' which proved to be formative: it is then that 'the Latin hagiographical and ecclesiastical literature is cast in a vernacular mould and leaves a clear mark on native vernacular literature in the process'.[60] The originality of many works of Old Norse-Icelandic literature — impervious even by modern-day standards — springs from the 'fusion of Latin and vernacular forms'; as is the case of the First Grammatical Treatise, the Latin learning came together with the vernacular poetic tradition to create things we still admire and see as authentically Old Norse.[61] In a way 'native tradition is just as important',[62] and the translations of the saints' lives as well as other religion-adherent texts have to be valued as part of it and given a necessary degree of attention as works in their own right.[63]

Following the general trajectory of Christian religious writing within which the 'first hagiographic writings were the canonical Acts of the Apostles, followed by the acts of the martyrs, extant in their earliest form as records of trials',[64] it was the legends of the apostles — Andrew, Bartholomew, James the Greater, John, Matthew, Paul, Peter, and Simon and Jude — which alongside the legend of John the Baptist, and writing by Augustine and Gregory the Great, enjoyed particular interest in the first few centuries of vernacular literary production in Iceland; the twelfth century also provides evidence of some poems about the saints which continued to be composed in the centuries to follow.[65] These narratives, telling the lives of saints — along with sermons — contain theological reflections, spiritual interpretations, and multiple layers of meaning as they were 'mediated to Christian Icelanders of all social standings'.[66] It is telling that the apostles 'and other biblical characters', numbering eight altogether, were the most numerous group among saints whose lives are contained within the 'early preserved materials' (c. 1150–1250), rivalled only by a group of six martyrs supported by two local saints, one doctor, and three confessors.[67]

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[55] Philip Roughton, "Þa syndi hann heim mikinn skugga': Unmasking the Fantastic in the *Postola sögur*', in *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature: Preprint Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference, Durham and York 6th–12th August 2006*, I–II, ed. John McKinnell, David Ashurst and Donata Kick (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), pp. 846–855 (p. 849).

[56] Cf. Bahktin, 'Forms of Time and Chronotope', p. 150: "Therefore, the fantastic in folklore is a realistic fantastic: […] it works with the ordinary expanses of time and space, and experiences these expanses and utilizes them in great breadth and depth. […] Thus folkloric realism proves to be an inexhaustible source of realism for all written literature, including the novel. This source of realism had a special significance for the Middle Ages, […]."

[57] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, p. 24.

[58] Wellendorf, 'Ecclesiastical Literature and Hagiography', p. 48, where he cites Fredrik Paasche, 'Kristendom og kvad: En studie i norrøn middelalder (1914)', in *Hedenskap og kristendom: Studier i norrøn middelalder,* ed. Philip Houm (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1948), pp. 25–218 (p. 209).

[59] Gunnar Harðarson, 'Old Norse Intellectual Culture', p. 36.

[60] Wellendorf, 'Ecclesiastical Literature and Hagiography', p. 54.

[61] Gunnar Harðarson, 'Old Norse Intellectual Culture', p. 36.

[62] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p. 30.

[63] This thesis aspires to do exactly this.

II. The Cult of St Andrew in Medieval Europe

Apostles are commonly seen as the 'purveyors of the Gospel',[68] but, somewhat ironically, when it comes to the Gospel itself, there is very little information about Saint Andrew, and — albeit first-called according to John — he is primarily an obscure apostle. Altogether there are twelve references to him in the New Testament;[69] but, once parallel accounts are discounted, the number is reduced to eight.[70] Both Mark (1:16–18) and Matthew (4:18–22) give, except for a slight difference in wording, an almost identical account of Andrew being called to his discipleship. They both present him as a fisherman and Peter's brother. Luke, however, omits any mention of Andrew when telling a similar story. All three include Andrew in their lists of the Twelve (Matthew 10:2, Mark 3:18, Luke 6:14), but it is only Mark who mentions the apostle by name twice more (1:29, 13:3): the same episodes are present in the two remaining synoptic Gospels, but Andrew's presence at the events is in no way indicated in either.[71] In the Gospel of John, Andrew gains some semblance of personality but loses his identity as a fisherman, becoming instead — as well as his brother Peter — a disciple of John the Baptist (John 1:40–41). At the same time the brothers no longer originate from the city of Capernaum but from that of Bethsaida (John 1:44), and the Galilean shore gives way to the banks of Jordan as a place of their first encounter with Christ. Andrew appears at the feeding of the Five Thousand (John 6:7–9): it is he who draws Jesus's attention to a lad with five loaves and two fishes. At the Greeks' visit (John 12:21–22), it is Andrew to whom Philip comes with the news before the two of them pass them on to Jesus. As a result, in the Fourth Gospel Andrew gains a position of some authority as well as a voice of his own, previously unheard (of) in the synoptic Gospels.[72]

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[64] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p. 3. Cf. Richard A. Norris, 'Apocryphal writings and the Acts of the Martyrs', in *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Frances Young, Lewis Ayres, and Andrew Louth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 28–35 (pp. 31–34).

[65] Van Deusen, Wolf, 'Mapping Hagiographical Literature', pp. 106, 110.

[66] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, pp. 1–3.

[67] Wellendorf, 'The Attraction', p. 246. He lists the saints belonging to each group: 'eight apostles and other biblical characters' include Andrew, Bartholomew, Jacob, John the Baptist, Matthew, Paul, Peter, and Stephen the protomartyr; 'two local saints' — Olaf and Þorlákr; 'six early martyrs' — Blaise, Clement, Erasmus, Eustace, Silvester, and Vincent; 'one doctor' — Basil; 'three confessors' — Brendan, Martin, and Nicholas. Wellendorf defines the earliest phase of Old Norse vernacular literature as 'the period from roughly 1150 to 1250', see p. 242.

[68] Kevin Kritsch, 'Apostles, Apostolicity, and Apocrypha: The Literary Reception and Treatment of the Twelve Apostles in Anglo-Saxon England with a Study of the Cult of the Apostle Andrew' (Doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina, 2014), p. 11.

[69] Matthew 4:18, 10:2; Mark 1:16, 1:29, 3:18, 13:3; Luke 6:14; John 1:40–41, 1:44, 6:8, 12:22; Acts 1:13.

[70] Charlotte Denoël, *Saint André: Culte et iconographie en France (V^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)* (Paris: École des chartes, 2004), p. 23; Robert Boenig, 'Introduction', in *The Acts of Andrew in the Country of the Cannibals: Translations from the Greek, Latin, and Old English*, tr. by Robert Boenig, p.x (New York; London: Garland, 1991). For a comprehensive overview of all the instances, see Peter M. Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter. His History and Legends* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), pp. 1–5.

[71] Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, pp. 2–3.

GENESIS OF THE ANDREAN TRADITION IN THE WEST

In the apocryphal writings, St Andrew — probably due to the lack of detail provided by the New Testament — assumes new guises and is allegedly fashioned in such a way as to remind the reader first of Odysseus, or rather his Christian counterpart, and then of Socrates: the two would correspond to the *vita* and *passio* parts of the narrative.[73] Overall, the rich lore on St Andrew is characterized by its overtly apocryphal nature, for after the events of Pentecost, the Bible does not address his apostolic office at all.[74] The so-called 'primitive' or original Acts of Andrew (c. 150 CE) have not survived in their original Greek form and are mostly known from their sixth-century Latin epitome, with a number of fragments surviving in Greek, Coptic, and Armenian; they are often associated with Gnosticism; a more sensationalistic account of the apostle's adventures was popularized through the Late Antique secondary apocryphal Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of Cannibals, also known as *Praxeis*.[75] The tradition which subsequently emerged around the apostle usually places his mission in Scythia. For the first time, this receives some substantiation from Origen who — in a now lost account but for the passage cited by Eusebius — recounts the mission fields of the apostles and says that Andrew received Scythia.[76] However, the second half of the fourth century marked the spread of the new tradition of 'Andrew's preaching and martyrdom in Achaea' both in the Greek East and Latin West.[77] With it, Andrew's place of death acquired a more definite character, influenced by this new tradition: in a sermon attributed to Athanasius he is said to have died in Greece, but later St Jerome elaborates in his letter to Marcellus that at the time Andrew was in Achaia.[78]

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[72] Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, pp. 4–5. While in Mark's account of Jesus coming to the Mount of Olives (13:3–4) Andrew asks him a question, he does so together with Peter, James, and John, whose voices merge into a choir of a Greek Tragedy, his own voice remaining indistinguishable from the rest.

[73] See Anna Rebecca Sålevag, *Birthing Salvation: Gender and Class in Early Christian Childbearing Discourse* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013)p. 141; Dennis R. MacDonald, *Christianizing Homer*: The Odyssey*, Plato, and* The Acts of Andrew (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[74] Denoël, *Saint André*, pp. 23–24.

[75] Jean-Marc Prieur, 'The Acts of Andrew: Introduction,' in *New Testament Apocrypha*, v. II, pp. 101–118 (pp. 104–106); Aurelio de Santos Otero, 'Later Acts of the Apostles', in *New Testament Apocrypha*, v. II, pp. 426–482 (pp. 443–447). Also see chapter 1, pp. 41–42.

[76] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastic History,* III, section 1: "Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν: τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τε καὶ μαθητῶν ἐφ᾽ ἅπασαν κατασπαρέντων τὴν οἰκουμένην, Θωμᾶς μέν, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις περιέχει, τὴν Παρθίαν εἴληχεν, Ἀνδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθίαν, Ἰωάννης τὴν Ἀσίαν, πρὸς οὓς καὶ διατρίψας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τελευτᾷ, Πέτρος δ᾽ ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ Καππαδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς ἐκ διασπορᾶς Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν: [...]" [but the living situation of the Holy Apostles and Disciples of Our Saviour who were scattered everywhere [was as follows]: Thomas, as the tradition maintains, picked Parthia, Andrew Scythia, John Asia, where he spent the rest of his life and died in Ephesus, and Peter seemed to have preached to the Jews from the diaspora in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia.] Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, p. 7. At the same time that Origen is silent about Andrew's place of death, he is similarly silent about the circumstances of Thomas' demise. In case of these two apostles he only mentions their mission fields; for Peter, Paul, and John he gives both. (Francis Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and The Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 158), p. 211). Francis Dvornik suggests, p. 212, that Origen's reticence means that Andrew's activities in Achaea is a later addition to the apostolic tradition since Origen visited the country twice and 'must have been well acquainted with the religious traditions of this province'.

When, in the sixth century, the cult of the apostles spread in the West, it prompted a renewed interest in apocryphal stories reporting their lives.[79] For instance, Gregory of Tours' writings on the apostles in general and 'particularly on Andrew', *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli*, enjoyed a great degree of popularity across medieval Europe, both continental and insular:[80] still, it has been noted that his work on St Andrew — which was an epitome of the much lengthier original Acts of Andrew, from which he 'selected only the miracles' and censored, or altered, some details — was among the adaptations 'lacking the originality of Gregory's other compositions'.[81] Gregory (d. 594), who made known the Andrew Legend in the West, himself was particularly attached to the saint on whose feast day he was born and even referred to himself as the "foster-child" of St Andrew, alongside Saints Julian and Ferreolous.[82] Another contemporary devotee to St Andrew was also called Gregory and was to become a pope. After the death of his father, Gregory the Great founded a monastery in place of his former familial residence on the Cællian Hill in Rome; in 575 he became the abbot of his own foundation and it was consecrated in St Andrew's name. Gregory is also known to have written a homily on St Andrew's nativity.[83] The growing interest in St Andrew was evidenced by some western churches eagerly seeking to procure his relics, and the monastery on the Cællian Hill belonged among them.[84] Gregory was particularly devoted to the apostle and, when he was an ambassador in Constantinople, convinced the Emperor Maurice to gift the relic of St Andrew's arm to his newly founded monastery in Rome.[85] According to John the Deacon, Gregory's biographer, it was believed that Gregory ran the Cælian Hill 'non solus, sed cum beato Andreæ apostolo', i.e. 'not on his own but conjointly with the apostle' (one can even say that St Andrew was his right hand).[86] Gregory of Tours further reports, alongside some miracles attributed to Andrew, that 'the churches of Neuvy-le-Roi, near Tours, and of Agde were privileged to possess some of Andrew's relics'.[87] Gregory writes that initially there was a basilica of St Andrew in Burgundy, which burnt down in 524, but a man from Tour saved the relics from burning; later his son erected a church in honour of St Andrew, in Neuvy-le-Roi, in which he placed the rescued relics.[88] Gregory also mentions the church dedicated to St. Andrew at Clermont Ferrand.[89] By his account, in sixth-century Gaul, there were at least three churches with dedications to or relics of the apostle.[90] In Rome, likewise, the Cællian monastery was not the only holy place dedicated to the apostle. The two most important churches devoted to the cult of the apostle Andrew were established in Rome as far back as the fifth century, by Pope Simplicius (468-483) and Pope Symmachus (498-514) respectively. Pope Simpicius instituted the basilica on the Esquiline Hill; Pope Symmachus built a church in the name of St Andrew near the basilica of St Peter, and it was richly decorated. In the eighth century, the basilica, or the oratory, was used as the entrance to St Peter's and therefore the pilgrims would have to encounter the first-called apostle before his brother Peter.[91] There was also known to be another church of St Andrew in Lateran[92] as well as one in Ravenna established by Bishop Vitalis.[93]

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[77] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 216.

[78] Hieronymus, *Ad Marcellum*, *PL* 22, p. 589; Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, p. 10. Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland* (St Andrews: St Andrews University Library, 1994), p. 6: "There is also a *Martyrdom of Andrew*, originally written in Coptic, which places his death in Scythia, not Greece". Dvornik in *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 217, notes that St Jerome must have known about the Eusebian tradition of Andrew's preaching in Scythia and that Achaea was traditionally the domain of Luke, and yet he made no mention of either while admitting that Andrew preached and dies in Achaea.

[79] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 160 fn. 64.

[80] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 160 fn. 64; John J. Contreni, 'Gregory's Works in the High Medieval and Early Modern Periods', in *A Companion to Gregory of Tours*, ed. Alexander C. Murray (Leiden: Brill, 2016) p. 574 (pp. 566–581).

[80] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 160 fn. 64.

[81] Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (a.d. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988), p. 129, cit. from J.K. Kitchen, 'Gregory of Tour, Hagiography, and the Cult of Saints in the Sixth Century', in *A Companion to Gregory of Tours*, ed. Alexander C. Murray (Leiden: Brill, 2016) p. 393 fn. 73 (pp. 375–426).

[82] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 212. Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland* , p. 10; Contreni, 'Gregory's Works', p. 574 fn. 27; J Kitchen, 'Gregory of Tours', p. 389.

[83] *Homiliae in Evangelia, Hom.* 5, *PL*, 76, cols. 1092–1095.

[84] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 160 fn. 64.

[85] Albert S. Cook, *The Old English* Andreas *and Bishop Acca of Hexham* (New Haven, Conn.: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 124), p. 262.

It is also in the sixth century that the tradition of St Andrew's life (and his death) was starting to get a more concrete shape through the works of Gregory of Tours, Venantius Fortunatus, and Isidore of Seville.[94] By the time the tradition reached Iceland, it had long since reached 'a fixed and permanent form':[95] by then, the older tradition of Andrew's mission in Scythia and his preaching in Achaea had merged into one, while the death by crucifixion in Achaean Patras had been enjoying the status of a widely-accepted fact for a few centuries.

Looking ahead to later sections of this thesis, it is worth noting that the earliest version of the story in Old Norse is based on the Pseudo-Abdian account, which in turn follows Gregory of Tours' work. Both of these, however, name Achaia as St Andrew's mission field (as do the Old English sources, both the anonymous heroic poem *Andreas* and Ælfric's homily *Natale S. Andreae apostoli*) and make no mention of Scythia. *Andreas saga postola I*, on the other hand, indicates that when the apostles went to preach across the lands, Andrew went to *Svíþioð hin mikla* which in the Old Norse context is usually identified with Scythia and therefore follows the tradition.[96] Nevertheless, when the narrative part starts, it aligns itself with the sixth-century Latin sources and locates Andrew in Achaia.[97]

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[86] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, p. 264; In this spirit, one of the monastery's quarterly 'distributions of the revenues of the church took place on St Andrew's day', the other being at Easter. Cook, *The Old English Andreas*, p. 267 fn. 13.

[87] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 160 fn. 64; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM,* I (Hannover, 1885), pp. 505, 540.

[88] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, p. 267; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM,* I (Hannover, 1885), p. 31.

[89] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 160 fn. 64; Gregory of Tours, *Historiarum libri X*, 4, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 1.1 (Hannover, 1937–1951), p. 167.

[90] For a comprehensive overview, see Denoël, *Saint André* , pp. 53–59. Also, see Els Rose, '*Virtutes apostolorum*: Origin, Aim, and Use', *Traditio* 68 (2013), pp. 57–96 (p. 58): Rose notes that 'the transfer of Andrew's relics from Constantinople to Italy and Gaul occasioned the dedication of churches to this apostle in Gaul already in the late fourth and early fifth centuries.'

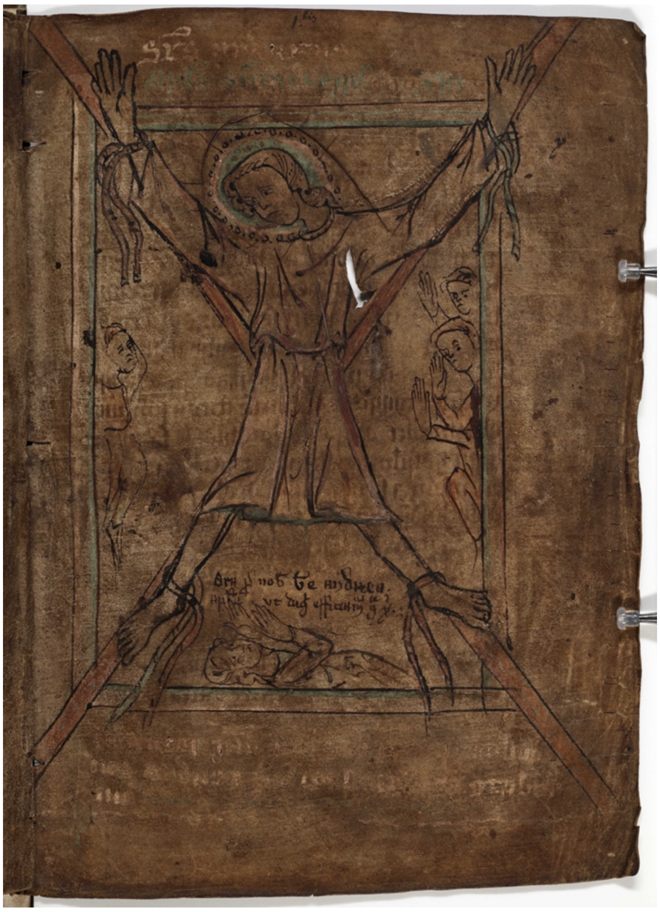
[91] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, pp. 265–66.

[92] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, p. 267.

[93] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 217, fn. 111: 'Venantius praises Bishop Vitalis for having built the church of Andreas in Ravenna.'

[94] Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, p. 14; Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 184 fn. 17 — Venantius Foortunatus apparently knew Pseudo-Abdian tradition and quoted it in his work.

[95] Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, p. 14.



Just as Andrew's mission field and place of martyrdom took time to crystalize into a consistent tradition, so it was with the manner of his death. It was the Achaean tradition that supplied the apostolic martyrdom, otherwise grievously lacking; it is likely that the earlier acts, and especially the Acts of Peter (*Acti Petri*), provided the model for Andrew's martyrdom account. St Peter, being Andrew's brother, would be a natural prototype for the apostle's heroic death.[98] Andrew's death on the cross seems to have been accepted already in the first quarter of the fifth century by Pope Damasus.[99] When it comes to the manner of Andrew's crucifixion, however, there is not much information in the written sources. The early tradition occasionally features a tree in place of a cross or, on the contrary, might be suggestive of an upright, or 'Latin', cross.[100] The tradition of the c*rux decussata* — the X-shaped/diagonal cross — which became a ubiquitous attribute of St Andrew, comes to light much later than the sixth century and mostly owes its authoritative status to iconography.[101] In a way, the *crux decussata* is an innovation with symbolic meaning: martyred in imitation of Jesus, Andrew is executed on a cross 'shaped like the Greek letter Chi (X)', the first letter of 'Christ' spelled in Greek.[102]

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[96] *API*, p. 319.

[97] *API*, p. 319.

[98] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 220–221. This similarity in death of the brothers would be a logical continuation of the apocryphal tradition, legendary *Acta Petri et Andreae*, in which Peter and Andrew preach together in the lands of the barabarians (p. 199).

[99] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 218 fn.108: At the same time Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, seemed to know only the older version of Andrew's preaching in Scythia.

[100] Ursula Hall, *The Cross of St Andrew* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006), pp. 24–5; Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, pp. 15–20.

[101] See chapter 3 of this thesis for further discussion, pp. 120–121. Also see Hall, *The Cross*: although not a strictly academic book, it gives an overaching and comprehensive overview of the iconography related to the apostle and his cross.

When it comes to Iceland, the diagonal cross is likewise not mentioned in any of the texts but it is featured in the earliest surviving depiction of the apostle found in a fourteenth century manuscript.[103] AM 646 4to contains *Andreas saga postola II*, dates between 1350–1375, and depicts the apostle crucified on an X-shaped cross (fol. 1 bis r., see its picture above), surrounded by 'four praying worshippers'; the text features an inscription in Latin, 'Ora pro nobis beate andrea | vt digni efficiamur christi', which translates as 'Pray for us, blessed Andrew, so that we may become worthy of Christ'.[104]

COMMON OUTLINE OF THE STORY

Overall, in the later Middle Ages and up to this day, the story of St Andrew's life after the Resurrection follows a generally accepted narrative line. As was previously mentioned, he draws his mission field and proceeds to spread the Word until he meets the death of a martyr. In some versions, he preaches in Scythia and then goes to Achaia, from thence he was called, by the angel or by Jesus himself, to Myrmidon (OE *Mermedonia*; ON *Mirmidon*) and to the rescue of Matthew — or Matthias — from Myrmidon's citizens, in some accounts depicted as cannibals. In the process, Andrew releases his fellow apostle from prison and fetters, and openly preaches Christ's teaching. The Andrew-Matthias tradition can be found as early as Origen:[105] it is distinguished by its legend of Andrew's visit to the City of Cannibals, which is sometimes identified with Scythia rather than specifically with the city of Myrmedonia — the Greek Acts of Andrew do not mention the name of the city at all.[106] The identification is probably based on Herodotus' references to *andróphagoi* which could be found in Scythia.[107] However, in the Latin texts, in Gregory's extract specifically, Myrmedonia is named but is no longer associated with cannibalism.[108] The toponym could probably be identified with Myrmekion, a city on the Chersonesus of Taurus which Strabo describes as the greatest trading centre of the barbarians.[109] In some texts the lesser-known apostle Matthias becomes Matthew the Evangelist[110] which seems to be true for the Pseudo-Abdian account underlying the Old Norse-Icelandic saga. He is consequently persecuted and tortured but continues his preaching, which deeply impresses the Mirmidonians, who see the errors of their ways

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[102] Robert Boenig, 'Introduction', in *The Acts of Andrew in the Country of the Cannibals: Translations from Greek, Latin, and Old English*, tr. Robert Boenig, in *Garland Library of Medieval Literature*, v. 70 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1991), pp. i–xliv (p. xxv).

[103] Cf. Margaret Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland: Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1994), p. 46.

[104] AM 646 4to is accessed through handrit.*is* < https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/en/AM04-0646/1#page/Fremra+spjald+(v)/mode/2up > (3 June 2024). Cf. The fourteenth-century *Andréasdrápa* calls the apostle Andrew *lofandi líkjari guðs*, or 'a praiseworthy imitator of God', p. 846.

[105] Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, p. 22.

[106] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 201

[107] Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, p. 32; Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 200–221: Dvornik also points to Tertullian's later adaptation of this tradition, likely based on Aristotle.

[108] Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland*, p. 6: "In some Latin texts of the Andrew legend city Myrmidonia or Meremedonia is named; this has been identified by some with Myrmekion, a place in Crimea mentioned by the Greek geographer Strabo."

[109] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 202.

[110] Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, p. 33.

(largely attributed to the influence of the devil) and convert to Christianity. Andrew departs to carry out his mission in other lands where he heals people, exorcizes demons, converts more people through his unwavering faith, shining countenance, prayer, and miracle-working. He goes as far as resurrecting a few individual people and then as many as forty drowned youths. At some point in his adventures he comes to Patras in Achaia where he heals Egeas's wife from her sickness. Later he returns to the city and proceeds to overthrow pagan temples, refusing to make the required offerings. He is captured and brought to Egeas, to whom he explains the mysteries of the cross. Egeas calls him a fool and, after Andrew's refusal to abandon the teachings of Christ, orders the apostle to be imprisoned, flogged, and finally crucified on the cross of which he claims to be a servant. Andrew first preaches in prison and next from the cross to which he is bound. After two days the crowd forces Egeas to release Andrew, but the apostle does not wish it; his attempted rescue fails for the hands of those who try to release him are shaking. A great light comes down from heaven to the cross and remains visible for half a day, during which Andrew passes away. His body is later removed from the cross and soothed with ointments. A number of posthumous miracles often follow the account of the apostle's martyrdom.

ST ANDREW'S CULT AROUND ICELAND

As St Andrew's story acquired a more defined shape with time, so his veneration became more widespread, and his cult more well-developed: some cities and countries would even secure him as their patron saint. Andrew was one of the twelve apostles and one of the most venerated saints in Medieval Europe; the romances featuring the apostle were widely circulated and enjoyed a great degree of popularity regardless of their denunciation by some of the Church Fathers.[111] The stories about the apostle spread along with his cult as far as the North Atlantic area where St Andrew's veneration was not only present but flourishing, as it was the case in England.

When Anglo-Saxon England was introduced to Christianity in the sixth century, the cult of St Andrew received an important place among the popular cults.[112] For instance, surviving pre-Conquest English calendars consistently mention St Andrew's feast on November 30, uniformly preceded by a vigil, and with a few exceptions, followed by an octave.[113] Furthermore, in the seventh and eighth centuries, with seven churches dedicated to him, St Andrew would be second only to Mary and Peter.[114] Generally, when it came to dedications, St Andrew 'had given way to Peter, the brother to brother, the lesser to the greater',[115] but he was also often paired with Peter or as a third apostle in conjunction with Peter and Paul.

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[111] For the more comprehensive and yet concise discussion of the apocryphal tradition regarding St Andrew and its reception, see Marie M. Walsh, 'St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evolution of an Apocryphal Hero', *Annuale Medievale*, 20 (1981), pp. 97–122 (pp. 97–99). In his book *The Idea of Apostolicity* (p. 180 fn. 130) Francis Dvornik provides a list which includes Eusebius, Epiphanius, Philastrius of Brescia, Timotheus of Constantinople, Turbius of Astorga, St. Augustine, and Euodius of Uzala.

[112] Scott DeGregorio, '*Þegenlic* or *flæsclic*: The Old English Prose Legends of St. Andrew', *JEGP*, 102.4 (2003), pp. 449–464 (pp. 449–450).

[113] Walsh, 'St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 101.

[114] Walsh, 'St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 103. The number of predominantly Pre-Reformation churches consecrated in the apostle's name (637 in total), suggests that in the later Middle Ages only Blessed Virgin Mary, All Saints, St Peter, and St Michael could have boasted more churches in their names than St Andrew (Francis Bond, *Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches* (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), pp. 17, 40–41).

From its very beginning the Christian mission in Anglo-Saxon England held St Andrew in particular esteem, which to a great extent was due to the personal devotion of its leaders to the saint. When in 596 the future Saint Augustine of Canterbury set off on his mission to Britain, he did so from the already mentioned monastery on the Cælian Hill in Rome; the monastery was founded by the now-Pope Gregory the Great and, at the time, Augustine was a prior there. Therefore, as the missionary group led by Augustine landed in Kent, its members shared in Gregory's 'enthusiastic devotion to the saint' 'under whose special patronage' some of them had enrolled.[116] As a consequence, 'two of the very earliest and most important churches in the history of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, Rochester cathedral (est. 604) in Kent and Hexham Abbey (est. c. 674) in Northumbria were, and still are, dedicated to S. Andrew'.[117] As suggested by the twelfth-century William of Malmesbury's account, by the mid-seventh century St Andrew was 'famous throughout Kent, and held in universal love and reverence on account of the speed with which he responded to the prayers addressed to him' ('Famosus in illa provintia sanctus, et, pro velocidate impigri ad preces occursus, ab omnibus veneralibiter delectis').[118]

If Rochester Cathedral was established by St Augustine, Hexham Abbey got its dedication from the church built in honour of the saint by St Wilfrid who had a 'sense of personal obligation to St Andrew'.[119] St Wilfrid's particular devotion to the apostle can be traced back to his visit to Rome. According to the report which survives in several recensions, upon entering the Eternal City Wilfrid was seized with the urge to go to the oratory of St Andrew, where he prayed for God's grace and eloquence in his mission.[120] Many years later, after erecting a church in Ripon dedicated to St Peter, Wilfrid — who was a bishop of York at the time — built another church in Hexam, this time in honour of St Andrew. The church in Hexam was said to be so resplendent, that for a long time it was considered to be unrivalled on this side of the Alps.[121] There is some evidence that Sussex also got its own monastery featuring a church of St Andrew: if so, it was also established by Wilfrid presumably at Selsey (now swallowed by the sea) and was endowed with taxation rights along with some land by King Cædwalla of Wessex in 686.[122] Later on, St Dunstan (d. 988) allegedly also 'felt himself to be under the peculiar patronage of St Andrew'[123] but in his case there is no evidence that he built any churches dedicated to the apostle. Still, before he became archbishop of Canterbury, he was said to have been frequently comforted by the saint during his exile in Ghent, as well as to have procured a staff, adorned by a silver ferrule encrusted with a tooth of St Andrew — both a symbol of his devotion to the saint and a defence against evil spirits.[124]

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[115] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, p. 256 — William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Pont.*, pp. 194, 196.
[116] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, 'The Old English *Andreas* and Bishop Acca of Hexham', p. 249.
[117] Bond, *Dedications and Patron Saints*, p. 41.
[118] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, p. 259.
[119] For quotation, see Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, p. 252; cf. Bond, *Dedications and Patron Saints*, p. 41.
[120] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, pp. 267–268.
[121] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, p. 269.
[122] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, p. 251.
[123] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, pp. 261–262.

As with church dedications, St Andrew was often preceded by Peter and/or Paul in hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church and in insular religious literature, such as in the Anglo-Latin compositions of Alcuin and Aldhelm.[125] Bede is known to have composed two hymns on Andrew as well as a homily.[126] What is now known as Bede's homily on St Andrew follows John 1:35-42 and comments on the calling of both Andrew and Peter; it is possible that it was not initially composed in honour of the first-called apostle, but all extant codices show that it was used for the feast of St Andrew.[127] Apart from the Latin texts, there is also a rich Old English vernacular tradition on Andrew. While in *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Juliana* — both Old English poems are attributed to Cynewulf — St Andrew is likewise listed after Peter and Paul,[128] there is a set of texts dedicated solely to the apostle. The Old English epic poem *Andreas*, which has no analogues for other apostles in the surviving corpus, is over 1720 lines long and is based on the secondary apocryphal Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of Cannibals.[129] This legend is also represented by two extant prose recensions: a fragmentary one known as *Blickling Homily XIX* and the complete but abridged version of it found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198.[130] All three favour fantastical accounts of the apostle's life and tend to focus exclusively on St Andrew's exploits in the uncanny land of Mermedonia. On the other hand, neither of the two other surviving vernacular texts, the Old English Martyrology and Ælfric's homily on St Andrew, CH I.38, contain the Mermedonian episode: both focus mostly on the apostle's death and do not dwell on miracles — except for the light surrounding the dying Andrew, evocative of Christ's death.[131] Ælfric seems to draw heavily on the Latin homilies by

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[124] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, pp. 261–262.

[125] Cook, *The Old English* Andreas, p. 256; Aldhelm's *Carmina Ecclesiastica* dedicated to the twelve apostles naturally features Andrew and Alcuin has composed in Andrew's honour at least four verses for the altars and orations (Walsh, 'St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 106). *Aldhelmi Opera*, MGH, *Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, 15, ed. Rudolph Ehwald (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), pp. 22–23; *Alcuini Carmina*, in *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, v. 1, MGH, ed. Ernest Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 160–351 (pp. 307, 312, 326, 336).

[126] Beda Venerabilis, *Opera homiletica. Opera rhythmica*, ed. D. Hurst and J. Fraipont, *CCSL* 122 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), pp. 435–438.

[127] Walsh, 'St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 104–105 fn. 28. Bede, *Opera homiletica*, pp. 111–18.

[128] *Juliana*, ed. Rosemary Woolf (Methuen & Co: London, 1955), pp. 34–35. Peter and Paul feature in lines 302–304a, followed by the evocation of Pontius Pilate hanging Christ on a cross which precedes an account of Andrew's martyrdom in lines 306–311a; no other apostles follow. *Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles*, ed. Kenneth R. Brooks (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1961), p. 56: Peter and Paul are the first two apostles out of twelve to be mentioned (ll.9–15), followed by Andrew (ll.16–22).

[129] *Andreas: An Edition,* ed. Richard North and Michael D.J. Bintley (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016).

[130] For an overview of the sources and extant versions with the emphasis on the prose versions, see Glenn Cahillly-Bretzin, 'Soldiering for Christ: The Role of the *Miles Christi* in Four Old English Saints' Lives' (Doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2020), pp. 139–147. Also, Bill Friesen, 'Legends and Liturgy in the Old English Prose *Andreas*', in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 43 (2014), pp. 209–229 (p. 211); DeGregorio, '*Þegenlic* or *flæslic*:', p. 450. For the source texts, see, Franz Blatt, *Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der Acta Andreae et Mattiae apud anthropophagos*, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der ältenen Kirche*, 12 (Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelman, 1930); *The Blickling Homilies,* ed. R. Morris (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 229–249; but also, for the homily as found in the Blickling Manuscript, see, Richard J. Kelly, *The Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), pp. 158–163; for the MS CCC 198 version, see, *Bright's Old English Grammar and* Reader, ed. Frederic G. Cassidy and Richard N. Ringler (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 205–219.

[131] Christine Rauer, *The Old English Martyrology: Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), p. 222; *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the First Series*, ed. P. Clemoes, EETS s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Bede, Paul the Deacon, and Gregory the Great as well as on the martyrdom account known as *Passio Sancti Andreae Apostoli,* which later was also used by the Old Norse compiler.[132]

Apart from the British Isles where the cult of St Andrew was also growing in Scotland,[133] the apostle was well known and venerated in the east and south of Scandinavia, in Byzantium and in Rus': through trading, raiding, and dynastic relationships medieval Scandinavians came in touch with both regions and were mutually exposed to each other's beliefs as well as cults.[134] Needless to say, that in this multicultural environment the cult of St Andrew was constantly in sight. It is difficult to establish the precise date when the first-called apostle became a special patron of Constantinople and Byzantium, but the relics believed to belong to St Andrew, as well as the bodies of St Luke and St Timothy, were transferred to the newly founded city sometime around 357–358 by Constantinius. They were deposited in the Church of the Holy Apostles, which later became a resting place for the Emperor Constantine.[135] If genuine, the catalogue of the seventy disciples of Christ, which includes a list of bishops from Andrew to Metrophanes, would suggest that the tradition of the apostle Andrew as founder of the bishopric of Byzantium existed in the second half of the sixth century, in time for the Acacian schisms (485–529).[136] A compilation, to which the catalogue belongs, contains the record of Pope John I's visiting Constantinople in 525 and insisting on celebrating the Christmas Day liturgy before the Patriarch did 'inasmuch as his see was older than that of Constantinople'. To contradict his misconception, the Pope was shown the document suggesting that St Andrew 'while navigating in the Sea of Pontus, instituted as Bishop of Byzantium in Argyropolis of Thrace, Stachys — of whom mention is made in the Epistle to the Romans.'[137] The Pope accepted its authenticity, acknowledged that the see of Constantinople was older than that of Rome, but continued to claim precedence over the Patriarch. [138] However, it seems that this 'account of the apostolic origin of Byzantium, contained in the writing ascribed to Dorotheus, was not known either in Rome or in Constantinople,' while 'the first documents attributing an apostolic character to the see of Constantinople […] date from the beginning of the seventh century': therefore the early seventh century is 'the possible *terminus a quo* for the definitive formation of the legendary Andrew tradition concerning Byzantium'.[139] But it is only from the tenth century onwards that the tradition of Andrew and Stachys became 'generally accepted as genuine in Byzantium and throughout the Eastern Church'; in this later legend Andrew stops in Byzantium on his way from Pontus to Greece where he dies his martyr's death.[140]

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[132] Walsh, 'St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 107; Passio Sancti Andreae Apostoli, in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Richard A. Lipsius and Maximilian Bonnet (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 13–14.

[133] On St Andrew's cult in Scotland, see Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland.*

[134] Ildar H. Garipzanov, 'The Concept of 'Varangian Christianity' Revisited', in *The Making of the Eastern Vikings: Rus' and Varangians in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sverrir Jacobsson, Thorir Jonsson Hraundal, and Daria Segal (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023), pp. 77–85 (p. 80): "[…] the spread of specific cults of saints in north-eastern Europe in the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century was not bound by confessional borders and was quite often affected by cultural and trading contacts or cross-dynastic marriages among ruling families in those regions."

[135] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 138 ; also see, Andrei Vinogradov, 'Imperator i apostoli: khram i mavsolej', in *Vlast' i obraz. Otcherki potestarnoj imagologii*, ed. M. A. Bojtsov and F. B. Uspenskij (Saint-Petersburg: Aleteja, 2010), pp. 110–124.

[136] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 156. Cf. Siméon Vailhé, 'Origines de l'Eglise de Constantinople', *Echoes d'Orient* 10 (1997), pp. 287–294 (p. 293).

[137] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 157.

[138] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 157.

When the conversion of Rus' took place in the late tenth century, it was on the initiative of Vladimir the Great, who 'accepted Christianity from Byzantium'.[141] But it is likely that the Apostle Andrew legend, attested in the Russian Primary Chronicle, reached Kiev '[f]rom Georgia, through the intermediary of the Russian principality of Tmutorokan on the Taman peninsula, or more probably directly through Greece'.[142] The interest in St Andrew's cult in Rus' started to take shape only in the late eleventh century, during the reign of king Vsevolod Yaroslavich (1078-1093).[143] The royal family was particularly attached to the apostle and the king himself seems to have received 'Andrew' as his baptismal name. During his reign, at least two churches were established that were dedicated to the apostle: one in Kiev (1086) and the other in Pereyaslavl (1089). The feast of St Andrew is listed in all the earliest Russian *menologia* under 30 November.[144] Moreover, the passage in the already mentioned Primary Chronicle (*Povest' vremennykh let*, also known as the Tale of Bygone Years), which tells of the apostle's mission and his passing through the lands that later became Kiev and Novgorod, was admittedly added during Vsevolod's reign.[145] It appears in immediate proximity to, just after, the outline of the 'Way from the Varangians to the Greeks', and St Andrew is depicted following the very same route on land as far as Novgorod, where he was stunned by the bathing habits of the Slavs who stayed in rooms full of hot steam and beat themselves with branches.[146] The Way from the Varangians to the Greeks connected Scandinavia to Constantinople, and the Byzantine Emperor himself had 'separate elite troops' manned with Norse mercenaries and 'known as Varangian guards'; they are mentioned in multiple Icelandic sagas.[147] St Andrew's pedestrian journey along the 'Way from the Varangians to Greeks' in a direction to the North can be paralleled with king Óláfr Tryggvason's journey back to Norway (he was raised at the court of Vladimir the Great to which his mother Ástríðr fled) in the late tenth century.[148] Óláfr later established himself in Niðaróss, in which diocese the cult of the apostle flourished a century and a half later.[149] In some respects, the way of Andrew would not be that different from the *æsir* making their way up north from *Svíþioð hin mikla*, that is from Scythia, as presented by the thirteenth-century euhemeristic tradition told by Snorri Sturluson.

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[139] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 160–62. Cf. Louis Duchesne, *L'Eglise au VIe siècle* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1925), p. 76. Andrei Vinogradov, 'André: du prédicateur encratite à l'apôtre byzantin', *Apocrypha* 22 (2012), pp. 105–114 (p. 110): Vinogradov suggests that it already existed in the sixth-seventh centuries in Constantinople. See also, Joseph Flamion, *Les Actes de l'Apôtre André : les Actes d'André et de Mathias, de Pierre et d'André et les textes apparentés* (Louvain: Bureau du Recueil, 1911), p. 89–191.

[140] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 263. Cf. pp. 262–63: Syrian writers accepted the legend but in their version Andrew died in Constantinople, while Georgians further claimed that their church was established by St Andrew.

[141] Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov, 'Introduction', p. 6.

[142] Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 263–4 (esp. fn. 137).

[143] Ildar H. Garipzanov, 'Novgorod and the Veneration of Saints in Eleventh-Century Rus': A Comparative View', in *Saints and their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c.1000–1200)*, ed. Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 115–145 (pp. 119, 122, 144).

[144] Olga V. Loseva, *Russkije mesiatseslovy XI–XIV vekov* (Moscow: Pamiatniki istoricheskoj mysli, 2001), pp. 214–15.

[145] Sergei A. Kozlov, 'Kakoi prostranstvennyi opyt otrazhaet letopisnyi "Put' iz variag v greki": morekhodnyi ili sukhoputnyi?', *Izvestiya Uralskogo federalnogo universiteta. Seriya 2: Gumanitarnye nauki*, 25.2 (2023), pp. 26–41 (pp. 33–34).

[146] PSRL, I: *Lavrent'evskaja letopis'*, 2nd edn (Leningrad: Izdanie postojannoj arkheograficheskoj komissii Akademii Nauk, 1926–27), col. 7–8. On bathing as self-mortification and some parallels to this episode in medieval Europe, see Andrei Vinogradov, 'Apostol'skij avtoritet, vlast' nad telom i Rim kak arbitr: spor na vostoke i zapade Evropi', in *Anatomija vlasti: gosudari i poddannije v Evrope v Srednije veka i Novije vremya*, ed. O. I. Togojeva and O. S. Voskobojnikov (Moscow: Isdatel'skij dom NRU HSE, 2021), pp. 281–296

Although — as has just been shown — Scandinavia shared close ties with the South-East and was exposed to its influences, it was the Anglo-Saxon Christian tradition that primarily impacted and informed Norway which officially converted to Christianity in 1022.[150] Linguistic and cultural similarities as well as continuous contacts ensured an inflow of saints' cults, consecrated bishops, missionaries, and texts from medieval England to Scandinavia in general and Norway in particular. As a result, '[t]he conversion of Norway was mainly effected by Norwegian kings of the tenth and eleventh centuries in tandem with Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics'.[151] The Benedictine monasteries in Norway, for instance, were established by Englishmen, and it is difficult to pinpoint when they became dominated by the Norwegians.[152] There are also grounds to suspect that at least four out of the five cathedrals in mainland Norway, including the one in Niðaróss, were dedicated to the Holy Trinity and referred to as 'Christ Church' following the example of Christ Church cathedral in Canterbury.[153] Given the prominence of St Andrew's cult in Anglo-Saxon England, it is only natural to assume that it would have reached Norway: the cult of St Andrew might have come to Norway, and to the diocese of Trondheim where it was localised, from England. Trondheim was a diocese where St Andrew was held in reverence and had a relatively well-developed cult,[154] and one of the area's earliest religious foundations, the monastery of

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[147] Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov, in their 'Introduction' (p. 6), also note that there are known cases when 'some eastern Scandinavians were converted while travelling to early Rus' and Byzantium'.

[148] On the dynastic connections between Rus' and medieval Scandinavia, see Aleksandr Koptev, 'Ritual and History: Pagan Rites in the Story of the Princess' Revenge (the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, under 945–946)', *Mirator* 11.1 (2010), pp. 1–54 (pp. 4–5). And Fedor B. Uspenskij, *Scandinavians — Varangians — Rus': Historical and Philological Studies* [*Skandinavy — Variagi — Rus': istoriko-filologicheskie ocherki*] (Moscow: Iazyki Slavianskoy Kultury, 2002).

[149] Cf. In Oddr Munk Snorrason, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, in *Færeyinga saga; Óláfs saga Odds*, ÍF XXV, ed. Ólafur Halldórsson (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 2006), pp. 123–362/380 (p. 358): „Hér þrýtr nú sǫgu Óláfs konungs Tryggvasonar, er at réttu má kallask postoli Norðmanna" [Here ends now the saga of the Kinf Óláfr Tryggvasonar, who can be rightfully called the apostle of Northmen].

[150] Brigit Sawyer, Peter Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, c. 800–1500* (Minneapolis; London: Minneapolis University Press, 1993), p. 215.

[151] Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov, 'Introduction: The Veneration of Saints in Early Christian Scandinavia and Eastern Europe', in *Saints and their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c.1000–1200)*, ed. Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 1–14 (p. 6).

[152] Erik Gunnes, 'Ordener og klostre i norsk samfunnsliv', *Collegium Medievale* 2 (1995), pp. 131-145 (p. 135).

[153] Åslaug Ommundsen, 'The Cults of Saints in Norway before 1200', in *Saints and their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c.1000–1200)*, ed. Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 67–93 (p. 80).

[154] Judging by the number of church dedications, but also by the naming practice. Thus, when it comes to given names, there were only five names of Latin-Hebrew origin around 1350: the most frequent name was Jon, the least Nicholas, and in the middle was a common triad of Peter, Paul, and Andrew spelt as *Peter*, *Pål*, and *Andres*. (Gunnes, 'Ordener og klostre', p. 134).

Niðarholm, was established by the English Benedictines; the contacts persisted and it is known that Matthew Paris, a Benedictine monk from St Albans, visited the monastery sometime around 1247.[155]

In the various documents dating to before c. 1200, St Andrew's feast day is consistently listed among the higher-ranking ones with *nónhelg*, that is, a vigil preceding the holy day. For example, his feast day is mentioned in the letter of Pope Leo IX to Adalbert (1053), who was the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen to which Norway belonged until the archdiocese of Lund was established in 1104.[156] Likewise, it is prescribed by legal documents such as King Sverrir's Church Law as well as by the laws of Frostathing and Borgarthing; the Niðaróss Ordinal (c. 1200) also marks St Andrew's feast among the higher-ranking festivities.[157] However, in Norway St Andrew never achieved the same popularity as in medieval England, with the most common church dedications being to 'St Mary (sixty-three churches), St Olaf (fifty churches), St Peter (thirty-three churches), St Michael (thirty-two churches), St Lawrence (twenty-four churches), St Margaret (twenty-three churches), St John the Baptist (fourteen churches), and St Nicholas (thirteen churches)'.[158] Nevertheless, St Andrew still numbered among the ten most popular church-patrons and, amongst the apostles, was preceded only by Sts Peter and Paul.[159] At the same time, St Andrew's cult was not evenly spread across Norway. Amongst twelve churches consecrated in the apostle's name, seven were in the bishopric of Niðaróss: St Andrew followed directly after Mary (thirteen churches) and St Peter (ten churches), while St Margaret and Michael likewise had seven church dedications each.[160] The remaining five churches were spread between the bishoprics of Oslo (three), Bergen (one), and Hamar (one); there were no churches in his name in the diocese of Stavanger.[161] The dedications are relatively late, falling in between 1150 and 1250.[162] With one exception, the churches are located in the coastal areas, either by the sea or by a big lake, where fishing would be one of the major trades.[163] Since St Andrew was a fisherman before he was a fisher of men, this seems appropriate.

ST ANDREW'S CULT IN ICELAND

As the cult of St Andrew was prominent in the North Atlantic area, all around Iceland, it is not surprising that its echoes, however dwindled, reached the island in due course. Conveniently enough, the majority of the monastic communities in early medieval Iceland belonged to the order of St Benedict.[164] The monasteries in the North of Iceland, Þingeyrar and Munka-Þverá, were Benedictine and gave rise to the so-called Northern Benedictine School of writing which is usually associated with later Icelandic hagiography.[165] Composed around the end of the twelfth century in Þingeyrar, the Latin life of Jón Ögmundarson — the first bishop of Hólar (est. 1106) — mentions Jón's educational encounters with the Benedictine monks of Niðarholm (*svartmúnkaklaustr*).[166] The earlier vernacular hagiographical tradition, however, developed in the south of Iceland at Skálholt. It is there, as Anne Holtsmark suggests, that the earliest manuscript featuring *Andreas saga postola I*, AM 645 4to, was most likely produced.[167] Skálholt, in its turn, was also exposed to Benedictine influences. Its founder, Ísleifr Gizzursson, is reported to have studied in Herford, Saxony, before becoming the first Icelandic bishop[168] — at the time Herford Abbey was a Benedictine monastery. Moreover, the liturgies preserved in the ordinals, transmitted in their manuscript form within the province of Niðaróss, can be connected with certainty only to the Icelandic see of Skálholt.[169]

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[155] James G. Clark, 'The Benedictine Culture of Medieval Iceland', in *Religions* 14: 851 (2023), p7. < https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14070851 > (3 June 2024).

[156] Åslaug Ommundsen, 'The Cults', p. 75.

[157] Åslaug Ommundsen, 'The Cults', pp. 92–3.

[158] Åslaug Ommundsen,'The Cult', p. 71.

[159] Pernille H. Fredriksen, *Helgener og kirkededikasjoner i Norge i middelalderen* (Master's thesis: University of Oslo, 2004), p. 45. Åslaug Ommundsen,'The Cult', p. 71, notes that this master's thesis 'builds on the first major investigation into the Norwegian church dedications' by Lorentz Dietrichson, *Sammenlignende Fortegnelse over Norges Kirkebygninger i Middelalderen og Nutiden* (Kristiania: Malling, 1888).

[160] Fredriksen, 'Helgener og kirkededikasjone', p. 46.

[161] Fredriksen, 'Helgener og kirkededikasjone', p. 58.

[162] Fredriksen, 'Helgener og kirkededikasjone', pp. 90–91.

[163] Fredriksen, 'Helgener og kirkededikasjone', p. 96.

[164] Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir, *Monastic Iceland.* (London: Routledge, 2022), p. 99; Clark, 'The Benedictine Culture of Medieval Iceland', p. 2: The Benedictine monasteries of Munka-Þverá, Þingeyrar, Kirkjubær were established in the twelve century and endured the Reformation; 'two early colonies, Bæjarklaustur and Hítardalsklaustur, by tradition

St Andrew's presence in Iceland has not been attested earlier than the thirteenth century but this does not necessarily reflect his absence from liturgical and religious practices. For instance, in the Old Icelandic Homily Book, dated from around 1200,[170] Andrew is mentioned four times in three different homilies,[171] which — albeit not as impressive as some other apostles — is a significant number. From the thirteenth century onwards, however, his presence can be traced with more certainty from the naming practices, churches, and saga evidence. The adoption of saints' names can be 'an early indication of interest in saints':[172] a given name *Andréas* is first attested in Iceland in the thirteenth century, appearing in the 'unusually well-documented' family of the Oddaverjar.[173] The family produced three occurrences of the name *Andréas* in a single generation,[174] but it is not entirely clear what led to the choice of the name. All three were grandchildren of Jón Loptsson, the Icelandic chieftain, whose own foster-father was

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believed to be Benedictine, did not continue beyond the thirteenth century'. At the same time there were only two Augustinian monastic communities, at Helgafell and Þykkvibær..

[165] Siân Grønlie, 'Saints' Lives', in *The Cambridge History of Old-Norse Icelandic Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2024), pp. 313–333 (p. 9).

[166] Clark, 'The Benedictine Culture of Medieval Iceland', p. 4: From the monks, Jón Ögmundson is said to have learned 'reglu guðligrar siösemdar ok bókligri vizku' (the rules of good religion and book learning)..

[167] Anne Holtsmark, *A Book of Miracles: MS no. 645 4to of the Arna-Magnæan Collection in the University Library of Copenhagen,* in *Corpus Codicorum Islandicorum Medii Aevi*, vol. XII, ed. Einar Munksgaard (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1938), p. 9.

[168] *Hungrvaka*, in *Biskupa sögur II*, ÍF XVI, ed. Ásdís Egilsdóttir (Reykjavík: Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 2002), pp. 1–43 (p. 6).

[169] Astrid Marner, 'Liturgical Change and Liturgical Plurality in the Province of Nidaros: New Light on the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*', in *Dominican Resonances in Medieval Iceland: The Legacy of Bishop Jón Halldórsson of Skálholt*, ed. Gunnar Harðarson and Karl-Gunnar Johansson (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021), p. 198. In fact, Iceland is the only place to which these liturgies can be linked with any certainty.

[170] Frederick Paasche, *Homiliu-bók (Icelandic Sermons): Perg. 4to No.15 in the Royal Library, Stockholm,* in *Corpus Codicorum Islandicorum Medii Aevi*, vol. XII, ed. Einar Munksgaard (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1935), p. 5.

[171] Andrea De Leeuw Van Weenen, *Lemmatized Index to the Icelandic Homily Book. Perg. 15 4° in the Royal Library Stockholm* (Reykjavík, 2004), p.10: ff. 1v26, 8r8,8r5; 68r18; *Homiliu-bók*, pp. 3:36; 17:10, 17:19; 148:20.

[172] Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland*, p. 45.

[173] Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland*, p. 79.

[174] This family is also known for other innovative names and produced 'the first *Kristóförus*' and 'an early *Fillipus*.' (Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland*, pp. 45–46.

Andréas Brúnsson featured in an episodic yet prominent role in *Heimskringla*.[175] Andréas was a priest who played a major part in the rescue of the Holy Cross relic from heathens: in the saga he was said to preach 'langt ok snjallt' (at length and eloquently) on Whit Sunday amid the series of portents.[176] Fostering would be seen as a close relationship by the contemporary Icelanders who practiced 'naming a child after an ancestor, relative, or friend'.[177] The influence of history and literature, however, is not to be entirely disregarded. At the same time, 'the mother of one of the first boys named *Andréas* grew up at a church where S. Andrew was among the patrons'.[178]

The thirteenth-century saga evidence, which is more concrete, includes both an earlier version of the saga about St Andrew (surviving in two manuscripts) and the contemporary *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, which mentions the apostle along with an eponymous poem in his honour. In medieval Iceland, overall, Andrew was venerated on a moderate scale, giving precedence to a number of other more prominent saints. Still, St Andrew could be regarded as a rather significant figure who was, along with Peter and John, one of the three most favoured apostles.[179]

III. Icelandic Lives of St Andrew

The Old Norse-Icelandic prose tradition regarding the apostle Andrew survives in twenty-three manuscript fragments; they form four to six extant versions of *Andreas saga postola*.[180] In the fullest and the only *postola sögur* edition to date, Carl Unger has listed four. *A Handlist* has expanded the number to six: it sees *Af biskupi ok púka*, a miracle story, as a separate work rather than a part of *Andreas saga postola II* (as Unger's edition presents it) and notes the sixteenth-century fragment extant in AM 667 4to (ca. 1500) which seems to be a translation from Low German and was not taken into account by Unger.[181] The earliest version, *Andreas saga postola I*, is first attested in the thirteenth century; the later versions are known from the fourteenth (*Andreas saga postola II* and *III* as well as *Af biskupi ok púka*) and early fifteenth centuries (*Andreas saga postola IV*), not to mention the sixteenth-century translation from Low German.

The medieval poetic tradition around St Andrew is represented solely by an anonymous *dróttkvætt* poem, which survives in four stanzas from the fourteenth-century manuscript, AM 194 8to, and its later copies, AM 669 c4$^{\text{ox}}$ and NKS 1598 4$^{\text{ox}}$ (in its turn, a copy of AM 669 c4$^{\text{ox}}$).[182] The poem is known under the name of *Andréasdrápa*. There is no evidence of a refrain characteristic of a *drápa,* but it has been generally assumed — beginning with Konráð Gíslasson's 1866 edition — that it might have been a part of a larger and earlier *drápa* predating the fourteenth century. Both the title of the poem and its earlier dating are derived from a poem by that title mentioned in *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar.*[183] The events the saga describes take place in the early thirteenth century, while the saga itself was most likely written down between 1230 and 1250.[184] In the saga its protagonist, Hrafn, asks to be read a poem about the apostle the night before his death (in the year 1213), while that very same night his close friend, a priest by the name Tómas Þórarinsson, dreams about St Andrew's martyrdom:[185]

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[175] *Heimskringla* III, ÍF, pp. 287-295. Translation follows Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, III, tr. Alison Finlay and Anthony Faulks (Exeter: Viking Society for Nortehrn Research, 2015), pp. 176–177.

[176] *Heimskringla* III, ÍF, p. 289.

[177] Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland*, p. 46.

[178] Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland*, p. 46.

[179] Hans Bekker-Nielsen, 'Legender-Helgensagaer,' in *Norrøn fortællekunst: kapitler af den norsk-islandske middelalderlitteraturs historie,* ed. Bekker-Nielsen et al. (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1965), p. 124.

[180] Lenore Harty, 'An Edition of a Fourteenth-Century Version of *Andreas saga postola* and its Sources', *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977), pp. 121–159 (p. 121). For an all-encompassing overview of the Old Norse-Icelandic prose legends about Andrew the Apostle, see, Kirsten Wolf, *The Legends of the Saints in Old Norse-Icelandic Prose* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 29–35.

[181] Harty, 'An Edition', p. 121; *Postola sǫgur: Legendariske fortællinger om apostlernes liv deres kamp for kristendommens udbredelse samt deres martyrdød*, ed. Carl R. Unger (Christiania: Bentzen, 1874), pp. xix–xxiii, 318–412; Ole Widding, Hans Bekker-Nielsen and L.K. Shook, 'The Lives of the Saints in Old Norse Prose: A Handlist', *Mediaeval Studies* 25 (1963), pp. 294–337 (299–300).

> Þá er Hrafn var kominn í rekkju, mátti hann eigi sofa. Hann mælti við mann þann, er Steingrímr hét, at hann skyldi kveða *Andreasdrápu*. Hann kvað drápuna, ok eptir hvert ørendi talaði Hrafn margt um þá atburði, er gǫrzk hǫfðu í písl Andreas postula. Þá nótt ina sǫmu dreymði Tómas prest Þórarinsson, at hann þóttisk sjá písl Andreas postula. Þat sama dreymði hann alla nóttina, jafnan er hann sofnaði.[186]
>
> When Hrafn came to the sleeping bench, he could not sleep. He spoke to the man who was called Steingrímr that he should recite *Andreasdrápa*. He recited the *drápa*, and after each verse Hrafn talked at length about those events which transpired in St Andrew's passion. That very same night Tómas Þórarinssin, a priest, dreamt that he thought he had seen St Andrew's passion. He dreamt the very same all night, always as he fell asleep.[187]

From this description, it follows that the *drápa* focused on the martyrdom rather than on the apostolic deeds. The extant four stanzas likewise deal with Andrew's death on the cross. The association between the two poems, however, has never been properly established, and the idea that the fourteenth-century *Andréasdrápa* is a later copy of an earlier text rests exclusively with Jón Þorkelsson who, in 1888, offered no arguments in its favour.[188]

The object of this dissertation, the earliest extant prose account of the apostle Andrew's story, *Andreas saga postola I*,[189] is primarily known in its complete form from AM 630 4$^{\text{to}}$, a seventeenth-century paper copy of the now defective mid-thirteenth-century AM 652 4$^{\text{to}}$.[190] Even though AM 629 4$^{\text{to}}$ (c.1697) and Rask 69 (c.1800) also contain complete versions of the saga, it was AM 630 4$^{\text{to}}$ — the earliest of the three — that Unger used as a major source for his edition of this version of the saga.[191] The earliest extant fragment is found, however, in AM 645 4to: the manuscript dates to the first or second quarter of the thirteenth century and is the oldest Icelandic compendium of saints' lives known to modern-day scholars. Together with the already mentioned AM 652 4to, they are the two most complete collections of translated saints' and apostles' lives surviving from early medieval Iceland.[192] Both manuscripts are believed to be copies based on the same twelfth-century original; the majority of the texts they contain are translations of the apostles' lives from the sixth-century *Historica Apostolica* of Pseudo-Abdias.[193] Both manuscripts are now defective and preserve only portions of *Andreas saga postola* I which are believed to be 'independent versions of the same source': both fragments preserve the *passio* sections which, except for slight dictional variants, are identical to each other and are based on the *Passio Sancti Andreae Apostoli*.[194] The rest of the saga, the *vita* part, is known mostly from AM 630 4to, a paper copy of AM 652 4to, which appears to be, like other sagas there, a rather close translation of *De Gestis Beati Andreae Apostoli,* Book III of Fabricius's edition of the Pseudo-Abdian *Historica Apostolica*.[195] In his recent book, Haraldur Hreinsson pointed out the inadequacy of this umbrella term, i.e. Pseudo-Abdian, which is due to both the 'textual instability (variance, mouvance, unfixedness)' of these narratives on the apostles and the fictional nature of Abdias, the first bishop of Babylon, to whom they are ascribed.[196] These 'Latin rewritings of the ancient apocryphal Acts […] brought together as a coherent series with a section on each individual apostle' are sometimes titled *Virtutes Apostolorum* which, Els Rose has suggested, can be used 'to indicate the Latin adaptations of the apocryphal Acts in an inclusive way', acknowledging both the lack of single authorship and the variety in their transmission.[197] With all these reservations in mind, this thesis, however, will continue to refer to the Latin adaptation of St Andrew's life as 'Pseudo-Abdian', following terminology adapted in the scholarship of Philip Roughton and Lucy Grace Collins on the early saints' lives in medieval Iceland.[198]

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[182] Ian McDougall, '(Introduction to) Anonymous, *Andréasdápa*', in *Poetry on Christian Subjects: Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, vol. VII, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 845–851 (p. 845).

[183] McDougall, '(Introduction to) Anonymous, *Andréasdápa*', p. 845.

[184] Úlfar Bragason, 'The Structure and Meaning of *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*', *Scandinavian Studies*, 20.2 (1998), pp. 267–292 (267).

[185] *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, ed. Guðrún P. Helgadóttir (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 41–43.

[186] *Hrafns saga*, p. 41.

[187] Translations are my own unless stated otherwise.

[188] McDougall, '(Introduction to) Anonymous, *Andréasdápa*', p. 845.

[189] *API*, pp. 318–353.

[190] *Andreas saga postola I*, survives in nine manuscripts, or fragments, which are cited in *A Handlist*. Initially thought to be eleven, they were reduced to nine by Lenore Harty who identified the two fragments surviving in AM 238 fol. and AM 667 4$^{\text{to}}$ as actually belonging to *Andreas saga postola II*. See Harty, 'An Edition', p. 121; Widding et al., p. 299.

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[191] Harty, 'An Edition', p. 121. *Postola sögur*, pp. 318–343. On the dating of AM 652 4to, see, *Postola sögur*, p. Ix; also, Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script as Illustrated in Vernacular Texts from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Reykjavík: The Manuscript Institute of Iceland, 1956), p. xlii; Kristian Kålund, *Katalog over den Amamagnæaniske handskriftsamling, v. II* (København: Gyldendalske boghandel, 1892), p. 55; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Mattheus saga postola* (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1994), pp. xxxv, cxxi–cxxii.)

[192] Philip Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to: Study and Translation of Two Thirteenth-Century Icelandic Collections of Apostles' and Saints' Lives' (Doctoral thesis, University of Colorado, 2002), pp. 1–3. For the further discussion of dating the manuscript which consists of *Codex I* and *Codex II* belonging to the same period (between 1200 and 1237), see, Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, p. xx; Anne Holtsmark, *A Book of Miracles: MS No. 645 4to of the Arna-Magnaean Collection in the University Library of Copenhagen, Corpus Codicorum Islandicorum Medii Aevi*, vol. XII, ed. Einar Munksgaard (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1938), pp. 7–10).

[193] Bekker-Nielsen, 'Legender-Helgensagaer', pp. 121–3; Vésteinn Ólason, Guðrún Nordal, and Sverrir Tómasson, eds., *Íslensk bókmenntasaga* I (Reykjavík: Mál og Menning, 1992), p. 425; Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 4–5; Holtsmark, *A Book of Miracles*, pp. 7–12.

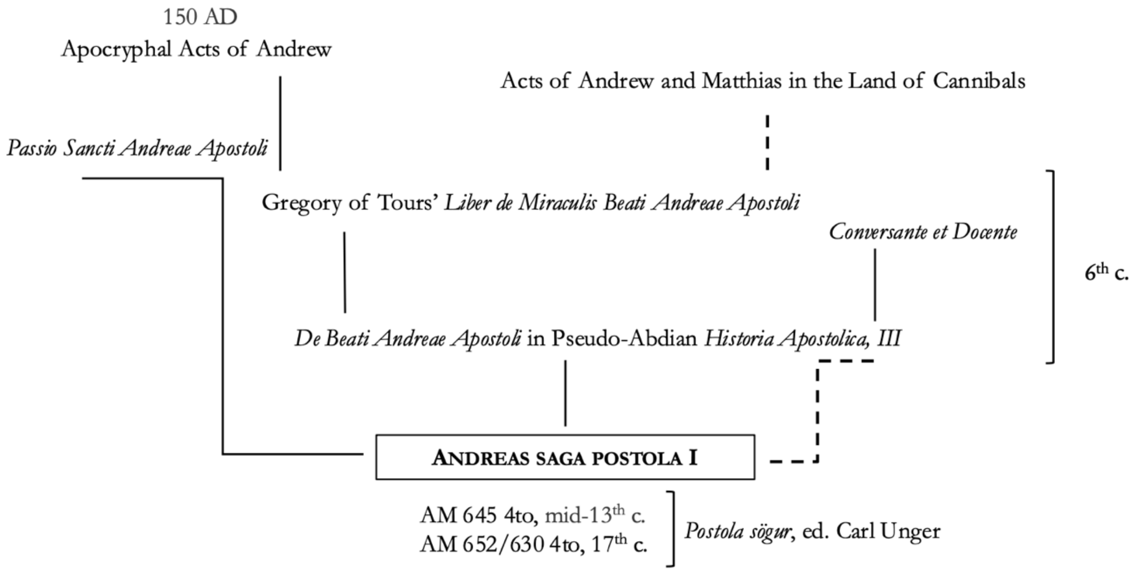
[194] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 194, 196; *A Handlist*, p. 299; *Passio Andreae,* in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, v. 2. p. 1., ed. R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 1–37.

[195] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p.195; *De gestis beati Andreae Apostoli*, in *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, II, ed. Johann A. Fabricius (Hamburg, 1703), pp. 456–515. Leonore Harty argues that this conjecture, first suggested by C. Unger, is incorrect and that *Andreas saga postola I* is based on Gregory of Tour's *Liber de miraculis s. Andreae apostoli* and '*not* on Fabricius, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, chapter 6'. Harty, 'An Edition', p. 122.
For a comprehensive overview of the versions of the apocryphal Acts of Andrew, and their relationship to each other, see, J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 231–239.

[196] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, pp. 69–71; Matthew Driscoll, 'The Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology Old and New,' in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability, and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, ed. Judy Quinn and Emily Lethbridge (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010), pp. 87–104 (p. 90).

This so-called Pseudo-Abdian account of Andrew's life and death is based on Gregory of Tour's *Liber de Miraculis Andreae Apostoli*; it therefore relates St Andrew's exploits in Mermedonia — a more expanded and sensational version of which is better known from the apocryphal Acts of Andrew and Matthias — but draws on a sixth-century Latin account known as *Conversante et Docente* for the *passio* part, since Gregory refers only fleetingly to the apostolic martyrdom.[199] However, in the earliest extant Icelandic vernacular version of the apostles' life, as already mentioned above, the Old Norse translator, or rather compiler, chose to turn to the *Passio Sancti Andreae Apostoli*, based on an Old Gnostic Acts of Andrew, for the account of St Andrew's passion. As a result, *Andreas saga postola I* gives 'the longest, most detailed and dramatic' account of the apostle's martyrdom amongst the earliest translated saints' lives in AM 645 4to and AM 652 4to (or, AM 630 4to).[200]

MANUSCRIPTS, SOURCES & PROVENANCE


150 AD
Apocryphal Acts of Andrew
Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the Land of Cannibals
Passio Sancti Andreae Apostoli
Gregory of Tours' Liber de Miraculis Beati Andreae Apostoli
Conversante et Docente
6th c.
De Beati Andreae Apostoli in Pseudo-Abdian Historia Apostolica, III
ANDREAS SAGA POSTOLA I
AM 645 4to, mid-13th c.
AM 652/630 4to, 17th c.
Postola sögur, ed. Carl Unger

The same degree of drama and sensationalism, though, cannot be ascribed to the Mermedonia/Mirmidon episode which is confined to Pseudo-Abdias's rendition of it and, therefore, is significantly less spectacular than its rendition in Old English *Andreas*, or its sources. And yet, even in the Latin sources informing *Andreas saga postola I*, the sensational aspects of the account remain more evident than usual, both in the miracles and the martyrdom.[201] While Gregory of Tours preserved only the miracles from the Acts, the Old Norse-Icelandic compiler further omitted a number of them: while dispensing with the most grotesque miracles, the compiler, however, 'adapts the texts in certain ways (such as employing an overabundance of present participles) to increase their inherent drama' — a similar degree of sensationalism is thus achieved through style ('dramatic rhetorically charged narrative') rather than subject matter. [202] *Andreas saga postola I* follows rather closely its two major sources — the Pseudo-Abdian *De Gestis Beati Andreae Apostoli* and the *Passio Sancti Andreae Apostoli* — but occasionally adds or rearranges material for the sake of thematic and structural unity of the saga. For instance, an original prologue and concluding remarks are added to frame the narrative and the miracles in the *vita*-part are given in a different order: most notably, in the Old Norse-Icelandic version the miraculous healing of Egeas' wife immediately precedes the *passio*-part.[203]

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[197] Els Rose, '*Virtutes apostolorum*', p. 58.

[198] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to'. Lucy Grace Collings, 'The *Codex Scardensis*: Studies in Icelandic Hagiography' (Doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 1969).

[199] Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 234–235.

[200] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 199, 231.

[201] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 198–199.

As has been already noted, the saga is generally faithful to its Latin Sources, albeit both omitting some of the miracles and altering the order of the remaining ones. In the same spirit, the personal and geographic names featuring in the original source are generally preserved in the Old Norse-Icelandic adaptation. As has been previously noted, over time Matthew the Evangelist would often replace the lesser-known apostle Matthias, who appears in the original Acts. Among the works which featured Matthew are both Gregory of Tours' *Liber de Miraculis Beati Andreae Apostoli* ('Matheus autem apostolus, qui et euangelista, Mermidonae urbi verbum salutis adnuntiavit' [Matthew the apostle, who was also the Evangelist, announced the word of salvation to the city of Mermidonians])[204] and its later adaptation, the so-called Pseudo-Abdian account ('[e]odem tempore Matthæus Apostolus, qui & Evangelista, Myrmidoni urbi verbum salutis adnunciaverat' [at the same time Matthew the apostle, who was also the Evangelist, had announced the word of salvation to Myrmidonians in the city]).[205] In the Old Norse material, therefore, 'Mattheus' is likewise consistently used to refer to the rescued apostle.

Furthermore, it is Matthew the Evangelist who is mentioned by the compiler at the beginning of the saga as the source of the story of Peter's and Andrew's calling to discipleship: „þa segir sva heilagr Mattheus i guðspialli" [as Saint Matthew says it in the Gospel].[206] *Andreas saga postola I* focuses almost exclusively on Matthew 4:18–22 and only mentions, almost as an afterthought, the Gospel of John to say that: „Þeir brøðr hofðu aðr verit lærisveinar Johannis baptista, sem Jon guðspiallamaðr segir" [The brothers had previously been the disciples of John the Baptist, as John the Evangelist says].[207] The Latin, however, offers a shorthand of both accounts: although neither Gospel is referred to directly, the text puts emphasis on John's version, thus stressing Andrew's role as the first-called apostle.[208] This might explain why the saga-compiler does not clarify — contrary to the Latin — that the 'Mattheus' who

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[202] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 199.
[203] For a detailed, episode by episode, list of alterations and interpolations found in *Andreas saga postola I*, see Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 194–233. Also, see Unger, *Postola sögur,* pp. xix–xx.
[204] Gregory of Tours, *Liber de miraculis Andreae apostoli* (BHL-0430), in SS rer. Merov. 1, 2, capitula, p. 376.
[205] *Fabr.*, p. 457.
[206] *API*, p. 319.
[207] *API*, p. 319.
[208] *Fabr.*, pp. 456–457.

Andrew is set to rescue is the same one as the already mentioned Matthew the Evangelist, probably considering it self-evident or even superfluous. The later redactions treat the episode of Andrew's calling differently. *Andreas saga postola II*, which is considered to be an independent treatment of the same source, for instance, goes beyond Matthew and John and recounts every instance of Andrew playing an active role in the events related in the New Testament, making direct references to John, Matthew, and Luke's Acts of the Apostles.[209] The third recension, *Andreas saga postola III*, also combines several accounts (without indicating them) about Andrew's calling and tells an idiosyncratic story in which „[h]eilagr guðs postoli Andreas var þrim sinnum kallaðr af drotni Jesu“ [Andrew the holy apostle of God was three times called by Lord Jesus] and which is derived from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea,* of which *Andreas saga III* is an epitome.[210] By this means, it creates a beautiful parallel to the future threefold denunciation of Christ by Peter (who, along with his brother, seems also to be three-times called). Finally, the fourth *Andreas saga* tells a story which clearly derives from the Gospel of John (John 1: 34–42), even though neither the Latin nor the saga make any note of its origin.[211] The third and fourth redactions, also, make sure to call the imprisoned Matthew *guðspiallamaðr*, i.e. the Evangelist.[212] St Matthew's stay in Mirmidon is not part of his canonical life as it is attested in the Pseudo-Abdian collection or the later *Legenda Aurea.* However, out of his four Old Norse-Icelandic lives only one — *Mattheus saga postula IV*, AM 655 4^{to} XII–XIII (c. 1275–1299) — refers directly to the event.[213] This saga is considered to be a 'revised recension' of *Mattheus saga postula II*, based on the Pseudo-Abdian *Passio,* with additional material.[214] This interpolation suggests that by the end of the thirteenth century both apostles, at least occasionally, existed within the same story-world.

The other already mentioned change, or rather addition, is the appearance of Scythia — the precise source of which is not identified — featured under its Old Norse-Icelandic name: *Svipióð hin mikla.* The destination is connected to the apostles deciding between themselves their respective mission fields and it also appears in *Andreas saga postola II* (which is believed to be derived from the same source as *Andreas saga postola I,* but also preserves some details authentic to the first version of the saga). The second recension, however, does not mention Achaia at all and introduces *Grikland* only after the apostle's adventures in the unnamed city (corresponding to Mirmidon in other texts) and subsequent travels in Scythia and Asia.[215] *Andreas saga postola III* simply says that Andrew was preaching in *Licia* when the angel sent him to help Matthew, who found himself in distress in Ethiopia; while the fourth version of the saga suggests that Andrew received *Gricland* and *Acaia*, choosing the former — which is said to be an island —

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[209] *APII*, pp. 354–356; Collings, 'The *Codex Scardensis*,' p. 74.
[210] *APIII*, p. 389; Collings, 'The *Codex Scardensis*,' p. 74.
[211] *APIV*, p. 404.
[212] *APIII*, p. 390; *APIV*, p. 405
[213] *A Handlist* lists only three recensions, suggesting that what Unger published as *Mattheus saga postola III* is actually a defective copy of *Mattheus saga postola II* (pp. 324–325). *Postola sögur,* p. 834; *Mattheus saga postola*, ed. Ólafur Halldórsson (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1994), p. 73.
[214] Collings, 'The *Codex Scardensis*,' p. 28.
[215] *APII*, p. 357.

as his first itinerary and reaching the latter straight after rescuing Matthew from Mirmiclonia (*sic*).[216] The first, second, and forth versions of St Andrew's life agree that after his misadventures in Mirmidon, Matthew travels to Blaland, i.e. to Ethiopia, which seems to be a detail taken from Matthew's life for he is known to have preached and died a martyr's death in Ethiopia.[217] While *Andreas saga postola I* does not mention the latter, the other two sagas state that this is where Matthew died for his faith. *Andreas saga postola III*, in its turn, follows *Legenda Aurea* and names Antioch instead.[218] *Legenda Aurea* states that 'Andrew went to Scythia, while Matthew to **Murgundia**, also called Ethiopia'.[219] In its Old Norse epitome, however, Matthew's itinerary becomes ***Borg**undia*: „en Matheus guðspiallamaðr talði tru fyrir folki i þvi heraði, er Borgundia heitir" [and Matthew the Evangelist preached the Gospel for people in the province which is called Borgundia.][220] On the one hand, this creates consonance with *borg*, a fortress, used to describe Mirmidon in other redactions and also used here, which can account for a change of the rather obscure Murgundia: it might be reasonable to suggest that it would have been changed into Blaland, if known to the translator. On the other hand, *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs (hin eldra)* from the same manuscript, the late fourteenth-century *Codex Scardensis,* lists 'Borgundia' among the kingdoms conquered by Charlemagne: „Nu sem Karolus hinn mikli keisari hefir undir sik lagt morg ok stor konungariki meðr starfi ok striði, England, Frackariki, Þyðerskuna, Borgundiam, Lothoringiam, Ytaliam ok ǫnnur fleiri með utalligum borgum af valldi heiðingia, setiandu þetta alt undir romverskan keisardom[…]" [Now that Karl the Great emperor had vanquished many and big kingdoms with labour and strife, England, Francia, Germania, Burgundy, Lothringia, Italy, and many others with numberless cities from the rule of pagans, setting them all under the Roman empire].[221] The surrounding kingdoms leave little doubt that 'Borgundia' corresponds indeed to Burgundy.

This introduced apposition of Burgundy and Antioch in *Andreas saga postola III* is particularly curious in the light of the late medieval cult of Saint Andrew. From the end of the eleventh century, Andrew the Apostle was particularly revered by the crusaders. He had a particular connection to Antioch, during the siege of which St Andrew appeared to a number of people in 1097–1098, sometimes on his own and sometimes accompanying Christ, to reveal to them that the Lance of Longinus was hidden in the cathedral of Antioch.[222] When recovered, it was the Holy Lance which ensured the crusaders' victory over the infidels. The saint thus became an established patron-saint of the crusaders. St Andrew was also said to appear to many a crusader on their road to Jerusalem, while King Bedouin established the brotherhood in the name of the saint in Acre and King Godefroy of Bouillon adopted the war-cry 'Saint Andreu de Patras'.[223] As for Burgundy, the ideology of crusades was popular there and the Burgundian dukes were great admirers of King Godefroy. In 1408, according to the Burgundian chronicler Olivier de la Marche, Jean sans Peur adopted the X-shaped cross as the ensign and St Andrew as the patron saint of the Dukes of Burgundy.[224] Later Philippe Le Bon, the Duke of Burgundy, placed the Order of the Golden Fleece (est. 1430), a Catholic order of chivalry, under the double protection of the Blessed Virgin and Saint Andrew and one of the war-cries of the Burgundians was 'Notre Dame de Bourgogne et Montjoie Saint Andrieu' which seems to parallel that of Godefroy of Bouillon.[225] The connection of the apostle Andrew with Scythia might have been another aspect in favour of his patronage of Burgundy. According to Gregory of Tours, the Burgundians are the descendants of the Goths who left Scythia — from which they were believed to originate — and settled in Gaul.[226] This would mean that St Andrew would have evangelised their legendary motherland. It would also mean that the Scandinavians and the Burgundians would share their legendary motherland, which seems almost natural — or else, highly ironic — since the Scandinavian origin of the Burgundians is a generally admitted fact.[227] However, due to the earlier date of the *Codex Scardensis* containing *Andreas saga postola III,* these geographic correspondences can be nothing more than a coincidence. However, this case seems to be a fantastic illustration of the interconnectedness of medieval Europe and the density of its intellectual networks.

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[216] *APIII*, p. 390 ; *APIV*, pp. 404, 407.

[217] *API*, pp. 320– 321; *APII*, p. 357; APIV, p. 405. Cf. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 174 fn. 111.

[218] 'Saint Andrew, Apostle', in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, ed. William Granger Ryan and Eamon Duffy (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 13–21 (p. 13).

[219] 'Saint Andrew, Apostle', p. 13.

[220] *APIII*, p. 390; Collings also makes note that Latin Nicaea becomes Villea(borg), see 'The *Codex Scardensis*,' p. 75.

[221] *Postola sögur*, pp. 667–668.

[222] Denoël, *Saint André*, pp. 85–87.

[223] Denoël, *Saint André*, p. 86.

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Just as these writings reflected the sensibilities and worldview of the society within which they circulated, they themselves were intended as mirrors — showing 'what one can or should be' — and examples for imitation.[228] The established hagiographic paradigm was *imitatio Christi* as pre-set by St Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles, and the majority of the first venerated saints were martyrs, witnessing to Christ through a violent death, keeping company with the writings featuring the apostles, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist.[229] In this light the observation that in the North a violent death would be the foremost requirement either for sainthood or for a saint's popularity, not even necessarily religious in the former case, seems only fair.[230] However, use of understatement and a certain reticence when it comes to describing torments is one of the distinctive features of hagiographical narratives, which has led scholars to suggest that it was either 'the public confrontation of the saint with those in power', redolent of the Icelanders at the Norwegian court and featuring the doctrinal exposés, or even the act of destruction of pagan temples — usually followed by mass conversion and ending in martyrdom — that appealed to the medieval Icelandic audience.[231] This mode of depiction — not yet superseded by affective piety — only emphasises the centrality of Christological mimesis to these narratives: in the New Testament, Christ likewise dismantles the Old Temple and faces Pontius Pilate in a trial. Undoubtedly, physical torture, which is a tangible manifestation of Christ's kenosis, plays a fundamental role in the story but it is not 'blood and gore' on which our gaze is supposed to dwell: on the contrary, just like Mary Magdalene ('Noli me tangere'), exemplary Christians are not to reach towards the maimed human body but rather they are called to look through and beyond it, towards heaven and the resurrected Christ. However, for the doubting Thomases, as we all are to a certain extent, the body is still within sight and touch in the hagiographical texts. Suffering and pain are crucial to the process of conversion and salvation, but they are signs whose signifier is a body and whose signified is divine grace.

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[224] *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, ed. J.A.C. Buchon (Paris, 1836), p. 317. Denoël, *Saint André*, p. 79.
[225] Denoël, *Saint André*, p. 87.
[226] Grégoire de Tours, *Histoire de Francs*, ed. H. Omont and G. Collon (Paris, 1913), II, pp. 47–48; Denoël, *Saint André*, p. 89.
[227] Denoël, *Saint André*, p. 89.
[228] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p.7. Also, n. 39, *Heilagra manna søgur,* II, pp. 335, 349: „Nemandi þeira algert líf laðisk lesandi af tilsagninu lesningar til eptirlíkningar heilags verk" ("By learning of their perfect life, the reader will be inspired through the guidance of [his] reading to the imitation of holy works").
[229] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p. 3. Cf. Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) p. 115.
[230] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p. 6.

Moreover, the previously mentioned understatement and reserve found in the scenes of violence find their reflection in the indigenous vernacular sagas — injuries as well as their infliction are mentioned but not savoured, overall being more akin to the dry legal account of an assault than to a graphic detailed representation.[232] Witty quipping frequently found in saints' lives likewise often characterises dramatic demise or wounding of the saga character collapsing under the weight of the understated injury.

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[231] Wellendorf, 'The Attraction', p. 248; Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero,* p. 12.

[232] Cf. Eugenia K. Vorobeva, 'Depicting Violence in *Íslendingasögur*: A Formula on the Verge of Legal Tradition', in *New Light on Formulas in Oral Poetry and Prose,* USML 57, ed. Daniel Sävborg and Bernt Øyvind Thorvaldsen (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2023), pp. 287–302.

CHAPTER 1

OF GRACE & THE SEA:
FISHERMAN AT THE SEASTRAND

> Lady, whose shrine stands on the promontory,
> Pray for all those who are in ships, those
> Whose business has to do with fish, and
> Those concerned with every lawful traffic
> And those who conduct them.[1]
> T.S. Eliot, *Four Quartets*

THE TEXT of the Old Norse-Icelandic saga narrating the life of the apostle Andrew reaches modern-day scholars through many layers of time, doctrine, and language. It begins with the story of Andrew and Peter being called to apostolic service by Christ (Matthew 4: 18-20; John 1: 35-40; Mark 1:16-18) and then proceeds to give a portrait of the saint — the way it is done is both innovative and steeped in the hagiographic tradition. What at first reads merely as a concise origin story and a rather generic character description, when read closely, becomes an intricate and rich passage abounding in allusions and ornate in artistic devices. It points to the narrative's teleology and is designed to elucidate the idea behind Andrew's apostlehood: the entire portrait of him becomes a commentary on what it means to follow in Christ's footsteps and be receptive to the Holy Spirit. Ideas of grace and its connection to apostolic service are woven into the text — some of them are derived from the immediate source material, some of them come from the apocryphal Acts of Andrew and are no longer found in the Latin versions; the older ideas can be discerned through the arrangement of the material which seems to be original to the Old Norse-Icelandic translator-compiler.[2] Centuries of theological thought and ecclesiastical development are behind the thirteenth-century saga, the beauty of which is to be best appreciated when the main stages of its development are explored. The question of what it means to be an apostle and a disciple of Jesus would have been answered differently at different times between Antiquity and the Middle Ages (as well as the present day), and the Old Norse compiler is clearly making an effort to address the issue and provide the readers with some guidance as well as to point them towards the way, the truth, and the life (John 14:6). This chapter demonstrates how the notion of grace, loaded with meaning accumulated over time from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, becomes the central quality of the apostle and a cornerstone of his ministry: it defines both Andrew's relationship with suffering and the underlying logic of the saga. In order to make the analysis more comprehensive, it is necessary to start with a more general outline of the apocryphal Acts of Andrew and their relationship to Gregory of Tours' and the Pseudo-Abdian revisions of his deeds, which lie at the origins of *Andreas saga postola I*, with a brief history of which this chapter opens.

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[1] T.S. Eliot, *Four Quartets* (London: Faber & Faber, 1944), p. 31.
[2] I will refer to the unknown translator and compiler of the saga simply as a 'compiler' for the sake of clarity, but it is worth keeping in mind that the production of the saga involved translating, compiling, and editing — all in one.

I. DEI GRATIA ANDREAS

With some of its surviving fragments dating from the thirteenth century, *Andreas saga postola I* is the earliest extant version of the Old Norse-Icelandic life of the apostle.[3] Its text is primarily known from a seventeenth-century manuscript, AM 630 4to, which is a paper copy of the now defective mid-thirteenth-century AM 652 4to; Carl Unger's edition of the saga — which is its only full edition — used it as a major source.[4] The earliest extant fragment, however, is preserved in AM 645 4to, a manuscript dated to the first or second quarter of the thirteenth century and containing multiple texts of a religious nature, such as the sagas about bishops and apostles as well as a partial translation of *Evangelium Nicodemi*, known as *Niðrstigningar saga*. It is the oldest Icelandic collection of saints' lives known to modern-day scholars, and together with the already mentioned AM 652 4to, they are the two most 'complete compendiums of translated saints' and apostles' lives surviving from early medieval Iceland', that is, from before the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[5]

Given its rich source base already discussed in the introduction to this thesis,[6] the saga in general might be seen as a *Bildungsroman,* or at least its *Gattung* — literary genre — might be outlined as a *vita*, combining various elements of the Greek novel, hagiography, and biography. This generous generic variety was not an innovation but a heritage from the apocryphal Acts of Andrew (AA) which stand at the crossroads of several *Gattungen*.[7] It is true that the story reached the Old Norse-Icelandic audience through many intermediary sources and that no version of the AA survives in its full form: however, the general flow of its narrative is not dissimilar to what is believed to be the structure of the original source text.[8] The other elements and influences, on the other hand, differ significantly: even within the various surviving fragments and versions of the AA, the theological, ideological, and institutional angle is not the same, manifesting varying degrees of Encratite, Platonic, and other traditions. For instance, some scholars read the AA as a Gnostic text.[9] As early as the fourth century, the AA was placed among the texts 'to be rejected as absurd and impious' by Eusebius, and throughout their existence they were subjected to patristic denunciation — nevertheless, they remained in wide circulation in their edited or abridged form.[10] There has been an ongoing debate about the structure of the text and whether the AA and the more sensationalistic Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of Cannibals were intended to constitute one tradition or were written independently from each other and at different times.[11] The deeds often circulated separately from the martyrdom account, and the texts were often known only in a fragmentary form.[12] The heavily revised version of the AA, as it was known to the *AP*I compiler, comes from Gregory of Tours' epitome: he is believed to be one of the last people to have held the complete Acts, a copy of which he claims to have had in front of him.[13] He explains that, as some people consider the AA apocryphal due to the text's excessive verbosity, his goal is to eliminate the prolixity and to focus on miracles rather than on Andrew's speeches. Since in chapter 1 Gregory refers to Andrew's rescue of Matthew from the Mermedonian prison, there are grounds to suggest that his copy of the AA contained both narratives which either were paired together by subject matter or were traditionally read jointly. As Gregory mentions only one source for his *Liber de Miraculis Beati Andreae Apostoli*, many scholars have suggested that both sets of Acts were seen as one tradition. Gregory changed the text significantly and introduced some details which would make sense to his contemporaries, but not to the audience contemporary to the Acts, which were allegedly produced sometime around 150 CE.[14] For instance, the establishment of bishoprics could not have been addressed at the time of composition because the notion was not fully developed yet; the same is true for the concept of apostolicity as expressed in the original Acts — they were produced when 'the apostolic norm' was 'not established in systematic or theological fashion' and 'for the most part were originated without any reference to a canon of the New Testament'.[15] Thus, in the first few centuries of Christianity the question of apostolic calling was still open and the number of the apostles was debated, varying from eight (with only five named) to seventy.[16] The Twelve also were not so easily defined, in particular due to the ambiguity of St Paul's position: he became one of the most influential apostles but had never seen Christ during the latter's lifetime on earth. However, accompanying Jesus on his earthly journey, taking part in the Last Supper, and, most importantly, witnessing his Resurrection were clear attributes of the inner circle of the apostles. Andrew checks all the boxes, and he is also one of the five apostles about whom apocryphal Acts were composed. By the time Gregory recast the text, the concept of apostolic service was much more clearly defined, and so was the scope of the canonical texts. It was also so at the time when through the Pseudo-Abdian version — *De Gestis Beati Andreae Apostoli* in book three of his *Historia Apostolica* — the text reached medieval Iceland.

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[3] According to *A Handlist* the text of *Andreas saga*, either in parts or as a whole of it, is contained in eleven manuscripts and fragments; this number, however, was reduced to nine by Lenore Harty who identified two of these fragments as actually belonging to a later version of Andrew's life — *Andreas saga postola II.* See Ole Widding, Hans Bekker-Nielsen and L.K. Shook, 'The Lives of the Saints in Old Norse Prose: A Handlist', *Mediaeval Studies* 25 (1963), pp. 294–337 (pp. 299–300); Lenore Harty, 'An Edition of a Fourteenth-Century Version of *Andreas saga postola* and Its Sources', *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977), pp. 121–159 (121). For an all-encompassing overview of the Old Norse-Icelandic prose legends about Andrew the Apostle, see Kirsten Wolf, *The Legends of the Saints in Old Norse-Icelandic Prose* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 29–35.

[4] *Postola sögur: Legendariske fortællinger om apostlernes liv deres kamp for kristendommens udbredelse samt deres martyrdød*, ed. Carl R. Unger (Christiania: Bentzen, 1874), pp. xix–xxiii, pp. 318–353. On the dating of AM 652 4to, see *Postola sögur*, p. Ix; also, Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script as Illustrated in Vernacular Texts from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Reykjavík: The Manuscript Institute of Iceland, 1956), p. xlii; Kristian Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæaniske handskriftsamling, v. II* (København: Gyldendalske boghandel, 1892), p. 55; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Mattheus saga postola* (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1994), pp. xxxv, cxxi–cxxii.)

[5] Philip Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to: Study and Translation of Two Thirteenth-Century Icelandic Collections of Apostles' and Saints' Lives' (Doctoral thesis, University of Colorado, 2002), pp. 1–3. For the further discussion of dating the manuscript which consists of *Codex I* and *Codex II* belonging to the same period (between 1200 and 1237), see Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, p. xx; Anne Holtsmark, *A Book of Miracles: MS No. 645 4to of the Arna-Magnaean Collection in the University Library of Copenhagen, Corpus Codicorum Islandicorum Medii Aevi*, vol. XII, ed. Einar Munksgaard (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1938), pp. 7–10).

[6] Cf. pp. 32–36 of this thesis.

[7] For an in-depth discussion of genre and the apocryphal acts of apostles, see Wilhelm Schneemelcher, 'Second and Third Century Acts of Apostles: Introduction', in *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 v., ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Robert McLachlan Wilson (Cambridge: Clarke, 1991–1992), v. II, pp. 78–83.

[8] See Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 194–98; Jean-Marc Prieur, 'The Acts of Andrew: Introduction,' in *New Testament Apocrypha*, v. II, pp. 101–118 (pp. 106–110). Also, Lieuwe van Kampen, '*Acta Andreae* and Gregory's *De Miraculis Andreae*', *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991), pp. 18–26 (p. 18).

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[9] For the 'orientation of thought' in the AA, see Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta, 'The *Acts of Andrew*. A New Perspective on the Primitive Text', *Cuadernos de filología clássica. Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos* 20 (2010), pp. 247–259 (pp. 255–256); Jean-Marc Prieur, 'The Acts of Andrew', pp. 113-15; Anna Rebecca Sålevag, 'The Acts of Andrew', in *Birthing Salvation: Gender and Class in Early Christian Childbearing Discourse* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 137–197.

[10] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 25.6–7; Prieur, 'The Acts of Andrew,' p. 103; Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, p. 180 fn. 130.

[11] Prieur, 'The Acts of Andrew: Introduction,' p. 116 n. 32; Dennis Ronald McDonald, 'The Acts of Andrew and Matthias and the Acts of Andrew', in *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (Semeia 38), 1968, pp. 9–26,

[12] Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 232.

[13] Prieur, 'The Acts of Andrew', p. 103. For a different opinion on nature of relationship between the AA and Gregory's work, See van Kampen, '*Acta Andreae*', pp. 24–25.

[14] Prieur, 'The Acts of Andrew', p. 115.

[15] Wilhelm Schneemelcher, 'Introduction', in *New Testament Apocrypha*, v. II, p. 3. The lack of references to the life of Christ or even his name (the Godhead being presented in malleable terms with no established relationship between hypostases but in the Trinitarian doxology closing the story, see Prieur, 'The Acts of Andrew', p. 113) is noted by scholars. However, albeit very few, references to Christ appear in the later revisions of the story, i.e., from Gregory onwards.

It is, therefore, striking that the Old Norse-Icelandic saga seems not only to retain details related to the idea of apostolicity but also pays particular attention to the ways in which the narrative shapes St Andrew as an apostle. In this respect, the concise and comprehensive introduction of Andrew with which the story opens is of much interest:

> Sa hinn sami Simon var siðan kallaðr Petr, ok eru þeir brøðr af hinu øzta manntali þeira .xii., er motunautar drottins eru kallaðír. Þessi enn samu guðs almattigs astvinr var með drottni varum alla þa stund, er hann var her i heimi. Við þat hit siðasta ok dyrmætasta matmal var Andreas með oðrum postolum, er drottin sneri brauði ok vini i holld sitt ok bloð skirdags aptan ok gaf postolum sinum at bergia. Hann var ok staddr við upprisu drottins ok við hans uppstigning, ok við giof heilaga anda a hvitasunnudegi, ok við oll þau stortiðindi, er þar gerðuz.[17]
>
> That same Simon was afterwards called Peter, and they were brothers out of the noblest number of Twelve who were called the Lord's messmates. This same beloved friend of the almighty God was with our Lord all that time which he was here on earth. At that very last and most precious meal on the evening of Maundy Thursday, Andrew was among the other apostles when the Lord turned bread and wine into his flesh and blood and gave it to his apostles to taste. And he was present at the resurrection of the Lord and his ascension, and at the gift of the Holy Spirit on Whitsunday, and at all those great events that took place there.[18]

The final part of the passage lists the major events at which Andrew was present and therefore makes it unequivocal that he counts among the original Twelve — this elaborates the claim made in the beginning of the passage that he was one of the dozen ('eru þeir brøðr af hinu øzta manntali þeira .xii' [the brothers were out of the noblest number of Twelve]). The mention of the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and Andrew's presence there is later developed into a wider theme in the saga: it acquires additional significance when the apostle is tortured and his ontological status is re-defined in close proximity to the idea of witnessing. This rather extensive introductory account is not a direct translation from Pseudo-

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[16] Schneemelcher, 'Introduction', p. 17.

[17] *API*, p. 319.

[18] Unless stated otherwise, translations from Old Norse are my own. Of some note is the shift in deixis from *her* to *þar* after the passage addresses the resurrection and the Pentecostal gift.

Abdias who — probably following Gregory — is quite laconic and does not go into detail enumerating all the events to make sure that Andrew is seen as one of the original group. The Old Norse-Icelandic version, on the other hand, seems to educate and remind its readership of the liturgical calendar and events related to the Lent and Easter season by naming both Maundy Thursday and Whitsunday.

Another expansion — for which, according to Philip Roughton, the source has not been identified — is a passage describing Andrew.[19] While 'such descriptions are rare among the earliest translated lives, occurring only in the sagas of Philip, Bartholomew, and Thomas (etymology only)',[20] it appears to be a commonplace within the genre. Saints' lives often offer no personal portrait of a saint but rather a generic outline of their character or type which 'is given, once for all': sometimes, there might be 'a short and definitive portrait, psychological rather than physical, normally in the opening chapters'.[21] It usually describes the saint vaguely and in moral terms such as 'patient, humble, mild and merciful, pure and innocent, sincere and polite, and so on'.[22] As can be seen from the following description, Andrew seems to conform to this pattern and is presented as meek and merciful:

> Andreas postoli var **m**iukr[23] ok **m**isk**unn**samr, sva at **h**verr **m**aðr **unni h**onum **h**ugastum, er **h**ann k**unni**. H**ann** var m**ann**a þekkiligastr ok b**iar**tastr yf**ir**litz, sva at yf**ir**lit hans var likari engla asionu at b**ir**ti; hann var ok hinn liknsamasti i ollum mannraunum, sem segir heilog ritning: **m**itissime **s**anctorum **s**anctissima extollendo **m**erita; þu ert hinn miukasti heilagra, tokt upp hina helgustu verðleika. Andreas sannaði nafn sitt fagrliga i sinum athofnum at guðs vilia, þviat þat er a latinu virilis eða roboratus, þat þyðiz karlmannligr eða óflugr, hann bar ok karlmannliga fram guðs erendi,[24] hvar sem hann kom, ok var oruggr at gera guðs takn hvervetna, þar sem nauðsyn beiddi ok guðs mattr gerðiz biartari þa en aðr.[25]
>
> The apostle Andrew was meek and merciful, so that every man who knew him loved him with all his heart. He was the most pleasant of men and the brightest in appearance, so that in brightness his

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[19] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 200–201.

[20] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 201.

[21] Régis Boyer, 'The Typology of Medieval Hagiography', in *Hagiography and Medieval Literature: A Symposium*, eds. Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Peter Foote, et al. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1981), pp. 27–36 (p. 30).

[22] Boyer, 'The Typology of Medieval Hagiography', p. 30. However, it does not mean that there is no particular interest in a saint's individual qualities: in the medieval thought where the 'development of self was toward God', its pinnacle was finding an '*imago Dei* that is the same for all human beings' in one's "inner man". See Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?', in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkley; London: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 82–109 (p. 87). Also, see Siân Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017), pp. 7–8: Grønlie has highlighted the role of exemplarity in the depiction of saints, stripped of all individual details. As saints are supposed to be presented as role-models and powerful intercessors, the almost uniform description adopted by the writers is an ideological strategy rather than glaring plagiarism. Thomas Heffernan, in his turn, has called these intertextual references 'embedding' and sees the saints as having a 'corporate' personality, a paradigm for good Christians. As Grønlie has summarised Heffernan's argument: "it is with other saints, rather than with biological family, that the saint has his or her most important ties.". See, Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, pp. 20, 86–7, 115.

[23] Note that 'mjukr í máli' in its turn might have been used to describe eloquence which is more thoroughly addressed in to the second chapter which discusses eloquence in greater detail. See 'mjúkr, adj.' in *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, ed. Richard Cleasby, Guðbrandur Vigfússon, and William. A. Craigie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

[24] Also, 'message', 'mission' — significant for the apostolic idea. See 'eyrendi, or örendi, erendi, n.' in *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*.

[25] *API*, p. 319.

> appearance was like the complexion of angels; he was likewise the most gracious in all perils, as the Holy Scripture says: *mitissime sanctorum sanctissima extollendo merita*; you are the meekest of saints, you took up the most holy merits. Andrew lived up fairly to his name in his conduct according to God's will, for that is in Latin *virilis* or *roboratus*, which translates as 'manly' or 'strong', and he carried out boldly God's errand wherever he went and was fearless to perform God's wonders everywhere where necessity called for it, and God's power was made more illustrious than before.

The description stands out due to its rhetorical artifice: it opens with two syntactically parallel sentences describing in turn the apostle's personality and appearance. Both start with a hendiadys, linked by the conjunction 'ok', and then proceed to elaborate on it in a clause introduced by 'sva at'. The first sentence is further ornamented by interlinked *m-* and *h-* alliteration and the full rhyme (*unni* — *kunni*) in the second part of it. This makes it look similar to skaldic verse, where a pair of lines is joined by alliteration and the second line contains a full rhyme. Overall, it might be seen as rhythmic prose.[26] Considering Andrew's graceful nature, the use of these artistic devices seems highly appropriate and serves to further highlight this quality: overflowing grace becomes embodied in the narrative and its stylistic features. As a result, — as Jaeger has said, albeit in different context — 'heightened life, narrated with intensity' along with 'heightened stylistic elements (e.g. rhetorical ornament, the sublime)' creates a 'powerful combination' by means of which 'charisma in a text inspires not just admiration but imitation'.[27] As Andrew is outlined as a disciple and an imitator of Christ, the Word incarnate, so is the audience inspired to emulate the apostle and follow in his footsteps through the words of the saga.

The phrase 'unna…hugastum' ('to love somebody with all one's heart', lit. 'with mind-love') introduced in the clause is a widespread formulaic expression used to describe people in a position of power and who enjoy a significant degree of popularity.[28] In *Fagrskinna*, written sometime in the 1220s, it is employed as a post-mortem characteristic of King Hákon Magnússon (d. 1095) in the context of mourning and (public) expression of grief (see chapter 2 for further discussion of 'bitter weeping').[29] The formulaic expression is all the more noticeable for the addition of 'er hann kunni' which provides the full internal rhyme to 'unni' and picks up, albeit weakly, on the *h*-alliterative sequence. The first part of the sentence is likewise formulaic.[30] The collocation 'mjúkr ok miskunnsamr' also features in the contemporary *Maríu saga*, probably composed between 1215 and 1237 by the priest Kyrgi-Björn Hjaltason,[31] as well as in later texts — such as *Stjórn* — where it becomes an established descriptive word-pair and is attested multiple times, along with 'mildr ok miskunnsamr' or 'mjúkr ok mildr'.[32] At the same time, in the *Homiliu-bók* there are several instances where *miskunnsamr* is associated with *sæll* — as Andrew is also described across the text as *sæll* or *hinn sæl*, these two of his qualities are easily brought together and provide for continuity and consistency within the saga. The net of associations is cast widely, and later Andrew's meekness and mercifulness are illuminated and drawn on in the torture-scene in Mirmidon,[33] where Andrew is described as 'fullr […] af miskunn heilags anda' (full of the mercy of the Holy Spirit) and distinguished by 'hans verðleikum fyrir guðs miskunn' (by his merits through God's grace).[34] Andrew's quality of being *miukr* is corroborated by the Latin quotation from — as the compiler claims — the Holy Scripture, but in fact it comes from a liturgical sequence, which is translated into Old Norse as 'þu ert hinn miukasti heilagra, tokt upp hina helgustu verðleika' (you are the meekest of saints, you took up the most holy merits). This, in its turn, is echoed in the line just cited from the Mirmidon episode: the narrative is therefore preoccupied with showing Andrew living up to both his name and character.

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[26] This stylistic feature was often used by Ælfric in his Catholic Homilies relating saints' lives. Its implementation by the Old Norse compiler does not necessarily need to be a result of an outside influence and might be regarded as original to the Old Norse literary tradition. Ælfric, however, seems to have been known in mediaeval Scandinavia, including Iceland. See, for instance, Christopher Abram, 'Anglo-Saxon Homilies in their Scandinavian Context', in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 425–444 and 'Anglo-Saxon Influence in the Old Norwegian Homily Book', in *Medieval Scandinavia* 14 (2004), pp. 1–35; Kari Ellen Gade, 'Ælfric in Iceland', in *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World: Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, ed. Judy Quinn, Kate Heslop, and Tarrin Wills (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 321–339; Diane Elizabeth Szurszewski, 'Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis:* A Source Analogue Study with Editions and Translations*'* (Doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina, 1997). On alliteration 'heavily used in both Norse poetics and rhetorica' (the latter of which is closer to "eloquence" 'in the most general sense'), see Ryder Patzuk-Russell, *The Development of Education in Medieval Iceland* (Berlin; Boston: DeGruyter, 2021), p. 10 n. 29.

[27] C. Stephen Jaeger, 'The Saint's Life as a Charismatic Form: Bernard de Clairvaux and Francis of Assisi', in *Faces of Charisma: Image, Text, Object in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Martha Dana Rust (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 181–204 (p. 182).

[28] The ONP entry on 'hugást *sb.f.*' is basically permeated with this formulaic expression and cites at least two dozen instances of its use in the manuscripts dating from the early thirteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, see 'hugást *sb.f.*', in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o37558 > [accessed 1 November 2022]. Also, see 'hugr, m., B' in Cleasby-Vigfússon, as well as Kristen Mills, 'Grief, Gender and Mourning in Medieval North Atlantic Literature' (Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2013), p. 78. In none of the cases attested in the ONP, though, is it supplied by the clause 'er hann kunni' providing an internal rhyme.

If the first out of the two parallel constructions employs alliteration as an artistic device, the second resorts to the superlative degree, which seems only fitting as the discourse lifts up to the angelic level ('sva at yfirlit hans var likari engla asionu at birti'). The sequence of superlatives is linked by homeoteleuton and thus creates inflectional rhyme as well as rhythm, which spill well beyond the sentence — Andrew is 'þekkiligastr ok biartastr yfirlitz', he is also 'hinn liknsamasti'; the chain then continues into Latin quotation where he is *mitissime* out of the *sanctissime* saints: 'the meekest of the most holy saints' resonates with 'miukasti heilagra' in Old Norse. The pattern, however, is even more elaborate for the repetitive (half-)rhyming element can be read in light of the previously mentioned *ást* in 'hugástum/hugastum', thus hinting at the idea of divine love, glimpsed through superlative suffixes. It is all the more interesting as in the fourteenth-century *drápa* Andrew is described as 'yfirpostulinn ástar' (the chief apostle of love).[35] The apostle's description as meek and graceful, however, is not only syntactically but also semantically parallel to his characterisation as comely and radiant. The idea that charisma, or grace, imbues the individual with luminous beauty and eloquence was already current in Late Antiquity and later continued into accounts of saints in the Middle Ages: from early on in Greek '*charis* was something that brought joy and pleasure' (Andrew is often described as *sæll*, and later as *katastr*) and 'also was a property of speech, denoting its charm and pleasantness' (another characterisation of Andrew is 'mest kennandi ok katastr') — 'beauty and "grace"' served as 'evidence of their [Christian holy men's] special relationship with the divine sphere'.[36] From Late Antiquity 'grace' was used to describe 'divine and angelic beauty (of personal appearance or speech)', but also in the Greek tradition *charis* could be associated with 'warlike strength'.[37] In a way, the idea of abundance, or rather plenitude, remains but mutates significantly in Christian thought: the perfect body, one seen without despair or disgust, 'would defy constraints of time and space' and was often described by ascetic Christians using 'metaphors of light'.[38] Therefore, Andrew's state of overflowing grace (in the end of the saga he is so graceful that this world can no longer contain him and he dies in the ray of light in which he is at last re-united with the divine) is consonant with his fairness, endurance, and eloquence — all of this can be regarded in light of the ascetic practices in connection to which the primitive text of the AA is often read.[39]

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[29] Alison Finlay, *Fagrskinna, A Catalogue of the Kings of Norway: A Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), p. 17; cf. Mills, 'Grief, Gender and Mourning,' pp. 77–79.

[30] For a definition of what might be seen as a formula in prose, see Daniel Sävborg, 'The Formula in Icelandic Saga Prose', *Saga-Book* XLII (2018), pp. 51–86.

[31] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero*, p. 12. However, the earliest extant manuscript dates from the mid-fourteenth century, see Wolf, *Legends of the Saints*, p. 231.

[32] See 'mjúkr ok mildr', in 'mjúkr *adj.',* in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o54931> [accessed 18 October 2022]. However, the list given in ONP is not exhaustive: for instance, the *API* example is not cited there. 'Sælir' and 'miskunnsamr' are already collocated in the Icelandic Homily Book — 'oc þeir ró sǽler es miskunnsamer ró' [and they are blessed who are merciful](*Hómiliu-bók*, p. 160) and 'sǽler ero miskunnsamer' [blessed are the merciful] (*Hómiliu-bók,* p. 213).

[33] See chapter 2 on blood and tears, pp. 86–100.

[34] *API*, p. 321. Of some interest might be the paronomasia between *Andreas* and *ǫnd*, which might have created visual or aural association between the two and thereby corroborate the idea of Andrew's major quality as being filled with grace through the Holy Spirit.

The apostolic body cannot be properly seen in its fleshly form and is not explicitly described in the text — therefore the comparison with angels who, unlike humans, are incorporeal beings, does not come as a surprise; and the mutilation of the body only leads to further hierophany.[40] Even though 'it is still *in* and *through* the body that the grace and purity of the saint became visible', the body becomes invisible behind the narrative of the light and grace which it radiates.[41] The Old Norse complier seems familiar with these ideas and makes an effort to introduce the angelic radiance of the apostle, absent in the main source for the *vita*, and seems to treat all other listed qualities as parts of the same semantic field. Regardless of whether the compiler was guided by the tradition using the description found elsewhere or made a deliberate effort to insert it there, the theological background to Andrew’s life is laid out, and the scene and tone are set for two subsequent torture episodes: Andrew’s torments in Mirmidon and his final martyrdom in Patras.

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[35] Cf. 'æst'- full rhyme st. 1 and 'ást', 'æst', 'ist' half-rhymes st. 2, see *Andréasdápa*, in *Poetry on Christian Subjects: Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, vol. VII, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 846–849.

[36] Martino Rossi Monti, 'The Mask of Grace: On Body and Beauty of Soul between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', in *Faces of Charisma: Image, Text, Object in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Martha Dana Rust (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 47–75 (pp. 48–49, 54). Also, see *ibid.*, p. 58: " The idea that a graceful appearance was evidence of a soul in grace became widespread in the Middle Ages, especially in hagiographic and biographic literature."

[37] Monti, 'The Mask of Grace', pp. 49, 55. For the depictions of Andrew as heroic and manly in medieval literary traditions, particularly in Old English, see Glenn Cahilly-Bretzin, 'Soldiering for Christ: The Role of the *Miles Christi* in Four Old English Saints' Lives*'* (Doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2020), pp. 139–183; Scott DeGregorio, '*Þegenlic* or *flæsclic*: The Old English Prose Legends of St. Andrew', *JEGP* 102.4 (2003), 449–464.

[38] Patricia Cox Miller, 'Dreaming the Body: An Aesthetic of Asceticism,' in *Asceticism*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 281–300 (p. 282). Also, see p. 283: "Metaphors of light as evocations of the true body were so useful because one cannot see light, just as one cannot see one's own body whole;[…]."

[39] Sålevag, *Birthing Salvation,* pp. 142–143.

[40] M. Therese Lysaught, 'Witnessing Christ in Their Bodies: Martyrs and Ascetics as Doxological Disciples', *The Annual of the Society of Christian Ethics* 20 (2000), pp. 239–262 (p. 253).

[41] Monti, 'The Mask of Grace', pp. 66–67.

To this end, the already mentioned Latin quotation might provide yet another parallel to the description of St Andrew as bright of countenance: not cited in the saga, the second part of the stanza reads as ‘Andreæ admiranda præfulgentis gratia’ [‘the admirable grace of the brightly shining apostle Andrew’], thus binding the two qualities together (at least in the compiler’s mind).[42] Referred to as a quotation from the ‘heilog ritning’ (‘Holy Scripture’), it is clearly derived from a liturgical sequence in Latin.[43] This is a sequence in a transitional style — a style which is characterised by ‘an element of rhyme (although not yet pure rhyme) and greater uniformity of rhythm’.[44] Opening with the line ‘Sacrosancta hodiernae festivitatis praeconia’ [Announcements of today’s very sacred feast day], it is attested in manuscripts from the twelfth century onwards; the origin of the sequence is difficult to establish with certainty, but its scheme and structure point strongly towards England.[45] The reference to a sequence, if recognised, would be authoritative and add some weight to the saint’s status, since a ‘saint with a sequence was an established saint — not only in people’s minds, but in the holy, universal liturgy of the Church’.[46] However, in the Old Norse-Icelandic literary corpus the collocation ‘heilǫg ritning, helgar ritningar’ is almost always used to denote either scriptural writings or the writings by the Church fathers.[47] The possibility, however, of misattribution is quite high. The liturgy — the Mass and the Divine Office were Latin services — played a significant role in education and daily life, and Icelanders attending services would hear it on a regular basis;[48] as the sequence and the gospel readings occurred together during mass, it would be easy to confuse them. While less educated laymen might not have been able to recognise the *ad libitum* sequence as a source text, the clergy probably would know it and see the cloud of associations surrounding the textual reference.[49] It was likely that the audience would have already been put into the right frame of mind by the beginning of the saga, which draws on Matthew 4:18–20 (and John 1:35–40), which would traditionally follow the sequence as the Gospel reading.[50] The saga-text would thus invite its readers to ruminate and meditate over the story and salvation history in general.[51] This mode of reading seems all the more plausible since the saints' lives 'could themselves serve as sermons, particularly on particular saints' own feast days [and would be a major source of religious knowledge for most Icelanders]'.[52]

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[42] *De sancto Andrea*, in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, v. 54, ed. Guido Maria Drevez and Clemens Blume (Leipzig: Fues’s Verlag, 1886), pp. 42–43.

[43] According to Philip Roughton (‘AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,’ p. 201) the source for the phrase is unclear, Kirby lists it as a non-quotation.

[44] ‘Prose or Sequence’, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles George Herbermann (California: Catholic Online, 2007) < https://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=9677/> [accessed 28 October 2022]. For a definition of a sequence, also see Åslaug Ommundsen, ‘A Saint and his Sequence: Singing the Legend of St Olaf’, *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 5 (2009), pp. 151–176 (p. 160): “The sequence was a type of liturgical song developing in connection with the Alleluia at Mass. Its text was mainly composed from elements from a saint’s legend or *vita* fitted into the framework of the sequence genre: the introductory strophes encouraging joyful celebration and singing on the saint’s feast day, and the final strophes addressing the saint, beseeching him or her to come to our aid.”

[45] *De sancto Andrea*, pp. 42–43.

[46] Åslaug Ommundsen, ‘A Saint and his Sequence’, p. 171.

[47] See ‘heilǫg ritning, helgar ritningar’, in ‘ritning *sb.f.*’, in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* < https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o65189# > [accessed 1 November 2022]. Of some interest is a citation found in *Jóns saga ins helga* which is likewise attributed to ‘heilug ritning’ but is not to be found in the Scripture: ‘[…]svá býðr heilug ritning: *Ne laudaveris hominem in vita sua.*’ [‘so preaches the Holy Scripture *Do not praise a man while still alive*’]. (*Jóns saga ins helga*, in *Biskupa sögur I,* ÍF XV, ed. Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, Ólafur Halldórsson, and Peter Foote (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 2003), pp. 173–316 (p. 221)). The Latin phrase has only loose analogues in the Vulgate but is almost a *verbatim* quotation from the Pseudo-Maximus sermon *In Eusebio* II, *Ad sancti ac beatissimi* (*PL 57*, col. 419). See Gottskálk Jensson, ‘The Lost Latin Literature of Medieval Iceland: The Fragments of the *Vita Sancti Thorrlaci* and Other Evidence’, *Symbolae Osloenses 79* (2004), pp. 150–170 (pp. 164–165). The ontological status of the quotation, however, remains under question. On the one hand, Maximus the Confessor is one of the Church Fathers but this would be particularly true for the Orthodox Church and it is not clear if he was treated as such in Iceland; furthermore, eventually it is Pseudo-Maximus rather than Maximus to whom the text was misattributed. On the other hand, the quotation comes from the homiletic text and therefore pertains to mass as a part of the liturgy of the word — a quality this example shares with the discussed quotation in *API.*

After listing Andrew's physical and psychological features, the description proceeds to tell its audience that he lived up to his name and to discuss what that would actually imply by looking at its meaning in great detail — there is no identified source for the interpretation of the name and its etymology in *API*.[53] Traditionally, the name 'Andrew', or rather 'Andreas', has two co-existing and competing etymologies — one is Hebrew, and the other is Greek. Various early medieval authors would give preference to one of them, often favouring the latter and ignoring or labelling as far-fetched the former.[54] The Old Norse text does not dwell on these peculiarities at all and, seemingly, refers directly to the Latin meaning of 'Andreas', casting it as '*virilis* or *roboratus*' — the meaning primarily derived from its Greek origin. However, the compiler does not stop there and further elaborates on and explains it in several ways: there is a direct translation into Old Norse ('þat þyðiz karlmannligr eða òflugr') followed by further clarification of what that would involve. Albeit not the same, the structure of the passage is somewhat reminiscent of Bede's commentary on Luke, where he elaborates on his source material (i.e. Jerome's etymology) and explains Andrew's personality through his name:[55]

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[48] Ryder Patzuk-Russell, *The Development of Education*, p. 150.
[49] Cf. Sigurd Hareide, '*Messuskýrinfar*: Old Norse Expositions of the Latin Mass and the Ritual Participation of the People', in *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Scandinavia c. 1100–1350*, ed. Stefka Georgieva Eriksen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 337–371 (p. 359). Hareide has pointed out medieval people's impressive ability to memorize things as well as some evidence as to "how people in Old Norse society could remember the content of the story by a reference in Latin", which "could function as a mnemonic device instructive to the content of a Bible story."
[50] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 200; Åslaug Ommundsen, 'A Saint and His Sequence: Singing the Legend of St Olaf', in *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 5 (2009), pp. 151–76 (p. 153).
[51] For instance, one might think of Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson who, according to the eponymous saga, commented on Andrew's passion when listening to the *drápa* about the saint on the night preceding his death.
[52] Margaret Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland: Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1994), pp. 31-33. Cf. Bill Friesen's comment on the tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon religious culture where hagiography and liturgy were often heard together. 'Legends and liturgy in the Old English prose *Andreas* ', *Anglo-Saxon England* 43 (2014), pp. 209–229 (p. 212).
[53] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 201.
[54] See Matthias Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des Frühen Mittelalters* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1974), p. 241; Fred C. Robinson, 'Some Uses of Name-Meanings in Old English Poetry', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 69.2 (1968), pp. 161–171 (pp. 162–165); Kevin R. Kritsch, 'Apostles, Apostolicity & Apocrypha: The Literary Reception and Treatment of the Twelve Apostles in Anglo-Saxon England with a Study of a Cult of St Andrew' (Doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina, 2014), pp. 121–126. Also, see Cahilly-Bretzin, 'Soldiering for Christ,' p. 141.
[55] Kritsch, 'Apostles, Apostolicity & Apocrypha,' p. 125.

> Andreas graecum nomen est et interpretatur uirilis ab eo quod graece uir appellatur ἀνήϱ. Quo aptissime uocabulo decoratur ille qui ad praedicationem iohannis mox agnum dei sequi uidere et audire curauit et postmodum ipsum se uocantem relictis omnibus sequi ipsi perpetuo adhaerere non tardauit.[56]
>
> Andrew is a Greek name and is interpreted as 'manly' for the reason that man is called ἀνήϱ in Greek. He is decorated by this most appropriate word, who, in accordance with the preaching of John [the Baptist], took care to quickly follow, see and hear the Lamb of God, and afterwards did not delay to attach himself to the one summoning him, all the others having been abandoned, to follow him forever.[57]

The Old Norse compiler likewise expands his etymology, but the parallel is not strong enough to suggest the direct influence of Bede's commentary on the Old Norse text — still, both passages share the focus on Andrew's 'manly' nature and stress the apostle's readiness to follow Christ as well as his unwavering loyalty in doing so. If Bede stresses his quick uptake of the teaching, the Old Norse compiler emphasises the ecumenical character of Andrew's apostolic service: „[…]hann bar ok karlmannliga fram guðs erendi, hvar sem hann kom, ok var oruggr at gera guðs takn hvervetna, þar sem nauðsyn beiddi ok guðs mattr gerðiz biartari þa en aðr" [he carried out boldly God's errand wherever he went and was fearless to perform God's wonders everywhere where necessity would call for it, and God's power was made more illustrious than before]. Another curious observation about Bede — some of whose works were known to the medieval Icelanders[58] — relates to his take on the initial illiteracy of the apostles (or their insignificant literacy and poor training in the arts of grammar and rhetoric), determined by their profession as fishermen: that would imply that they had no learning and no eloquence, and whatever miracles of the latter they performed they performed through the workings of the Holy Spirit, by God's grace: 'Thus, whatever eloquence Andrew and the apostles possessed was due, according to Bede, to their simplicity of style rather than formal rhetorical training or ornate speech'.[59] This observation and its significance for the depiction of Andrew's eloquence and its relation to the ascetic practices of the early Christian era will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Old Norse characterization of St Andrew, however, seems to be even more original than this. When it comes to Latin interpretations of the name given in the saga, the use of the past participle *roboratus* appears to be an interesting choice of words that means that different parts of speech are juxtaposed. At the same time, there is an attested adjectival form of *robustus* that, although not widely used in the Latin sources related to the apostle, is occasionally found in collocation with *virilis*, which is 'an almost stereotyped epithet of Andrew'.[60] Still, neither *roboratus* nor *robustus* feature in the etymologies elucidating the apostle's name. To a certain extent, it is tempting to suggest that this might be a distant echo of the Hebrew-related etymology which according to Jerome suggests that 'Andreas decus in statione uel respondens pabulo' [Andrew — beauty (or dignity) in station as well as responding to nourishment], or as Isidore of Seville writes: 'Secundum Hebraeam etymologiam interpretatur decorus, siue respondens' [According to the Hebrew etymology it is to be interpreted as beautiful or responding].[61] As a personal epithet, the form *roboratus*, derived from the verb 'roboro, -are', is rare but not entirely unknown. For instance, it appears in some portrayals, as in: 'Probus XIII, pinguis divina gratia et speciosus forma, decrepitus aetate, gravis corpore, ylaris vultu, caeleste perfusus gratia, roboratus Deum semper quaesivit' [Probus XIII, rich in divine grace and beautiful appearance, decrepit with age, heavy in body, happy in face, overflowing with celestial grace, strengthened, always looking for God].[62] The participle-nature of the qualifier suggests that a person is not strong as such but is rather 'strengthened' by some external force or circumstance — in the just cited example this feature of Probus XIII is closely linked to the ideas of *gratia* and the perpetual quest for God. Moreover, 'gratia roboratus' seems to be a recurrent collocation throughout religious Latin writings, therefore infusing *roboratus* with a very particular semantic overtone.[63]

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[56] Beda Venerabilis, *Opera exegetica*, v. 3, ed. D. Hurst, *CCSL* 120 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), p. 471, ll. 1352–1357.
[57] Translation is cited from Kritsch, 'Apostles, Apostolicity & Apocrypha,' p. 125.
[58] Siân Grønlie discusses the possibility of Bede' *Historia ecclesiastica* being known to Ari Þorgilsson who wrote *Íslendingabók* — the earliest example of historical writing in Old Norse-Icelandic literature — in 1122–1133 in her introduction to *Íslendingabók, Kristni saga. The Book of the Icelanders, The Story of the Conversion*, tr. Siân Grønlie (London: University College London, 2006), pp. xii, xix. (And in Siân Grønlie, 'Conversion Narrative and Christian Identity: 'How Christianity Came to Iceland", *Medium Ævum* 86.1 (2017), pp. 123–146 (p. 127).)
[59] Kritsch, 'Apostles, Apostolicity & Apocrypha,' p. 127.

In the case of Andrew, the passage is likewise permeated with the notion of grace, which might be seen as a rationale behind the choice of this particular word-form. St Andrew is, therefore, not simply manly but he is manly through the grace of the Lord. This also introduces a certain degree of passivity (as opposed to the active quality of Greek *ανδϱεία*, or *andreia*) which is not an uncommon feature within the medieval tradition of saints' lives: the 'spiritual significance of *Andreas* [developed] in close connection with the etymological meaning of his brother Simon's name which signified *obediens*' and in this way strongly linked Andrew's virility to obedience.[64] This interpretation, in its turn, expands and elaborates on the initial Greek understanding of *andreia* that was seen early on as incorporating aggressive and active values. Only with time the 'passive value of merely being able to endure' — *υπομονή*, or *hypomonê* — was brought to prominence and became equally associated with courage and fortitude.[65] At the same time, already in Late Antiquity the quality of endurance is intimately connected with the notion of being 'strengthened' (which is only one step away from 'nourished') — Ignatius of Antioch, one of the Church Fathers, wrote in his Letter to the Smyrnaeans: 'only in the name of Jesus Christ to suffer with him; I **endure** all things since he, the perfect human being, **empowers** [strengthens — *E.V.*] me'.[66] This reading resonates only too well with the portrait painted by the Old Norse compiler of *Andreas saga postola I*. By giving two Latin meanings of the name rather than one — or at least expanding on the Greek etymology by a creative choice of words — the Old Norse compiler captures the whole semantic scope behind it and links it, in a subtle way, to the quality of Latin *patientia*, or Old Norse *polinmøði*, preached and displayed by the apostle in the *passio* part of the saga. As for *patientia*, it 'enclosed both suffering and endurance — the ability passively to hold out, often in the hope of better'.[67]

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[60] Robinson, 'Some Uses', p. 164. He cites the sources closest to the Old English *Andreas*-poem which dwells on the Acts of Andrew and Matthias — for instance, he quotes from the *Recensio Vaticana*: "O tu Andrea virilis robuste" [O Andrew, the robust man]; and from the *Recensio Casanatensis* where 'God commands the saint' — "surge viriliter, confortare et esto robustus" [rise up in a manly way, be strengthened and be robust]. Note the external command and the collocation with *confortare*, 'be strengthened', which is at once in an imperative mood and in a passive voice. In the eight-century *Glossa Abolita* there is an established link between *roborare* and *confortare* while *roboratus* is glossed over as *constatus*, See 'RO12'; 'RO14' in *The Liber Glossarum. A Digital Edition*, ed. Anne Grondeaux and Franck Cinati (Paris, 2016)< http://liber-glossarum.huma-num.fr/exist/apps/libgloss/context.html?id-l=RO14> [accessed 17 October 2022].

[61] For Jerome, see *PL* 23, col. 845: "Sed hoc uiolentum. Melius autem est, ut secundum graecam etymologiam *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδϱὸς*, hoc est uiro, uirilis adpelletur." [But this is far-fetched. Better, however, is as according to the Greek etymology ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς which is from a 'man' he is called manly.] For Isidore, See *Etymologies*, *PL* 82, p. 288 : "Andreas frater Petri carne, et cohaeres gratia. Secundum Hebraeam etymologiam interpretatur decorus, siue respondens; sermone autem Graeco a uiro uirilis appellatur." [Andrew, Peter's brother in flesh and co-inheritor of grace. According to the Hebrew etymology it is to be interpreted as beautiful or responding; in the Greek speech, however, he is from 'man' called 'manly'.] Also, see Kritsch, 'Apostles, Apostolicity & Apocrypha', pp. 123–124.

[62] *Liber pontificalis Ravennatis,* MGH SS rer. Lang., p. 287.

[63] For a general overview, see 'gratia roboratus', in *Library of Latin Texts* < http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/Results.aspx?qry=4524395b-8951-48da-a246-63035af22f7d&per=0> [accessed 7 November 2022].

[64] Robinson, 'Some Uses', p. 165.

At first glance the Old Norse equivalents, given by the compiler straight after the Latin, do not seem to add any particular arguments in favour of the reading suggested in this chapter. Devised by the Old Norse compiler the gloss-like translation 'karlmannligr eða óflugr' is likewise in the form of hendiadys; its first member presents in itself a calque as it renders Latin more or less verbatim: *karlmannligr*, like *virilis*, has 'man' at its heart. The second member of the pair is, however, a loose interpretation of the Latin verb *roborare*, 'to strengthen', in its participle form: its Old Norse counterpart is neither an accurate translation nor a corresponding part of speech. *Öflugr*, or *afligr* (derived from *afl)*, means 'mighty, strong,' or 'robust' — semantically it is much closer to Latin *robustus*: there are attested fourteenth-century cases where it is used as its Old Norse translation.[68] For instance, *Vulg* Ios 1:6 features *robustus*,[69] which in the Old Norse Biblical translation of it becomes *oflugr*: 'styrkzt þu ok ver oflugr' [be strengthened and be mighty]. This utterance is later echoed in the fifteenth-century manuscript containing *Duggals leizla*, the vision story translated from Latin *Visio Tnugdali* around 1300,[70] where it reads 'nu tak styrk þinn og uer oflug' [take your strength now and be mighty] but here it corresponds to Latin *fortis*.

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[65] Brent D. Shaw, 'Body/Power/Identity: Passions of the Martyrs', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4.3 (1996), pp. 269–312 (pp. 278–9).

[66] *Aelii Aristides Smyrnaei Quae Supersunt Omnia*, *4.2.*, cited from Judith Perkins, 'The "Self" as Sufferer', *Harvard Theological Review* 85.3 (1992), pp. 245–272 (p. 263). In Greek it reads as follows: "μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ πάντα **ὑπομένω**, αὐτοῦ με **ἐνδυναμοῦντος** τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου." Kirsopp Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2 vol. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1965), v.1., p. 256.

[67] Shaw, 'Body/Power/Identity', p. 297.

[68] See 'ǫflugr *adj.*: *StjB 349*^{20}', in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* < https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?c780032>; 'ǫflugr *ad.j*: *Dugg681a 69*^{6}', in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* < https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?c780567> [accessed 17 October 2022].

[69] All Latin quotations from the Vulgate Bible are taken from *Biblia sacra* and are referred to by the title of the cited Book, with an indication of a chapter and verses. Translations are my own, unless stated otherwise.

[70] Jonas Wellendorf, 'Visions and the Fantastic', in *The fantastic in old Norse/Icelandic literature: sagas and the British Isles: preprint papers of the Thirteenth International Saga Conference, Durham and York, 6th–12th August, 2006*, ed. by John McKinnell, David Ashurst and Donata Kick (Durham, 2006), pp. 1025–1033 (p. 1026).

However, in both these cases the adjective appears in the direct speech uttered by the celestial being — by God and the angelic guide respectively — and is addressed to the protagonist urging them to endure and be (mentally) robust while pursuing a certain course of action.[71] Even though the phrasing allows both interlocutors to have some agency, the imperative mood implies that they are somewhat forced into action by divine intervention. Moreover, *styrkr* and *styrkja* have additional meanings of 'help, assistance' and 'to assist',[72] further suggesting some external interference needed to gain the quality of being *ǫflugr*. The syntactical framing of the two commands, 'styrkzt þu' and 'ver oflugr', frames them as synonymous or at least semantically linked — being strong is therefore once again juxtaposed with the notion of being strengthened through divine assistance. These attestations are clearly later than *Andreas saga postola I* — nevertheless, they provide a glimpse of the semantic field surrounding the word. The contexts share some affinity, and as the later instances serve to corroborate the earlier case, there seems to be some value to the argument. The choice of *roboratus* might be seen as informed by the connotations of external compulsion, inherent to *ǫflugr* under certain circumstances: to be *ǫflugr* one needs to be strengthened.

A different way to render Andrew's name in Old Norse is suggested in the *Postulamál* homily in the *Homiliu-bók*, the text of which emphasises the importance of translating and understanding the meaning of the apostolic name. As a result, assuming the compiler's familiarity with the collection, the compiler's use of both *karlmannligr* and *óflugr* in the saga is even more striking:

> Af þui er ǫss nauþsyn at ver þýþem til várs máls nofn þeira. oc leítem síþan hveria skynseme vér finem í þýþingo nafnana. Petrus. þýþesc steínn. Andreas. **drenglegr**. Jacobus. vndergrefell. Johannes. miskvn guþs. Thomas tvefalldr. Philippus. lysekers muþr. Barþolomeus svnr þess er uppheldr vætnom. Maþeus. giofom reífþr. Simon. hlýþenn. Judas. iatande. Maþias. litell guþs. þetta allt scolom vér draga til várrar atferþar ef ver viliom in ganga í himna dýrþ i hliþ postolegra keninga.[73]

> Therefore it is necessary for us to translate their names into our language and then seek what meaning we can find in the interpretation of their names. Peter means stone. Andrew — brave. Jacob — a supplanter. John — God's mercy. Thomas — twofold. Philip — a lantern's mouth. Bartholomew — son of Matthew — enriched with gifts. Simon — obedient. Jude — confessing. Matthias — God's little one. All these we should imitate in our conduct if we wish to enter in the heavens' glory through the gate of apostolic teaching.

After listing all the meanings, the homily proceeds to explain in greater detail how this is to be implemented in the life of a good Christian. For 'Andrew' it reads as follows:

> En hverr er smíþasc til guþs miscunnar hallar. þa scal hann vasa andreas. þat es drengelegr **sicut david mœler**. Gereþþer drengelega oc styrkeþ hiorto yþor. aller ér es traust hafeþ vnd guþe.[74]

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[71] Also, cf. fn. 40 of this chapter.

[72] See '*styrkr*, m.', in Cleasby-Vigfússon; and 'styrkja *vb.*', in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* < https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o76591 > [accessed 1 November 2022].

[73] *Postulamál*, in *Hómiliu-bók,* p. 17.

[74] *Postulamál*, in *Hómiliu-bók,* p. 17.

> And everyone who builds themselves into the hall of God's mercy shall be Andrew, that is brave, as David says: Act bravely and strengthen your heart all of you who have trust in God.

The reference is given to one of David's psalms, namely Psalm 30(31):25, which is an exhortation to be strong and strengthened for the sake of one's love of God. The pair of imperatives semantically if not lexically parallels the gloss given by the saga-compiler: there [*gereþþer*] *drengelega* corresponds to *karlmannigr* and the command 'styrkeþ hiorto' equals being *ǫflugr*. The text of the homily follows closely the standard version of the Vulgate where Psalm 30(31):25 reads 'viriliter agite, et confortetur cor vestrum omnes qui speratis in Domino' [Act valiantly, and let your hearts be comforted, all who hope in God].[75] The first part, 'gerreþþer drengligr', is an accurate translation of 'viriliter agite', which retains both senses — a command to 'act manly' — and a verb in *imperativus activi, 2 persona pluralis* paired with an adverb. It also resonates with the common Latin interpretation of Andrew's name given in the saga. The second part is rendered in Old Norse as 'stiorko hiorto yþor' and likewise neatly corresponds to the Latin 'confortetur cor vestrum' in the Vulgate, to which, according to Kirby, all the fourteen quotations contained in the *Postulamál* homily are 'very close'.[76] However, the correspondence between the Latin psalm and *Andreas saga postola I* is even starker if Jerome's translation of the Psalms — *iuxta Hebraeos*, or *Hebraicum*[77] — is used: 'confortamini et roboretur cor vestrum omnes qui expectatis Dominum' [Take comfort and let your heart be strengthened, all who await the Lord].[78] In the Middle Ages, *Hebraicum* never became a part of the Vulgate Bible and was not widely used; still, it was known and apparently even cited by Jerome's contemporary Augustine of Hippo, of whose writings the influence is difficult to overestimate.[79] However, the *Postulamál*'s treatment of Psalm 30(31):25 corroborates Kirby's claim that its author drew on the Vulgate: not only is the first half of it a word-by-word translation, but the same is true of its second part. Grammatically both variants, *conforetur* and *roboretur,* are in *conjunctivus passivi 2 persona pluralis*, while semantically the two verbs are synonymous and can be used interchangeably. Moreover, the surviving Old Norse literary corpus suggests that *styrkja* was regularly used to translate *conforto, -are* and often in the context of the psalm-texts, albeit not limited to it.[80] On the other hand, the same preference cannot be ascribed with certainty to the compiler of *Andreas saga postola I*. It is true that in the saga six explicit Biblical quotations have been identified, five of which belong to the passion — none of them refer to the Psalms. However, other sagas from the same manuscript collections use the standard Vulgate version when quoting psalms in Latin; a different version of Andrew's saga — *Andreas saga postola II* — likewise gives a standard translation of Psalm 101:18.[81] However, this does not necessarily mean that *Hebraicum* was not known, in one form or another, to the compiler of *Andreas saga postola I* and was not evoked in their mind by the Old Norse translation of Psalm 30(31):25 in *Postulamál*. However conjectural, the compiler's familiarity with Jerome's translation might clarify his use of *roboratus* in the saga as well as where he got the idea from and what the motivation was behind this word choice: Andrew, living up to his name and being in the state of grace, has already answered the call — he does not need to find strength or take courage for he is already *roboratus*. And, indeed, as the text points out, 'Andreas sannaði nafn sitt fagrliga i sinum athofnum at guðs vilia' [Andrew lived up to his fair name in his conduct according to God's will]. After this, the saga continues to recite Andrew's exploits in Mirmidon which serve as a testament to and an illustration of his strengthened and graceful nature. The way the saint is introduced into the saga defines and foreshadows his future path: the correspondence between the portrayal of Andrew and his further deeds, culminating in his martyrdom, can therefore be read as prefiguration, manifested through the meaning of events and words.

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[75] Cf. I Corinthians 16:13.
[76] Ian J. Kirby, *Biblical Quotation in Old Icelandic-Norwegian Religious Literature*, 2 vol. (Reykjavik: Stofun Árna Magnússonar, 1976-1980), vol. 2, p. 53. Kirby also notes the sermon maybe original even though the material is not.
[77] See Sarah Larratt Keefer and David R. Burrows, 'Hebrew and the *Hebraicum* in late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990), pp. 67–80 (p. 67). They have pointed out that it was not used in the liturgy and was preserved "as a patristic text" for scholarly use.
[78] Saint Jerome, *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi*, ed. Pauli de Lagarde (Lipsiae: in aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1874), pp. 32–33 (p. 33).
[79] A brief overview of Augustinian theology in medieval Iceland and its literary tradition, see Lars Lönnroth, *Njáls saga: A Critical Introduction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 123–128. For St Augustine quoting *Hebraicum*, see *De Scriptura sacra Speculum,* in *PL*, XXXIV, p. 903.
[80] See 'styrkja *vb.*', in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* < https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o76591 > [accessed 1 November 2022]. Most of the word-attestations in psalms come from *Glossaria* (*GlossPsalt*) in the manuscript from the second half of the sixteenth century. However, there are more comprehensive and contemporary examples: for instance, in the late thirteenth century copy of *Barlaams saga ok Jósafats* the verb *styrkja* features in a plea 'Hjalp mer oc styrk mik' [Help me and strengthen me] and renders Latin 'conforta me', see 'styrkja *vb.*: *BarlA* 90^{15}', in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* < https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?c618243 > [accessed 1 November 2022]. Later in the

In the narrative that follows Andrew is shown to become a fully-fledged apostle and persevere on his path of *imitatio Christi*. In the original AA the 'place left vacant by Christ' — who is 'strangely absent from the *Acts'* — 'seems to be filled by the apostle': Jesus is constantly petitioned through prayer, but it is the 'message of the apostle, rather than the works of Christ' that provides the mediation between the human and the divine as well as facilitates salvation.[82] In other words, in the AA, 'the apostle alone offers a soteriological bridge'.[83] Salvation there is heavily dependent on 'saving words' and is gained through them; 'the faithful in general are also characterized by their relationship to the words of salvation'.[84] This still holds true for the Old Norse version of Andrew's life but to a different extent; it also takes a different form. By the time the audience has heard/read the saga's beginning they are already immersed in the liturgical order of things: time is measured by the divine events transpiring throughout the year and the text is interwoven with references to the mass, which in itself contains elements of 're-enactment'.[85] As the apostolic journey unfurls, the readers are invited to progress with Andrew towards

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same saga the verb is used in a similar context, and, moreover, it is semantically connected with the notion of *oruggr* — "þa kenndi hann. guðlega miskunn. skiott styrkkia. hugh sinn. oc lysa. oc þottezt hann þegar vera **vrugr**." [then he preached mercy after a godly sort and to strengthen shortly his mind and shed light and he wished to become immediately undaunted.] 'styrkja *vb.*: *BarlA* 109¹²', in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* < https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?c628922 > [accessed 1 November 2022].

[81] Cf. Kirby, *Biblical Quotation*, p. 143 — *Postola sögur*, p. 386: Psalm 101:18; Kirby, *Biblical Quotation*, p. 140, *Postola sögur*, p. 580 — Psalm 16.9, Psalm 88.27.

[82] Sålevag, *Birthing Salvation*, pp. 142–143.

[83] François Bovon, "The Words of Life in the *Acts of Andrew*," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), pp. 81–95 (p. 91).

[84] Sålevag, *Birthing Salvation,* pp. 142–143; Bovon, "The Words of Life', p. 91.

[85] Åslaug Ommundsen, 'A Saint and his Sequence', p. 168.

Christ; as the saint boards the ship and embarks on his quest, the audience is carried along with the narrative flow.

II. MARVELLOUSLY MARITIME / NARRATIVE SEA-STRANDING & THE SAINT

> He became the way, the path through the sea; that is why he walked on the sea, to show you there is a path in the sea. But you who cannot walk on the sea like him, let yourself be ferried in a boat, ferried on the wood; believe in the Crucified, and you will be able to reach the further shore.[86]
>
> St Augustine, *Homily 2* (On John 1:6–14)

Following its major sources, *Andreas saga postola I* displays a repetitive structure:[87] every miracle is constructed according to a specific model and presents in itself a stock scene.[88] However, in addition to repetition, the saga also tends to make use of envelope patterns so as to echo certain episodes, or scenes, and to establish a gradual progression of the featured motifs. This does not always comply with the Latin material, partly because *Andreas saga postola I* makes use of at least two different sources, and therefore it seems to be a composition technique specific to the Old Norse-Icelandic compiler. In his analysis of the saga, Philip Roughton has pointed to the addition of an original prologue and concluding remarks, as well as to a number of other structural and stylistic modifications of the narrative evident when compared to its sources: the Pseudo-Abdian *De Destis Beati Andreae Apostoli* and the *Passio Sancti Andreae Apostoli.*[89] By rearranging the miracles and their sequence the Old Norse translator appears to emphasize thematic unity and to 'create an effect of a natural progression of the narrative and to highlight and unify certain motifs', including St Andrew's healing powers.[90] As a result, the apostle's power increases from miracle to miracle and then culminates in the resurrection of forty drowned men which might be read as an act of ultimate healing: from death to life. Within this paradigm the episode in which the apostle performs the healing of Egeas's wife serves merely as a linking device to make a transition from the *vita* part of the Andrew's story to his spectacular *passio.*[91]

The order of St Andrew's acts brings forward yet another thematic strand within the *vita* part, manifested by an implicit envelope pattern and reinforced by the repetitive evocation of the 'seashore'-

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[86] Augustine*, Homilies on the Gospel of John 1–40*, tr. Edmund Hill, O.P., in *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*, ed. Boniface Ramsey (New York: New City Press, 2009), pp. 58–59.

[87] For the overview of the structure, see Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 200–232.

[88] Bill Friesen points out the 'the deliberately generic' nature of hagiographical writings because these 'works borrow on authoritative precedents by using the same motifs, narrative trajectories, figurative methods, character types and typological machinery'. 'Legends and liturgy in the Old English prose *Andreas* ', *Anglo-Saxon England* 43 (2014), pp. 209–229 (p. 210). Also, see Carol J. Clover, 'Scene in Saga Composition', in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 89, (1974), pp. 57–83.

[89] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 197–198, 200.

[90] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 198. Elaborate rearrangement of the material in medieval Icelandic compilations was a common practice as the compilations were 'comprehensively designed to expound theological, historical, and educational concepts for their audiences'. To this end, the sagas' structure is a key to understanding the didactic purposes towards which the compilers worked. See West, 'Rhetoric and Style,' p. 100.

[91] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 222. Cf. Boenig's discussion of the healing theme in Old English *Andreas* where Andrew not only heals others but is also the one healed by performing penance in the form of bodily torments: he is capable of converting Mermedonians only after he himself is purged of his sin which is not following God's direct command, or rather not trusting Him. *Saint and Hero*, pp. 50–54.

topos. This structural repetition is not found in the present edition of the identified Latin source text which contains only echoes of it — when at the beginning of Andrew's narrated adventures, the angel gives him instructions to get to Mirmidon, he tells him to go to '[by] the sea': 'Et ille: Vade (inquit) **ad iuxtus maris**, & invenies navem, quam statim conscende, ego enim ero dux itineris tui' [And he said: Go to the side of the sea, and you will find a ship, which you should board at once, and I will be your guide for the journey].[92] When Andrew goes to find the ship, the fact is mentioned only in passing and with no reference to its (rather self-evident) location by the sea.

The first evocation of the topos in *Andreas saga postola I*, however, occurs even earlier, at its very beginning: as do so many legends that 'start on the shoreline' and underline its role as a 'liminal space in which, at certain times, the two worlds overlapped', with the sole difference — very fitting for a saint's life — that the saga also starts with Christ walking along the shoreline.[93] It is likewise absent in the Pseudo-Abdian source text but can be reconstructed from the text of the Gospel of Matthew (4:18–20):

> ambulans autem **iuxta mare Galilaeae** vidit duos fratres Simonem qui vocatur Petrus et Andream fratrem eius mittentes rete in mare erant enim piscatores et ait illis venite post me et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum at illi continuo relictis retibus secuti sunt eum.
>
> And as he was walking by the sea of Galilee, he saw two brothers, Simon, who is called Peter, and his brother Andrew, casting a net into the sea for they were fishermen, and he said to them, come after me, and I will make you fishers of men; but they immediately left their nets and followed him.

Mark 1:16-18 has a similar passage but the wording is slightly different:

> et praeteriens **secus mare Galilaeae** vidit Simonem et Andream fratrem eius mittentes retia in mare erant enim piscatores et dixit eis Iesus venite post me et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum […].
>
> and passing by the Sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew his brother casting nets into the sea, for they were fishermen; and Jesus said to them, come after me, and I will make you fishers of men;[…].

Both refer to Jesus walking in close proximity to, or by, the sea which easily can be understood as a seashore. While 'iuxta mare' and 'secus mare' differ only in prepositions, 'ad iuxtus maris' and 'iuxta mare', are a closer match. As a result, the Old Norse compiler might have used this lexical parallel between the two passages relating to Andrew as a prompt to develop into an artistic device what is a mere narrative fact in the Gospels. The suggested Latin source text *De gestis beati Andreae* uses maritime imagery throughout the text and such notions as ship, sea, and shore often come together in varying combinations.[94] The closest the Old Norse translation and its Latin source get is the scene of the resurrection of drowned men:

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[92] *Fabr.*, p. 457.

[93] *API*, pp. 318-9; Gunnel, 'On the Border', p. 20.

[94] *Fabr.*, pp. 467–8, 468, 487–8 (calming the sea), 492 ('ambulabat in littore', 'ad littus maris'), 505 ('ad littus').

> Et tenens manus ejus, **ambulabat in littore**. Post deambulationem vero cum sedisset, sedebant et singuli qui cum eo erant, super arenam, audiente verbum Domine. Et ecce cadaver necatum in mari, projectum est **ad littus maris**, et proximet ad pedes S. Andræ.[95]
>
> And holding his hand, he walked on the shore. After the walk, when he had sat down, everyone who was with him also sat down on the sand, hearing the word of the Lord. And behold, the corpse that had been killed in the sea was thrown to the shore of the sea and came close to the feet of St. Andrew.

The passage provides a curious middle-ground between all the aforementioned episodes, both lexically and semantically. Lexically, it mediates the text of the Gospel and the text of the Latin *vita* in creating an associative link within which 'ad iuxtus maris' and 'ad littus maris' might be seen as the same unit with only one justifiably variable slot: 'ambulans autem iuxta mare' — 'vade (inquit) ad iuxtus maris' — 'ambulabat in littore' — 'ad littus maris'. Semantically, Andrew is walking along the seashore just as Jesus in the Gospels, a parallel which is not explicitly signposted in the Pseudo-Abdian text as we know it ('ambulans autem iuxta mare Galilaeae'/'ambulabat in littore'). *Andreas saga postola I*, on the other hand, connects the two episodes through the corresponding lexis and alliterative pattern.[96] These connections and correspondences, in their turn, serve to mark Andrew's progress as an apostle and a missionary.

The saga, thus, begins with Andrew introduced as a simple fisherman; however, by the time of his martyrdom he is fully transformed into a 'fisher of men' who fishes out the drowned bodies of forty youths, or rather makes the sea throw the corpses ashore.[97] In this way he fulfills — quite literally — Jesus's promise given to the brothers at the beginning of the saga:

> Þeir voru **f**iskimenn. En eitthvert **s**inn er þeir voru a **s**io ronir, þa **s**egir **s**va heilagr Mattheus i guðspialli, at Jesus Kristr gengi at **s**iovarstrondinni, þar er þeir **s**atu **f**yrir utan at **f**iski, en **s**a heitir Galilea **s**ior. Þa kallaði drottin a þa ok **s**agði: „Ek mun gera ykkr at **f**iskurum mannanna."[98]
>
> They were fishermen. Once when they had rowed out to sea, then St Matthew says in his gospel that Jesus Christ went to the seashore where they sat fishing, and that was the sea of Galilee. Then the Lord called out to them and said: 'I will make you into fishers of men.'

The two scenes are linked by taking place at the seashore. Considering the nature of both these scenes, the similar location is only to be expected; still, the fact is explicitly stated: *at siovarstrondinni* ('to the seashore') and *með siovatstrondu* ('along the seashore').[99] The fact is all the more prominent because the *siovarstrond*, featured in its inflected forms, is not only potentially self-alliterative (s/st) but also participates in the alliterative patterns displayed in both instances: „Þa er **s**æll Andreas postoli for leiðar **s**innar með

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[95] *Fabr.*, p. 492.

[96] At the same time, *Andreas saga postola* I does not specify that the corpse is washed to the seashore, instead the saga mentions the corpse being thrown to the apostle's feet.

[97] *API*, pp. 332–335.

[98] *API*, pp. 318–319. On the Biblical quotations, see, Ian J. Kirby, *Biblical Quotation in Old Icelandic-Norwegian Religious Literature,* vol. II (Reykjavik, 1980), pp. 26–27.

[99] *API*, pp. 319, 332.

siovarstrondu um dag ok ætlaði til Macidonia borgar, þa bar **s**va at, **s**iorinn kastaði upp *liki* einu **f**yrir **f**øtr postolanum til *lok*s noktu“[100] [One day when blessed Andrew the apostle was on his way along the seashore and was heading to the city of Macidonia, it happened that the sea cast up a naked body to the feet of the apostle]. The sibilant alliterative sequence creates an aural effect which, to some, might be evocative of the sound of foam frothing as waves are rolling over the shore. If in the first passage it is Jesus who walks along the shore and comes across the brothers, in the second passage it is Andrew who walks along the seashore and bears salvific news: this staging mirrors the first encounter of the soon-to-be apostle and Jesus.[101] In the latter case Andrew is also referred to as ‘blessed’; even though it is not the first time the epithet is used in relation to the apostle, the use of it in a similar setting assertively marks the change in his status since the first time the audience met Andrew at the seashore. Moreover, the adjective acquires additional stress by the use of its unmarked and grammatically strong form *sæll* (‘blessed’). According to Philip Roughton, in this case ‘one might expect the detached demonstrative (*hinn sæli Andreas*)’; moreover, the unmarked form appears only once before in the saga, in a sentence likewise heavy in alliteration: „Þa **s**neriz **s**æll Andreas til **M**edias ok **m**ællti […]“[102] [Then blessed Andrew turned to Medias and said (...).][103] Other manifestations of this adjective but with the detached demonstrative, on the other hand, do not show any signs of participating in alliterative patterns: this may explain the lack of the demonstrative in this passage, where the adjective needs to remain strong and stressed to bear more weight. The alliteration on ‘s’ is accompanied in both ‘seashore’-passages by the additional alliteration on ‘f’, which intensifies the possible associations between the two scenes: the focus of ‘f’ alliteration, however, shifts from fishing out in the sea to the apostle’s feet to which the sea brings an offering of a corpse. As falling to the apostle’s feet — ‘hann/hon fell til fota postolanum’, ‘fellu þeir’[104] — is a common gesture of supplication and repentance throughout the saga (and religious sagas in general), this instance of personification of the sea (casting up the bodies) marks Andrew’s newly acquired command over the sea.

Further evidence that the ‘seashore’-topos marks the stages of character development (his becoming), is that, even though Andrew travels quite a lot — and by sea too — all through the narrative, the only other instance in the saga where *siovarströnd* is mentioned, twice, appears in close proximity to its beginning: namely in the episode which relates the first of Andrew’s exploits taking place in Mirmidon.

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[100] *API*, pp. 332–3.

[101] A similar device is used in the Old-English prose *Andreas,* see Friesen, ‘Legends and liturgy in the Old English prose *Andreas* ’, p. 217.

[102] *API*, p. 330. Of some interest is that this passage is immediately echoed by “Þa **f**ell Medias til **f**ota postolanum ok kysti a **f**øtr hans ok mællti […].” (Then fell Medias to the apostle’s feet and kissed his feet and said […].), which is syntactically parallel to the first bit and demonstrates an alliterative pattern on ‘f’, found in the previous example.

[103] Roughton, ‘AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,’ p. 225. The unmarked form of *sæll* appears in a few more occasions describing the apostle (*API*, p. 326:5 ‘ok dyrkuðu sælan Andream postola drottins’; p. 331:28 ‘ok lofuðu guð ok sælan Andream postola’; p. 343:4, 6 ‘ok heilagleik sæls Andrea postola’, ‘fir leiði sæls Andreas postola’). But as in all these instances, the adjective is in oblique cases, it does not bear much stress and does not invite alliteration.

[104] E.g. *API*, pp. 321:22, 322:33, 323:27, 324:25, 325:12, 326:9, 327: 27, 330:22, 331:17, 334:7, 335:14–15. At the same the apostle himself is usually depicted as ‘fell a kne’ (334:17, 23) / ‘fell til bønar’(322:29, 333:4–5, 335:27–28) .

Here it is also built into the alliterative pattern and is twice repeated, the first time being uttered by the angel and then by the narrator:

> Þa er postolinn hafði þatta mælt, þa mællti engill guðs: „Far þu til **s**iovarstrandar, ok muntu þar finna **s**kip eitt litit, ok **s**tig þu a þat. En ek mun vera leiðtogi þinn þangat, sem þu skallt fara.“ **S**iðan hvarf engillinn at **s**yn fra honum. En Andreas gerði sem engillinn bauð honum, ok fann þar **s**kip litit a **s**iovarstrondunni, ok **s**te hann a þat. Ok þvi næst þa rennr byrr a hinn høgasti, ok sigldi hann til þess er hann kom til Mirmidoniam borgar, eptir þvi **s**em guðs engill **s**tyrði **s**kipi hans.[105]
>
> When the apostle had said this, the angel of God said: "Go to the seashore, and you will find there a small ship, and you [should] board it. And I will be your guide to the place where you are to go." Then the angel disappeared from his sight. And Andrew did as the angel bade him, and he found there on the seashore a small ship, and he boarded it. And then next a most gentle wind blew, and he sailed until he came to the city of Mirmidon, just as the angel steered his ship.

The journey itinerary is given by the angel who guides Andrew to the seashore from where he is to sail to the land of Mirmidon, where the apostle's first recounted exploit takes place and where he is to be tortured: both times *siovarstrond* alliterates with *stiga á skip* ('to go on board'), but here it is further echoed in *styra skipi* ('to steer a ship').[106] This repetition therefore connects all three scenes, marks them as structurally important, and allows the audience to perceive their thematic unity: St Andrew's journey is pre-set by Christ himself who through his words and the angel's intercession guides his disciple, and gives explicit intentionality to his wanderings. The seashore, seen traditionally as a liminal space, becomes therefore a place where the apostle encounters the divine and is guided towards important landmarks on his way to the Christ-like martyrdom.[107] First, he meets Jesus who turns him into one of his followers and promises to make Andrew a fisher of men. Then, the apostle, led by the angel, embarks on his first properly recounted mission, which foreshadows his future pathway and sets the tone of the narrative as a whole. Finally, St Andrew proves he is a fisher of men and wields power over both natural (the sea) and supernatural (mass resurrection) elements.[108] The progression of Andrew's powers is accompanied by the gradual shift in his agency: he starts by being instructed by Jesus, then he is assisted by an angel in his sea-journeys, and finally he acts on his own (but as might be expected only by divine grace).[109] At the close of the *vita* part, St Andrew not only brings forty men back to life physically, but — metaphorically — he also saves them from damnation, a symbolism inherent to drowning in the biblical and hagiographical literature.[110] On a vernacular level, men drowned at sea were often seen as 'trapped between the two different worlds, essentially those of the living and the dead'; as 'the dead without status' who had not received a proper Christian burial, these corpses, when found, had to be taken to a graveyard or, at least, helped one way or another — otherwise, the dead would haunt the person who came across its body and did nothing.[111] Within this structure Andrew's exploits and suffering in Mirmidon become, in a way, an initiation, or a rite of passage: there he is tortured for the first, and only, time before his final martyrdom; there he starts his *imitatio Christi* path, pre-determined by none other than by Christ himself.

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[105] *API*, p. 320.

[106] *Stiga* is often used as a part of componds linked to the idea of salvation, such as *uppstigningr* and *niðrstigningr*. Cf. *API*, p. 342. Also, see, Marina Warner, 'The Wronged Daughter in Fairytale: "Unnatural Love" in the Cult of Saint Dympna and Charles Perrault's 'Peau-d'Âne", in *Saints and Sagas: A Symposium*, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen and Birte Carlé (Odense: Odense University Press, 1994), pp. 109–30 (p. 115): "Such a rudderless vessel, drifting at the will of fate, figures in many romances, and stands here, in hagiographical form, for the barque of the soul trusting God." In a way that is what is happening with Andrew and his vessel, albeit steered by the angel: he relies on the will of God which is manifested in a more present angelic figure of a steerman.

[107] In folklore, walking along the beach would be considered not only walking "along the border between sea and land", but also "into the realm of fate and supernatural, a highly liminal space" in which one "could no longer be certain where the roads ended" and Icelanders would be aware of the dangers "to both mind and body that the liminal shoreline could pose" for them. See Terry Gunnell, 'On the Border: The Liminality of the Seashore in Icelandic Folk Legends', in *Northern Atlantic Islands and the Sea: Seascapes and Dreamscapes*, ed. Andrew Jennings, Silke Reeploeg, and Angela Watt (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), pp. 10–31(pp. 23, 27). To this end, it's characteristic that in this space of uncertainty and fate Andrew encounters the angel who is in charge of his itinerary. Also see, Siân E. Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero: Hagiography and Early Icelandic Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017), pp. 181 fn. 80, 261.

Standing apart from the tripartite pattern of the seashore-scenes, another sea-related episode in the saga occurs in the middle of Andrew's journey and further contributes to the Christological motif. The apostle boards a ship to Byzantium, but on its way there the ship is caught in a storm:

> Þa er Andreas postoli for or þessari borg, þa gekk hann a skip ok for til Bizantium borgar. En er hann var i hafi, þa gerði at þeim veðr mikit ok siavarstorm, sva at nær kafnaði skipit undir þeim af afollum, ok um siðir baðu þeir Andream postola fulltings við haska ok braðum bana. En postolinn bað þa til guðs ok bauð vindi at falla. Þvi næst fell vindr ok gerði logn, unz þeir komu til Bizantium borgar.[112]
>
> When Andrew the apostle left this city, he went to a ship and went to the city of Byzantium. And when he was at sea, then they came across great wind and a sea storm, so that the ship nearly sunk under the waves, and at last they asked Andrew the apostle for help against peril and violent death. And the apostle prayed then to God and bade the wind to die down. Next the wind died down and [the sea] was calm until they arrived at the city of Byzantium.

The story deals with the miracle in a very concise manner and highlights Andrew's *imitatio Christi* as it echoes the 'calming the storm' miracle performed by Jesus in front of his disciples (Matthew 8:23-27, Luke 8: 22-25, Mark 4: 35-41). Although the translation is close to the Latin source, it differs slightly and introduces an additional detail: similarly to the disciples in the Gospels, the passengers of the ship ask

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[108] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 222–223. For the discussion of the fantastic element in the *postola sögur* in general and in *Andreas saga postola I* in particular, see his "Þa syndi hann heim mikinn skugga': Unmasking the Fantastic in the *Postola sögur*', in *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature: Preprint Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference, Durham and York 6th-12th August 2006*, I-II, ed. John McKinnell, David Ashurst and Donata Kick (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), pp. 846–855 (p. 853).
[109] On the link between liminality and the rituals of status elevation, see, Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1997), p. 167. Cf. Régis Boyer, 'The Typology of Medieval Hagiography', p. 31, about implicit 'development' of St Martin.
[110] Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero*, p. 262.
[111] Gunnell, 'On the Border', pp. 23–24; On "the dead without status", see Juha Pentikäinen,'The Dead without Status', *Temenos: Nordic Journal for the Study of Religion* 4 (1969), pp. 92–102.
[112] *API*, p. 324.

Andrew to calm the sea, which he does by praying to God and admonishing the wind. *De gestis beati Andreae apostoli* simply remarks that with everyone being in danger of death, Andrew prayed to the Lord and pacified the wind: 'Itaque cum omnes mortis periculum præstolarentur, oravit beatus Andreas ad Dominum, præcipiensque vento, siluit' [And so when everyone was awaiting in mortal danger, the blessed Andrew prayed to the Lord, and upon his command the wind calmed down].[113] Therefore, if in Latin the miracle is simply evocative of Jesus calming the sea, the Old Norse text draws attention to the similarity between the apostle and Christ, at the same time likening the text-internal audience to the apostles — a device which becomes especially important in the martyrdom section of *Andreas saga postoli I*.

At the same time, this maritime episode — separate from the seashore ones — is not isolated from the other three: *siavarstorm* is a compound morphologically and aurally similar to *siavarströnd*. However, the passage does not make any further use of its self-alliterative nature to create more sibilance. The passage neither features the seashore nor marks a change in Andrew's apostolic status, and therefore the alliterative 's'-pattern, evocative of these, is not used to the same extent. The lack of it in this instance makes it more significant in the three cases discussed above: *siavarstorm* and *siavarströnd* are not to be conflated, regardless of both perpetuating Andrew's imitation of Christ.[114] While sea-storm points towards the Biblical passage and is a narrative fact, the sea-strand has an additional artistic function of structuring the saga and signposting the stages of the apostolic progression. Instead, this passage features alliteration on 'b': 'til Bizantium borgar', '[við] braðum bana', 'bað […] ok bauð'.[115] This, in turn, might explain the use of the Greek variant placename Bizantium rather than the usual Old-Norse name for it, Miklagarðr. The Latin 'mortis periculum' (in mortal peril) is expanded into '[fulltings við] haska ok braðum bana' ([help against] danger and sudden/violent death). According to Cleasby-Vigfusson' dictionary, *bráðr*, 'sudden, hasty', when paired with *bani* — 'bráðr bani' — becomes an alliterative legal phrase, meaning 'a sudden, violent death'. This implication of violence, *a priori* unnatural, is specific to the Old Norse and intensifies the traditional understanding of the sea as a place of danger and magic, as well as the Christian imagery of 'a sea of troubles', to which the alliterative 'b'-pattern is not entirely uncommon.[116] Drowning in the sea, often associated with sinful life and hardship, is therefore equivalent to damnation while Andrew's power over the forces of nature becomes a tool of spiritual salvation. This reading elucidates the laudatory description of the apostle later in the text as one who 'kendi […] orð guðs a landi helldr ok a sæ' (preached the word of God not only on the land but also on the sea).[117] Apart from the allegorical reading, this miracle must have been significant and dear to the Icelandic audience in a very mundane way: not only the legal phrase 'bráðr bani' but the setting itself would be familiar to the Icelanders. As Ásdís Egilsdóttir has pointed out, this kind of miracle — reflecting 'biblical narratives of Jesus calming the storm and his disciples fishing' — must have been very welcome to the people who lived 'in harsh, Nordic surroundings' and much of whose trade had to do with the sea.[118]

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[113] *Fabr.*, p. 467.

[114] Curiously enough, one of the traditional epithets for the Virgin Mary, *stella maris*, also falls within the same category of self-alliterative (s/st) compounds: 'sjávar stjarna'. Given *stella maris*' association with the North Star, famously a guiding star, it might be tempting to consider the aural similarity between 'sjávar stjarna' and *siavarstrǫnd* as well as their function of guiding the seafarers, St Andrew, and the narrative of the saga. See Peter Hallberg, 'Imagery in Religious Old Norse Prose Literature', pp. 133–134.

[115] '*bráðr*, adj.', in Cleasby-Vigfússon.

[116] See Hallberg, 'Imagery', pp. 132–136; Ásdís Egilsdóttir, 'Sanctity and the Sea', in *Northern Atlantic Islands and the Sea: Seascapes and Dreamscapes*, ed. Andrew Jennings, Silke Reeploeg, and Angela Watt (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), pp. 32–42 (pp. 34, 36).

[117] *API*, p. 326.

By highlighting Andrew's adventures in Mirmidon, this narrative structure adds to the *imitatio Christi* motif which peaks in Andrew's death on the cross, consciously and persistently performed as such by the apostle himself. However, it was a common practice all across medieval Europe for the *vita* and *passio* parts of the Acts to circulate separately in their manuscript forms.[119] The Mirmidon episode, therefore, provides the audience with a self-sufficient *imitatio Christi* theme and introduces parallels between Jesus and his apostle, both by expanding on the source-material and by using artistic lexical devices. In this way, both parts of the saga might have easily circulated on their own and still have borne the idea of Andrew's Christ-like martyrdom. But much in the same way they could have been easily put together while preserving the natural progression of the theme and the flow of the story.[120]

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In the same way as the sea served to connect various lands for the medieval Scandinavians, it links various parts of the *vita*-section of the saga.[121] It is hardly surprising, since St Andrew is 'the main character of a large apocryphal tradition, often related to sea adventures', which is probably due to his 'typical portrayal as a former fisherman' as well as to the influence of Greek romance.[122] Infused with meaning within the Christian literary tradition, water often plays a role in dealing with the supernatural in the Andrew narratives, channelling divine intervention and bearing connotations of 'healing' and baptism.[123] The 'seashore'-episodes naturally become the nexus points marking primarily a new stage of the saint's spiritual journey rather than a spatial transition: in these instances the sea-voyage is to be read figuratively, or as a *peregrinatio*, rather than as a marker of a geographical transition. Within this paradigm the Mirmidon episode is structurally framed as an important landmark in Andrew's miracle-working, and one to be read likewise typologically. From the seashore the apostle is guided by the angel to his first passion-like torture, which — as will be shown in the next chapter — becomes instrumental to St Andrew's initiation into a witness of Christ and his apostle, filled with grace and capable of eloquent speech affecting his text-internal and -external audiences. If before Mirmidon it is Andrew who does not know where he is going and needs guidance, in the aftermath of it, he is the one providing guidance and showing the way of salvation.

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[118] Ásdís Egilsdóttir, 'Sanctity and the Sea', p. 40.

[119] Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 232. Also, see footnote 4 in Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 195.

[120] Cf. Régis Boyer, 'The Typology of Medieval Hagiography', pp. 33–34: in saints' lives "the narrative is progressing on three levels simultaneously: time and space, actions, and themes."

[121] On the dichotomy of sea/land and its connectivity potential see Fedor B. Uspenskiy, *Scandinavians-Varangians-Rus'. Historical and Philological Studies* [*Skandinavi-Variagi-Rus'. Istoriko-filologitcheskije otcherki*] (Moscow: Iazyki Slavianskoy Kultury, 2002), p. 278.

[122] Claudio Cataldi, 'St Andrew in the Old English Homiletic Tradition', in *Hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England: Adopting and Adapting Saints' Lives into Old English Prose (c. 950-1150)*, ed. Loredana Lazzari, Patrizia Lendinara, and Claudia Di Sciacca (Barcelona, Madrid: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2014), pp. 293–308 (p. 293). Also, see Birte Carlé, 'The Legend of the Virgin Saint', in *Saints and Sagas: A Symposium*, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen and Birte Carlé (Odense: Odense University Press, 1994), pp. 9–27 (pp. 11–12): the Greek novel was *en vogue* when the acts of the apostles were composed, with their 'colourful descriptions of the travelling on land and sea, as well numerous miraculous events', the Christian acts, though, were written in a less copious style.

[123] Cataldi, 'St Andrew in the Old English Homiletic Tradition', p. 295. See also Friesen, 'Legends and liturgy in the Old English prose *Andreas* ', p. 220.

CHAPTER 2

OF BLOOD & TEARS:

THE SKALD AND THE APOSTLE

> And be not drunk with wine, wherein is luxury; but be ye filled with the holy Spirit. Speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual canticles, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord.[1]
>
> *Ephesians* 5:18–19

AS the references to the seascape ensure the flow of the narrative and steady development of Andrew's character from a fisherman to a fisher of men, so too does torture, and the flowing blood that comes with it, facilitate his progress from a disciple to an apostle and martyr. The description of the apostle's tortures is sparse and does not abound with gruesome detail. However, sometimes it is the absence of suffering, or detail, that is the point.[2] The absence of suffering and the lack of its graphic depictions was *en vogue* around the time when the saga was written down. In this anaesthetic model of suffering, the saints 'receive the anesthesia of glory' and are not really undergoing horrible pains during their tortures: and in the contemporary culture the martyrs were often depicted as 'unaffected psychologically (and even physiologically) by graphic and remarkable tortures'.[3] This idea current at the time is reflected in Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae,* dating from the second half of the thirteenth century: 'delectatio contemplationis divinorum diminuit sensum doloris, unde et martyres in passionibus suis tolerabilius dolorem sustinuerunt ex consideratione divini amoris' [the delight of the contemplation of Divine things dulls the sense of pain; hence the martyrs in their passions bore up more bravely by thinking of the Divine love].[4] However, there are good reasons to assume that the Old Norse compiler was at least affected by a different, older outlook on the nature of suffering — the so-called agonistic model of suffering. According to this view, suffering was felt and it was felt strongly, serving purification and facilitating spiritual elevation. Bede was a remarkable advocate of this model, also called Greco-Bedan, and in his writings he often both stressed and specified the length of the saint's suffering before death.[5] At the same time, for Bede suffering often led to joy and he himself, as was said by Cuthbert, was 'filled with joy' at the sickness which led him to death: 'et ille multum gauisus est et Deo gratias referebat quia sic meruisset infirmari' [and he was very pleased and gave thanks God that he deserved to be sick in this way].[6] And in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, Bede said of Gregory the Great that ‘quo malis praesentibus durius deprimebatur, eo de aeterna certius praesumtione respirabat’ [the more severely he was oppressed by present evils, the more surely he was refreshed by eternal hope].[7] This kind of opposition, if not syntax, is not unlike what the audience encounters in *Andreas saga postola I* and what is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter: the apostle, filled with grace, was the merriest and the most eloquent of men when he was the most tortured. It is also later echoed in the *passio* part where Andrew ‘actually repeats the final statement directly to Egeas’ using the same syntactical structure and giving his point of view on the situation, and probably the reason for his excessive joy at the torture: “…þvi þægari verð ek guði minum, sem ek stondumz fleiri þrautir fyrir hans nafni” [The more struggles I endure in the name of my God, the more acceptable I become to him].[8] Although it seems to agree with the idea of beatific vision flowing into the body of the martyr and counteracting pain, this intimate relationship between pain and joy seems to hint at the role of experienced pain in gaining wisdom (eloquence) and attaining a path to salvation. At the same time, as has been already shown in the first chapter, some aspects of the story can be read through early Christian ascetic practices: ‘the more the martyrs were tortured the more their personalities seemed defended against dissociation’, and voice was their ‘only defence of integrity’.[9] However, even the early martyrs identified themselves with the suffering Christ, who ‘suffered on their behalf, relieving them of pain, turning their pain into victory’.[10]

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[1] Quotations of the Bible in English are taken from Douay-Rheims throughout this thesis.

[2] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 45 (n. 95).

[3] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 2012), p. 231.

[4] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, III, Q.15, Obj. 3, <https://aquinas.cc/la/en/~ST.III.Q15.A5.Obj1 > [3 August 2024].

[5] For an overview of the Greco-Bede view, see Peter Dendle, 'Pain and Saint-Making in *Andreas,* Bede, and the Old English Lives of St. Margaret', in *Varieties of Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 39–52 (pp. 45–46).

Therefore, this description of the tortured apostle, specific to the Old Norse translation, seems to betray a mixture of the anaesthetic (overflowing grace) with the older agonistic view on suffering.[11] Stylistically powerfully crafted, this detail seems also to provide an important theological commentary on the nature of saints’ martyrdom which embraces the idea of witness and subsequent joy, and salvation achieved through pain. The translator makes the agonistic outlook on suffering, if it were at all present in the source text, more explicit by this addition. The major tool of persuasion here is the apostle’s spectacular endurance and eloquence; his body is reconfigured from the ‘instrument of torture’[12] to the tool of grace: his voice serves as a means for this transformation. This chapter considers the imagery of torture in Mirimidon and how it can be read symbolically.

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[6] *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), p. 583.

[7] *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History*, p. 129.

[8] Roughton, ‘AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,*’* p. 205. *API*, p. 340

[9] Maureen A. Tilley, ‘The Ascetic Body and the (Un)Making of the World of the Martyr,’ *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59.3 (1991), pp. 467–479 (pp. 469, 475).

[10] Tilley, ‘The Ascetic Body, p. 473.

[11] The Old English poem *Andreas* seems likewise to fall in “between two competing traditions of the role of pain in *hagiogenesis* (saint-making)”, with its saint depicted “as a genuine sufferer, rather than merely a nominal one,” see Dendle, ‘Pain and Saint-Making’, p. 39.

[12] Tilley, ‘The Ascetic Body, p. 469; cf. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 47.

I. BODY & BLOOD

Out of the two scenes of St Andrew's suffering, only the first one — taking place in Mirmidon — provides the audience with some detailed physical depictions. This is also true for the source texts: the Pseudo-Abdian text is much richer in detail when describing Andrew's unfulfilled execution than his final martyrdom or its account from the anonymous *Passio Andreae*, which does not focus on Andrew's final martyrdom, or on the flagellation which precedes it. Although Andrew's death on the cross will be discussed in the next chapter, it is worth saying that — even though Egeas, the tyrant of Patras, suggests the manner of crucifixion which significantly prolongs the torment[13] — the focus of that saga-section is primarily on the apostle's joy and his preaching. Moreover, the second part of the saga seems to be less keen on implementing alliteration and is altogether less poetic, albeit more elevated in style through the rhetorical embellishment of the multiple speeches.

Overall, if not in its amplification of gory detail, the Old Norse description of the Mirmidonian torture still digresses from the Latin text. It is significantly expanded, as is the whole episode in general.[14] The Pseudo-Abdian Latin text in its turn is fairly concise in its description:

> Ipse vero Andreas manens apud Myrmidonem, prædicabat incolis verbum Domini. quod cum minus audirent, adprehendum Andream ligatis pedibus per plateas civitatis trahebant. **Quibus in tormentis cum jam sanguis effluereet**, & capilli vellerentur, Apostolus ad Dominum in hæc verba orationem habuit: Aperi, Domine Jesu Christe, oculos cordium illorum, ut cognoscat te Deum verum, & desistant ab hac iniquitate: neque velis hoc illis peccatum statuere, quia nesciunt quod faciunt.[15]

> Andrew himself, however, remaining amongst the Myrmidonians, preached to the inhabitants the word of Lord, to which they would not listen at all, having seized Andrew they dragged him through the city streets with his feet tied. When in those torments the blood was flowing and the hair was being pulled out, the apostle directed a prayer to the Lord in these words: 'Open up, Lord Jesus Christ, the eyes of their hearts so that they know you, the true God, and desist from sinfulness: and do not wish to impute this sin to them who do not know what they are doing.'

The Latin mentions without elaborating the fact of blood being shed and hair being torn, but due to the syntax and grammar both feel very detached from the apostle and his body. The Old Norse translation of this passage is both more prolonged and more detailed:

> Þegar er Mattheus var a braut farinn, tok Andreas postoli at **k**enna **k**enningar i **b**orginni **b**erliga. Ok þegar er **b**orgarmenn heyrðu hans **k**enningar þeir er eggiaðir voru af diofuls **k**rapti at sviviróa guðs kenningar þa toku þeir þegar hondum Andream postola ok drogu hann um borgina innan a **h**ari sva **h**arðliga, at a hverium **s**teini ok **s**træti var **h**ans bloð set. Postolinn let eigi at helldr af kenning sinni, sa er fullr var af miskunn heilags anda, ok bað fyrir þeim overðum, at guð gæfi þeim rettsyni till sinnar

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[13] *API*, p. 340.

[14] Most of the expansions (note g.) and stylistic peculiarities of the Mirmidonia episode are noted in Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 203–205.

[15] *Fabr.*, p. 459. Translations from Latin are my own unless stated otherwise.

> miskunnar, ok mællti: „Drottinn minn Jesus Kristr, luk upp þu hiartans augum þessarra manna með þinni miskunnar hendi, sva at þeir snuiz fra villu sinni, þviat þeir vita eigi, hvat þeir gera." Af bøn postolans ok hans verðleikum fyrir guðs miskunn varð sva mikils vert um dyrð postolans, at hann var sem mest **k**ennandi ok **k**atastr, er þeir pindu hann sem mest [...].[16]
>
> As soon as Matthew was gone away, Andrew the apostle began preaching the teachings openly in that town. And as soon as the townsfolk heard his preaching, they were incited by devil's power to put God's teachings to shame, then at once they captured Andrew the apostle and dragged him around the town by the hair so hard that his blood was seen on every stone and street. The apostle, who was full of the Holy Spirit's mercy, did not let go of his teaching and prayed for the unworthy, so that God would give them clear sight of his mercy, and said: "My Lord Jesus Christ, open up the heart's eyes of these men with your hand of mercy so that they turn away from their heresy because they do not know what they are doing." By the prayers of the apostle and his merits through God's grace the glory of the apostle became of such great worth that he was the greatest teacher and the merriest of men when they tortured him the most […].[17]

Although expansion and verbosity seem to be a persistent adaptation strategy employed by the compiler in the *vita* part of the saga, the extent to which the apostolic body is revealed stays the same in translation: all the audience gets to see are bloody streets and a glimpse of hair — the body itself is physically absent from the narrative of the *vita* and largely from the *passio*.[18] Even so, the Old Norse manages to bring the torture into focus and highlight its transformative effect on a spiritual, if not on a physical, level.

In the Old Norse translation, if not by means of direct statement, the intensity of suffering and its tangible essence are derived from the language used to describe the torture: the syntax is more telling than the words. The initial sequence of alliterative pairs ('**k**enna **k**enningar i **b**orginni **b**erliga') continues into a new set: 'a **h**ari sva **h**arðliga' and '**st**eini ok **st**ræti'. In both of these cases, the implementation of alliteration might be an attempt to render the alliteration present in Latin, such as 'manens apud Myrmidonem', 'audirent adprehendum Andream', 'pedibus per plateas'. But it is the rhythm of the passage that changes in translation: the flowing cadence of Latin 'sanguis efflueret, & capilli vellerentur' heavy on the [l] sound becomes ragged when expanded into Old Norse 'a hverium **s**teini ok **s**træti var **h**ans bloð **s**et' which might potentially suggest the idea of a bumpy street across which the apostle is being dragged by his hair. While in the Latin text the blood just flows, in Old Norse it is seen on every street and stone evoking a gory image of the ground soaked with blood which is much closer to the secondary acts' Greek version, *Praxeis*, where Jesus warns Andrew about what is to come: 'They will scatter abroad your flesh in the streets and alleys, and your blood will flow upon the ground [...].'[19] The overall syntactical structure ('sva…at…') giving the audience the measure of applied violence, backed by the soundscape, serves to highlight the force applied to Andrew, its intensity and rough nature.[20]

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[16] *API*, p. 321. Translations from Old Norse are my own unless stated otherwise.

[17] A more accurate, literal translation of the final line — 'hann var sem mest **k**ennandi ok **k**atastr, er þeir pindu hann sem mest' — would be 'he was teaching the most and the merriest when they tortured him the most'.

[18] In her book *The Discourse of Enclosure* Shari Horner makes an observation that in early medieval saints' lives, 'the saint embodies the narrative' and their body functions as 'a text containing both literal and figurative meaning' (p. 103); within this outlook *Andreas saga postola* seems to be focusing on Andrew's spirituality while his body acts as an edificatory tool. Also see chapter 1, pp. 46–47.

The severe intensity of the torture is highlighted by mimetic syntax and alliteration (sonic effect). However, except for the abundant bleeding in which blood seems to be oddly separate from the body, the passage provides no other indication of the bodily or mental response to the extreme physical pain which such extreme violence is supposed to entail.[21] This lack of an expected response to torture is all the more evident as the graphic description of the effect of torments on other, not saintly, bodies is related later in the text:

> Siðan tok hann i hond honum ok fylgði honum til borgarinnar, ok er þeir komu [inn i borgarhliðit, rann a mot þeim einn gamall maðr, bað hann með tarum Andream postola [veita hialp sonum sinum tveim, hveria er þessi sami Medias hafði halldit langa tima i myrkvastofu fyrir nokkura mikla afgerð ok misverka með sva mikilli grimdarpinu, harðindum ok kvalafullum bǫndum, at stor sar ok þungligar akomur fellu a likami þeira, sva at þeir holld bolgnaði, þrutnaði ok funaði i langan tima af þessu þunga kvalræði.[22]
>
> Then he took him by the hand and followed him to the city, and when they came inside the city gate, an old man ran towards them, he begged Andrew the apostle with tears to help his two sons who were held in prison for a long time by this same Medias for some great offence or misdeed with such great fierce-torments, severities and torture-full bonds that big wounds and heavy sores befell their bodies, and that their flesh was swollen, inflated and rotten for a long time from these heavy torments.

Contrary to Andrew's toils and troubles, the violent punishment is relished, and its consequences are related in great detail in this passage; it is intensified by the use of multiple synonyms creating a vivid and gory image of the brothers' hurt bodies which is a notable expansion of the Latin source.[23] In turn, when it comes to the text describing Andrew's torture and execution, there is no mention of its physical impact or the pain experienced by the apostle in the process. Instead it is the awe or anxiety of the crowd that is described in great detail, but the text-external audience is excluded from the spectacle of 'an imaginary pain'.[24] The general neglect of Andrew's body through the text and the concise uncinematic nature of descriptions can hardly be seen as an artistic device to capture the text-external audience's attention by the imaginary identification with the saint's suffering.[25] At the same time, Andrew's torments paired with his preaching clearly impress the onlookers within the story.

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[19] *Praxeis*, in *The Acts of Andrew in the Country of the Cannibals: Translations from Greek, Latin, and Old English*, tr. Robert Boenig, in *Garland Library of Medieval Literature*, v. 70 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1991), pp. 1–24 (p. 12).

[20] Cf. Boenig's notes on how syntax mimics confusion and distress in the Latin *Casanatensis*, in *The Acts of Andrew in the Country of the Cannibals*, pp. 27–56 (pp. 45 fn. 62, 49 fn. 78).

[21] In the original prologue to the passion, *píslarsaga,* the narrator uses *píslir* and *þrautir* to refer to St Andrew's suffering (*API*, p. 336). In his translation of the saga Philip Roughton rendered them 'agony and suffering' (Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 639). These words might mean more neutral 'ordeal' and 'trial'; however, both might have more emotional undertones such as 'suffering' and 'distress'. The narrator's evaluation of Andrew's torments in that case presents a rare insight into the emotion of pain present in the narrative. See, 'písl *sb.f.*', in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o62431>; 'þraut *sb.f.*', in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o90219> [accessed 3 May 2021].

[22] *API*, p. 330.

[23] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,*'* p. 216.

And yet, the Mirmidonian torture-episode — reaching its apex with the introduction of the apostle's blood on every street and stone of the city — is probably the most vivid depiction of apostolic suffering found in the saga.[26] At the same time, the value of this narrative detail lies not necessarily in its cinematography: in the first place, it is a theologically significant detail further reinforced through the link between land and blood, implicitly echoed later in the episode. It is echoed in the reference to Jesus in St Andrew's address to the Mirmidonians after his endurance and graceful eloquence both induce the city-dwellers to set the apostle free and accept the Christian faith: „En hann reisti þa upp ok boðaði þeim drottin varn Jesum Krist ok þær iartegnir, er hann gerði i þessum *heimi*, **ok hversu hann leysti *heiminn* með sinu bloði**" [But he raised them up and preached to them about our Lord Jesus Christ and the miracles that he performed in this world, and how he redeemed the world with his blood.][27] The subordinate clause becomes a vessel for multiple intra- and extra-textual allusions. *Heimr*, meaning the 'world', resonates with the earlier mention of 'each street and stone' of the Mirmidon city, which can be read as a microcosm within the saga, while the use of the same word for Jesus's and his disciple's blood (*blóþ*) along with the [h]-alliterative pattern serve to reinforce the association between the two. The Latin text, though translated almost verbatim, is less suggestive of the link between the teacher and his disciple, since a distinction between Andrew's (*sanguis*) and Christ's blood (*cruor*) is made:

> Quibus ille erectis, prædicabat Dominum Jesum Christum, & miracula quæ fecerat in hoc mundo ostendit, & **quemadmodum ipsum mundum jam pereuntem proprio cruore redemerit**.[28]
>
> To those raised he preached about the Lord Jesus Christ, and the miracles which he performed in this world, and how this same already perishing world he had redeemed with his own blood.

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[24] *API*, pp. 340-341; Janet Thormann, 'The Subject of Language: A Psychoanalytic Approach to the Aesthetics of Old English Poetry', in *On the Aesthetics of Beowulf and Other Old English Poems,* ed. John M. Hill (University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 209–226 (p. 220). On the discussion of the norms and sensation belonging to the observers rather than to the sufferer, see Esther Cohen, 'The Animated Pain of the Body', *The American Historical Review,* 105.1 (2000), pp. 36–68 (p. 39).

[25] Thormann, 'The Subject of Language', p. 220. There she discusses how the enjoyment of the saint's suffering and its potential erotic appeal might serve to promote identification with the saint and inculcate faith. On graphic descriptions of pain and gore, inherent among other things to the medieval *imitatio Christi*, and their potential in instructing the audience by means of what might be called 'blooded thought' (p. 142), see, Jody Enders, 'Emotion Memory and the Medieval Performance of Violence', *Theatre Survey*, 38.1 (1997), pp. 139–162.

[26] Overall, the scarce description of the apostle's sufferings is a feature primarily characteristic of the Latin narratives. The *passio* part, for instance, for the most part closely follows its source, *Passio Andreae,* translating the source almost verbatim. However, the cited above flagellation episode is further expanded: Andrew is said to be commanded to be bound between two trees (note the binding and the tree — *píslartré*, *krosstré* — motifs) — a detail absent from either the Pseudo-Abdian or *Passio* texts. (For further discussion, see chapter 3.) Therefore, the Old Norse translator's decision to expand on Andrew's torments in Mirmidonia, and later in the *passio* part, deserves some attention.

[27] *API*, p. 321.

[28] *Fabr.*, p. 459.

Similarly to the Old Norse, the passage attracts attention for its sequence of the r-sounds in ‘pereuntem proprio cruore redemerit’, where *pereuntem proprio* alliterates. It cuts into the passage after a file of [m]-heavy word-sequence (‘quemadmodum ipsum mundum’), thus stressing the significance of Christ’s sacrifice and setting it slightly apart from the general flow of the sentence and St Andrew’s story. The Old Norse rendition of the episode, on the contrary, brings the two closer together. Andrew’s blood and Christ’s blood, both, become instruments of redemption — the apostle’s blood is likewise spilt before he is able to show the crowd its way to God and, therefore, to salvation.

This sense of affinity between Christ and Andrew, and the instrumental role they both play in salvation, is further strengthened by the lexis — and, occasionally, syntax and soundscape — employed by the compiler: it is evocative of the passages found in the Old Norse-Icelandic homilies. Many of these homilies mark the ‘highest level feast days’, related to Mary or to All Saints,[29] and therefore would be well-known to and easily recognizable by the saga’s target audience. Once established, these parallels bring together various motifs running in this passage and tying into a hard knot Andrew’s conversion of the Mirmidonians and Christ’s expiation of the sins of the human race. As Andrew redeems the Mirmidonians with his own blood, the Mirmidonian episode appears to be modelled after Christ’s passion. While reducing the scale of the torment, it sets the scene for Andrew’s final martyrdom on the cross, and foreshadows its general structure and tone. The *Á allra heilagra messu* homily, for instance, presents a verbose description of the cross bearing the signs of the Christ’s passion and corresponds to the All Saints’ feast day, celebrated on the 1st of November which lies in close proximity to the feast of St Andrew (30 November). This temporal vicinity might be suggestive of a deeper connection between the torture-passages than a mere coincidence or typological uniformity. Although the homily describes at length Christ’s torments and the afflictions to which he was subjected, the focus is on the cross that acts as a stand-in for Jesus’ body, and it is the imagery of blood which is the most prominent. It is the cross that makes the body of Christ and — later and to a lesser degree — Andrew visible:

> Guþs englar bera þar crǫss enn helga fram. es cristr drottenn vár vas pínndr á **sva dreýrgan** oc **sva blóþe roþenn sem** hann var í písl crist. Dróttenn vár sýner þar sinn licama **sva** (h)ræcþan ok hurðan barðan ok **blóþgaðan sem** hann heck a crosse.[30]
>
> The angels of God bring that holy cross away, on which Christ our Lord was tortured, as gory and reddened with blood as he was at the torment of Christ. Our Lord showed there his own body so spat on and mocked, beaten and bleeding as he hung on the cross.

A series of six epithets are arranged in pairs and draw a vivid picture of Christ’s *passio* mediated, or reflected, by the cross: the [r]-heavy sequence is evocative of tearing and ripping apart. The nature of the passion as something inflicted from the outside and to be endured is conveyed by the passive voice inherent to the repeated construction ‘*vera* + participle’. It is a predominant syntactical structure throughout the passage: the things are happening to Jesus and his body, for it is the suffering to which he surrenders willingly and to which he offers no resistance.[31] Out of the six words, describing the Cross and Christ, three are infused with 'blood'-connotations: *dreýrgan* (gory), *blóþe-roþenn* (reddened with blood), *blóþgaðan* (made bleed). The first two describe the Cross putting distance between the audience and the body of Jesus which is still *blóþgaðan*. Given this abundance of blood-related qualifiers, the passion can be mainly characterised by the excess of blood which becomes the only visible manifestation of the body — which, albeit mentioned (*licama*), is not really seen — in its tormented state. However, given the homiletic context, this preponderance of gore is not so much a graphic detail designed to impress the audience but rather an important theological concept as the blood of Christ is instrumental to our salvation.

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[29] Margaret J. Cormack, ‘The Saints in Iceland: Evidence for Cults before 1400’ (Doctoral thesis, Yale University, 1983), pp. 111, 173.

[30] *A allra heilagra Messu. Omnium sanctorum*, in *Homiliu-bók*, pp. 39–45 (pp. 44–5).

Andreas saga postola I, in turn, demonstrates a very similar pattern in which Andrew is not fleshed out. The readers are left to assume that the blood comes from his mangled body, or rather from its wounds, but leaves it open to other interpretations: for instance, it leaves space for drawing a parallel between blood and sweat as in the garden of Gethsemane (Luke 22:44).[32] This is not, however, the only similarity shared between the texts. Overall, the passage from *Andreas saga postola I,* describing Andrew's tortures in Mirmidon, conforms to homiletic style and incorporates rhetorical devices accordingly: thus both the *Á allra heilagra messu* and the saga passage make multiple use of the syntactical structure '*sva…sem*'/'*sva…at*' complemented by alliterative, or merely consonant, pairs to create a vivid and powerful image of physical agony. Consequently, by means of paralleling the style and referencing the imagery, the saga's rendition of St Andrew's suffering in Mirmidon evokes Christ's passion as told in the homily for All Saints. It has been observed that '[l]ike the passion of Christ, that of the martyr leads portentously towards its inevitable conclusion',[33] but in this instance the passion-like torture of Andrew becomes only the first step in his missionary life towards his martyrdom — if read as a part of a joint *vita* and *passio*. Still, it points the readers in the right direction and — due to its rich intertextuality — conceals within itself the apostle's end. If and when the two parts were circulated and read separately, this ensured that the *vita*-part could stand on its own and produce a similar effect to the *passio*.

To this end, the already mentioned line 'ok hversu hann leysti *heiminn* með sinu bloði',[34] referring to Jesus, is in itself strongly reminiscent of the *Purificatio sancta Marie* homily. It describes Christ's death on the Cross and gives a brief overview of his wounds (and later supplies the audience with yet another crucial connection):[35]

> hann vas sǽrþr a crosse eno fimta sáre meþ spióte eíns ríþera. þess es longinus heiter. ór várs dróttens sáre rann bǽðe vatn oc blóþ. **þat iarteíner i þui at ver erom i vatne skírþer. en leýster með blóþe**

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[31] On the initial idea of *passio* as something happening to one rather than something actively (and violently) performed, see Erich Auerbach, 'Passio Als Leidenschaft', *PMLA* 56.4 (1941), pp. 1179–1196.

[32] Luke 22:42–45 resonates with the themes present in the Mirmidon episode: grief, blood, and the cup of suffering. For further discussion see chapter 2.2.

[33] Lucy Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London: Duckworth, 2004), p. 39.

[34] *API*, p. 321:24–25.

[35] Cf. 'lífsdrykk heiminum öllum' and Gregory's *Homily 25* known in mediaeval Iceland; however, it is now extant but for some quotations of it.

> **guþs**. hann lét ond sina a crosse til þess at ond ór se lifande ei oc ei meþ guðe. Af þui vas guþ a cross negldr at hann gaf oss dǿme hve hendr órar scolo vera negldar eða bundnar fra synþom í fiorom scautum þessa heims. Sicut crossenn es fersceytr.[36]
>
> He was wounded on the cross in the fifth wound by the spear of a horseman named Longinus. From the wound of our Lord flowed both water and blood. That signifies that we are baptized in water, but redeemed with the blood of God. He gave up his spirit on a cross, so that his spirit could live forever with God. That is why God was nailed to the cross, so that he gave us an example of how our hands should be nailed or bound from sins in the four corners of this world, just as the cross is square.

This passage is instrumental in constructing the semantic field within which the relevant line from *Andreas saga postola I* was both contextualized and enabled to convey its meaning to the narrative. Blood is identified with the wounds of Christ, from which it flows along with water and by which humanity is redeemed: the image becomes even more comprehensive when the four ends of the cross — with a rather obvious link between four (out of five) wounds and the cross to which Jesus's limbs were nailed — are explained as corresponding to the four corners, or parts, of the world (*heimr*). They, in their turn, are later listed as a part of an opening blessing in the beginning of the *passio* part of the saga.[37] In the phrase such as it appears in *Andreas saga postola I*, *heimr* + *inn* is therefore at once evocative of the crucifixion-image, signalling the upcoming martyrdom, and consonant with the streets of Mirmidon: in this instance the definite article can be seen as the deixis pointing towards this very world, this very land, and this very Mirmidon. This *ad hoc* conflation between the World and the city, and subsequently between the apostle and Jesus, is particularly poignant as the early saints 'identified themselves with the suffering Christ', 'suffered for him', and 'he suffered in them'.[38] In this episode suffering is therefore primarily expressed through the form, and linguistic tools become the major means of expression: inflected words correlate with the inflected body, the word imitates the Word.

Another lexis-based connection which intensifies the mirroring relationship between Andrew and Christ, the conflation between the city-dwellers in the saga and the Jews in the New Testament, is yet more self-evident, for it comes from the Crede-formula:

> Ec trui þui. at þar kom ór bǽþe blóþ oc vatn. Ec trui þui. at licame hans var grafenn. en ænd hann meþ guþdomscrafte sté niþr til helvítis. oc braut helvítis byrge oc batt fiandann. Ec trui þui at hann leysti oss meþ þui blóþe fra vellde fiandann**.** Ec trui þui at hann leyste ór helvite alla þa menn er honom þótto þess vera verþer. Ec trui þui at hann reis upp af dauþa a þriþia dege epter pils sína meþ þui mannfólke ollo er hann leýste ór helvíte.[39]

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[36] *Pvrificatio s. Marie*, in *Homiliu-bók*, pp. 82–86 (p. 84).

[37] Cf. *API*, p. 336: „Friðr se yðr ollum kristnum monnum, er settir eruð i Kristz nafni i austri ok vestri, i norðri ok suðri, ok ollum þeim, er trua a einn guð i algørri þrenningu [...].“ [Peace be to you, all Christian men, who are placed in Christ's name in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South, and to all those who believe in one God in perfect Trinity]. For further discussion see chapter three of this thesis, p. 101.

[38] Tilley, 'The Ascetic Body, p. 473.

[39] *Trúarjátningin*, in *Homiliu-bók*, pp. 145–150 (p. 146).

> I believe that from there came both blood and water. I believe that his body as buried and that his spirit by the power of godhead descended into hell and broke the gates of hell and bound the enemy. I believe that he released us with his blood from the power of the devil. I believe that he released from hell all the men who he thought worthy of it. I believe that he rose up from the dead on the third day after his passion with all the menfolk that he released from out of hell.

In the saga, incited by the devil to disgrace God's teaching — „eggiaðir voru af diofuls **k**rapti at svivirða guðs kenningar“[40] — the Mirmidonians subject the apostle to severe torments which lead to his preaching, blood-shedding, and the city-dwellers' eventual repentance and conversion.[41] Just like the devil's power over humans is lost when Christ's blood is spilt, it is lost over the Mirmidonians once Andrew's blood is seen and the path to salvation is revealed.

It is significant that the devil's part in bringing forth Andrew's torture is a detail specific to the Old Norse version. It is altogether missing from the Latin source, which transitions in an instant from Andrew preaching in the city to him being captured by its denizens. In Old Norse, however, the motivation for the townsfolk's actions is supplied and led to by the already discussed alliterative pairs ('**k**enna **k**enningar i **b**orginni **b**erliga', echoed by '**k**rapti'): the violent treatment of the apostle is explained by the devil's intervention. In this way, it is the devil who is the 'primary agent of evil' rather than a crowd of people who indeed 'do not know what they are doing', as is stated by Andrew's plea to God which is present in both literary traditions.[42] Apart from giving a clearer explanation of the apostle's words, this addition also seems to contribute to the *imitatio Christi* motif and the construction of St Andrew's sanctity: a similar trope is found in *Niðstigningar saga*, the earliest and the fullest extant version of which is also found in AM 645 4to — the very same manuscript where a small part of *Andreas saga postola* (but not the given episode) is preserved.[43] There Satan tells the inhabitants of hell that he 'aroused the Jewish people to hostility against him [Christ]' ('oc vacþa ec upp Gyþinga lyð til fiandscapar viþ hann').[44] Even though

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[40] *API*, p. 321:5.

[41] *API*, p. 321.

[42] The line is recognizable from the execution of Christ, see *Passio domini*, in *Homiliu-bók*, p. 68: "Faþer fyrgef þo þeim synþ þessa. Þviat þeir vito eige hvat þeir gera" [Father, forgive them their sins for they do not know what they are doing]. Therefore, Andrew might be seen as a conduit of Christ's pleas and mercy, he imitates his teacher at his passion getting very close to the model. For further discussion see, chapter 2, pp. 88–100.

Of some interest is the fact that this detail is also present in the Greek *Praxeis* where the devil plays a significant role in instructing the Mermedonians in revenge: at much greater length and more elaborately staged, for instance, it even includes a few dialogues between the devil, the citizens, and the apostle. Also, Peter Dendle in his book *Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001) notes that in the hagiographical tradition 'the scenes in which the devil explicitly prompts pagans to sin' are rarely elaborated and the audiences 'are usually granted little insight into the heathen's internal psychological process' which also resonates with the idea that while the devil is an instigator of sin, the true sin to be judged 'comes from within' (pp. 7–8, 19–20.). Therefore, from a theological point of view, in the Old Norse-Icelandic version of the story the Mirmidonians indeed do not know what they are doing and their behavior cannot be seen as deliberately sinful, which leaves them a sound chance for salvation. At the same time, in the Old English *Andreas* the instigation episode, present in its source, is absent, and, therefore, 'man, not the devil, becomes the primary agent of evil'. See, Boenig, *Saint and Hero*, p. 96.

[43] Dario Bullita*, Niðrstigningar saga: Sources, Transmission and Theology of the Old Norse Decent into Hell* (University of Toronto Press, 2017), p. 21; Kirsten Wolf, 'The Influence of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* on Norse Literature: A Survey', *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993), pp. 219–42 (p. 220).

[44] Bullita*, Niðrstigningar saga*, pp. 138, 161.

vacþa upp is substituted by *eggiat* in the two later manuscripts, AM 623 4to and JS 405 8vo, originating from the first quarter of the fourteenth century and 1780–1791 (neither of which is copied from the text found in AM 645 4to), the verbal parallel is rather weak and cannot be considered a direct borrowing.[45] However, since both texts circulated around the same time, there is a strong possibility that the compiler was familiar with the tradition and the role ascribed to the devil in inciting the Jewish people against Christ, and that he used the intertextual reference to establish the parallel between the Mirmidonians and the Jews, both of whom rejected Christ and his teachings.[46] Both were also saved by the sacrifice and redeemed through blood. A parallel reading of the homilies and the saga offers further intertextual parallels between the redemption, the Harrowing of Hell and Andrew leading people out of the dark prison. For instance, a homily on the assumption of Mary establishes a link between blood and release from the suffering in hell: „Oc þat allt es guþ hefer oss veítt miscunnar i hingat qvomo sunar sins. þa hofom ver þat alt af henne hlotet. þuiat hon georþesc verþ at bera þann **es eoss leýste meþ síno blóþe fra heltivis qvolom.**“[47] [And all that which God has given us of his mercy in the coming of his son, all that we have received from her for she was worthy to bear the one who redeemed us with his blood from the torments of Hell.]

Whereas Andrew's blood might be initially seen as a price for converting the people of Mirmidon, on the narrative level it is still, in the first place and following the basic fabula of the story, his *post-factum* punishment, or payment, for leading the captives out of the prison, which in its turn is likened to the dark hell. The ubiquitous lexical parallel 'leysa með sinu bloði' serves therefore as a supra-textual link and not only intensifies the apostle's connection to Christ but also further validates the typological reading of the prisonbreak. One way or another, Andrew's blood and Christ's blood, both, become an instrument of redemption — the apostle's blood is likewise spilt before he is able to show the crowd their way to God and, therefore, to salvation. As he enables the Mirmidonians' redemption by spilling his own blood, the Mirmidonian episode appears to be modelled after Christ's passion and his subsequent Harrowing of Hell (in reverse order). As already noted, while reducing the scale of the torment, it sets the scene for Andrew's final martyrdom on the cross, and foreshadows its general structure and tone. Overall, the richness of typological allusions and density of the intertext inherent to *Andreas saga postola I* presents a valuable tool for rumination and devotional practices for which the saga, didactic and edificatory as it is, prepares and instructs.

As has been already said, Andrew is dragged by his hair through the streets and his blood marks the path to salvation. In this description, hair is not only a narrative detail showing the intensity of torment but also significant on a symbolic level. The saint's hair is the only body part of Andrew which appears in the whole Mirmidonian torment passage: it is present in the Latin, in which his hair is being pulled out, but in the Old Norse version of the story, he is dragged around the city by his hair. In medieval iconography, bushy grey hair was a noticeable attribute of St Andrew and has been even interpreted as flaming hair.[48] But as St Andrew is dragged by his hair through the city, it is natural to assume that he has long hair: long hair, in its turn, when 'worn by men may sometimes symbolize strength', as in 'an allusion to the story of Samson'.[49] Strength, as has been already discussed in chapter two, resonates with Andrew's name and its connotations of courage, manliness, and virililty, *andreia* — a quality displayed by Samson and subverted, or redefined to *hypomonê*, by the apostle as he passively surrenders to his executioners, and ultimately to God's will. Just as Samson's deeds in Gaza are likened to the Harrowing of Hell in Gregory's *21st Homily* (translated into Old Norse), so are Andrew's exploits in Mirmidon: both can be seen as 'a type of the Resurrection'.[50] On a simpler and more superficial level, long hair is a common attribute of Jesus in Christian iconography and thus it intuitively facilitates the audience's identification of the apostle with his master: Andrew becomes *imago Christi*. Moreover, hair often features in descriptions of martyrdom in which prospective saints, both men and women, sometimes are dragged by it; occasionally it is they who show an upper hand and grab their opponents' hair. Apart from being a common trope, just like blood in the Christian tradition, hair can be an element of religious imagery and read figuratively, as a spiritual idea of penitence.[51] This reading is intensified by the general arrangement of the scene as later the Mirmidonians beg Andrew to show them the path to salvation. If in Latin their request is rendered indirectly as part of the narrator's account, 'sibi ostendi viam salutis petebant' [they asked the way to salvation to be shown to them],[52] the Old Norse gives voice to the inhabitants of the city when they both acknowledge their sins and ask for salvation: „Misgert hofum ver við þik, at þu fyrirgefir oss þat, er ver hofum misgert við þik, ok synir oss heilsugotu, at eigi stigi guðs reiði yfir borg þessa" [We have done wrongly by you, forgive us our misdeeds, and show us the path of salvation, so that the wrath of God does not descend upon this city.][53] The path is indeed shown to them, both in spiritual and visual terms.[54] As Andrew is dragged by his hair around the city, his blood can be seen on its every stone and street, marking the way. So when the inhabitants ask the saint to show them 'heilsugotu', the bloodied city streets are already displaying it. His blood marks the *heilsugata*, the 'path to salvation', for the Mirmidonians to see and follow (and it might even be seen as the way to salvation for Andrew himself). This bloody track, along with the apostle's preaching, becomes instrumental to their conversion and redemption. As the *Postulamál* homily suggests, both the apostolic deeds and words are paving the way to the kingdom of heaven: „Costgæfom vér at vita huat postolar kendo. eþa huat þeir georðo. þuiat iofn heilso gata es i verckom þeira sem i kenningom þeira“ [Let us strive to know what the apostles preach or what they do, for there is the path to salvation, equally in their deeds as in their teaching].[55]

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[45] Bullita, *Niðrstigningar saga,* p. 139. On the relationship between the manuscripts as suggested by Bullita, see the stemma in Bullita, *Niðrstigningar saga*, p. 52.

[46] For a comprehensive discussion of the devil as a tempter, or an instigator, see Dendle, *Satan Unbound*, pp. 19–39. Also, on the parallels between the Mermedonians and the Jews in the Old English *Andreas* poem, cf. Hieatt, 'The Harrowing of Mermedonia', p. 60.

[47] *Assumptio s. Marie*, in *Homiliu-bók*, pp. 4–10 (p. 6).

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[48] See Renate Pillinger, *Der Apostel Andreas: ein Heiliger von Ost und West im Bild der frühen Kirche : ikonographisch-ikonologische Studie* (Wien, 1994). As Andrei Vinogradov has pointed out, the image resonates with the apostolic depictions in a number of apocryphal writing in which Andrew is associated with fire: in one Coptic fragment Jesus says to Andrew that his 'name is the fire', and in other sources the apostle is said to burn towns when angered and his face is compared to the lightning. Andrei Yu. Vinogradov, 'Образ апостола: между апокрифом и иконографией', *Христианский восток. Том 8 (XIV)* (St. Petersburg: Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа, 2017), pp. 41–46; 'Пламенеют ли волосы апостола Андрея?', in *Европа Святых*, ed. Svetlana A. Yatsyk (St. Peterburg: Алетейа, 2018), pp. 249–252.

[49] Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols,* p. 47. Also, Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland*, p. 43.

[50] On the parallels drawn between Samson's deeds in Gaza and Christ's Harrowing of Hell (approproate within the associative sequence Andrew — Samson — Harrowing of Hell), see Siân Grønlie, *The Old Testament in Medieval Icelandic Texts* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2024), pp. 79–80.

[51] George Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 47.

[52] *Fabr.*, p. 459. The denizens are still given one line "Peccavimus in justum" [Indeed we have sinned] but the emphasis is thus on their guilt rather than their desire for salvation. Another curious detail is that in Latin Mirmidonians are afraid at the sight and sound of Andrew's torment and his prayers: "timor subitus invasit incolas civitatis illius" [sudden fear came upon the inhabitants of the city]. The detail is absent from the Old Norse text (the Mirmidonians, however, express their desire to avoid the wrath of God), and appears only later, at the final martyrdom of the apostle. For further discussion, see chapter 3.

[53] *API*, p. 321.

Of some interest is that this scene arrangement in Old Norse resonates with the Greek *Praxeis* and Old English *Andreas*, both of which are preoccupied with seeing and, the latter in particular, with the idea of penitence, by which Andrew expiates his sin of not trusting God unquestioningly.[56] As *Andreas saga postola I* states that 'a hverium steini ok stræti var hans bloð **set**', it creates a link between things seen and the desire to see: the interplay between *var set* and *synir* appears to be a conscious device, playing into the wider theme of seeing and being blind.[57] Likewise, in continuation of the already cited passage *Á allra heilagra messu*, with his bloodied body Christ 'sýner', shows, 'huer meínlǽte hann tók a sér øss til hiálpar oc miscunnar' [what pains he took upon himself to our help and mercy], what pains he took upon himself to help us and out of mercy for us.[58] The salvation is through blood, but it is penitence that makes it truly seen: only when the blood is spilt and the denizens repent can they be redeemed.

However, before Andrew's blood is spilt all over the streets of Mirmidon, he sheds tears upon seeing the incarcerated Matthew which, apparently, causes him great dismay. As has been suggested by the first chapter, within the narrative Andrew undergoes his initiation into the apostlehood during his time in the city. In a way, this resonates with the opening of this chapter, in which Bede's attitude to suffering is mentioned: for him, 'tears wrenched from the eyes by unendurable pain amount to a baptismal initiation into sanctity.'[59] But tears might also foreshadow the later conversion of the Mirmidonians and introduce the idea of repentance, as well as reinforcing the *imitatio Christi* motif: not unlike Tertullian who expressed his desire to suffer 'that he may obtain from God complete forgiveness, by giving in exchange his blood',[60] Andrew suffers and obtains forgiveness for himself and for others through his blood. The next section will consider the interplay between tears, torture, and grace.

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[54] On the imagery of the path or way in the Old Norse Christian writings see Peter Hallberg, 'Imagery in Religious Old Norse Prose Literature: an Outline', *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 102 (1987), pp. 137–138.

[55] *Postulamál*, in *Homiliu-bók,* p. 19, ll.3–5.

[56] Cf. Robert Boenig, *Saint and Hero: Andreas and Medieval Doctrine* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1991), pp. 30–54.

[57] Cf. For an observation of a similar word-play based on the ideas of seeing and blindness, see, *Old English Homily*, in *The Acts of Andrew in the Country of the Cannibals: Translations from Greek, Latin, and Old English*, tr. Robert Boenig, in *Garland Library of Medieval Literature*, v. 70 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1991), pp. 57–69 (p. 61 n. 15).

[58] *A allra heilagra Messu,* p. 45.

[59] Dendle, 'Pain and Saint-Making', p. 46.

II. TEARS & JOY

As has already been mentioned, the story of Andrew is that of martyrdom in God's name; he imitates Christ — both consciously and unconsciously — and willingly undergoes torments in the process. Joyful disposition is one of the recurring features of his endurance in the face of physical pain and death. Even though oftentimes this emotive script might surprise modern readers, it is rather appropriate within the scope of hagiographical literature, marked by its proclivity towards Christological motifs. The saint is rarely depicted as distressed or miserable in an explicit manner: an image of a weeping saint is a recurrent one but refers the reader, more often than not, to the idea of compassion and serves as a reminder of the weeping Christ. In the Old Norse *Andreas saga postola I* Andrew weeps bitterly upon seeing his fellow apostle Matthew in his decrepit state. Contrary to Roughton's suggestion that 'Andrew's tremendous weeping upon seeing Matthew' is an expansion of the initial Latin source, *De Gestis Beati Andreae Apostoli*, it supplies the exact phrase in exactly the same place in the text:[61]

> Quam ut ingressus est, ad publicum illico carcerem contulit, inveniensque cum r(e)liquis vinctis Matthæum, **amarissime flevit** & facta oratione hæc ve(r)ba locutus est: [...].[62]
>
> Shortly after he arrived, he went immediately to a public prison, and upon finding Matthew with the rest of the captives, he wept most bitterly, and after making a prayer he said these words:[...].

The translation, albeit in line with the source text, is considerably more verbose and expansive: it rarely renders the Latin original *verbatim* but adds multiple descriptive details to the narrative.[63] The mention of Andrew's bitter weeping, however, presents in itself a direct, unmodified translation preceded by the description of falling locks and light, brighter than the sun, shining in prison:

> En er Andreas postoli sa Mattheum postola þar inni með oðrum bandingium, þeim er þeir borgarmenn hofðu i pislum fyrir guðs nafni, þa **gret hann beiskliga** ok bað til guðs ok mælti [...].[64]
>
> And when Andrew the apostle saw therein the apostle Matthew with other captives, whom the men of the city had tortured for the name of God, then he wept bitterly and prayed to God and said: [...]."

However, in translation the phrase acquires additional connotations which point towards a broader Biblical and literary landscape, thus infusing the Mirmidon episode with new meanings. The following section considers in seven steps — each exploring a different facet of the collocation — the intricate interplay of verbal echoes and motifs introduced by 'grata beiskliga' and reinforced by the surrounding text.

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[60] Elaine H. Pagels, 'Gnostic and Orthodox Views of Christ's Passion: Paradigms for the Christian's Response to persecution?', in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale 1978. Volume One.*, ed. Bentley Layton (Leiden: Brill, 1981), pp. 262–288 (p. 273).

[61] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 203.

[62] *Fabr.*, p. 458. Translations from Latin are my own unless stated otherwise.

[63] Cf. Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 196–199.

[64] *API*, p. 320. Translations from Old Norse are my own unless stated otherwise."

I. Tears of Repentance

Apparently, the collocation 'grata beiskliga' was used as a close equivalent of its Latin counterpart, which is further corroborated by an example from *Tveggja postula saga Pétrs ok Páls*, where it corresponds to 'flevit amare' (he cried bitterly) found in Luke 22:62.[65] Overall, 'grata beiskliga' is frequently used in Old Norse-Icelandic religious literature, and it appears there as an outward expression of characters' contrition — introducing a sense of sorrowful regret to the characters' true penitence. For instance, in *Jóns saga postola I* bitter weeping follows the indication of a perpetrator's 'true remorse': „Ok er postolinn hafði þetta mællt, þa nam illvirkinn staðar, ok **tok sanna iðran** allra sinna gløpa, ok **griet** þat þa **bæiskliga**, er hann aðr aflæitiliga misgert."[66] [And when the apostle pronounced this, then the evil-doer halted and felt true remorse for all his wickednesses, and wept then bitterly that he had previously sinned perversely.] However, in the majority of these instances, the penitential sense is clearly marked by the verb *iðra,* 'to repent' or the noun *iðran*, 'repentance', introduced in the same, or the next, sentence. It is telling that while in *Vulg* Matthew 26:75 and Luke 22:62 there is no additional verbal specification of repentance before or after Peter's bitter weeping, in the Old Norse *Tveggja postula saga Pétrs ok Páls* it is made sure that this manifestation of the apostle's emotion is further clarified: „[…] oc hann geck ut oc **grét beiskliga**. Su **iðrun** var sva þæg guði, at […]" ([…] and he went outside and wept bitterly. His repentance was so agreeable to God that […]).[67] *Pétrs saga postola I* might be seen as an exception: there Peter's weeping is the only indicator of his penitence: „Hann mintiz þa fyrr sagðra orða drottins um sina neiting ok **gret beiskliga.**" [He then remembered the words previously spoken by the Lord about his denial and wept bitterly.] However, the story of Peter's denial and his subsequent contrition is the most frequent context for the collocation in the Old Norse religious literature and it is too well known to allow for such an 'ellipsis' without losing the meaning.[68] Perhaps, likewise, the two could have been sometimes merged into one collocation dropping the *grata*-verb without losing its connotation of contrition: 'iðra beiskliga' thus could have encompassed the meaning pertaining to both *iðra* and 'gráta beiskliga' but with somewhat diminished artistic power.[69]

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[65] 'beiskliga *adv.*', in ONP: *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?c40878> [accessed 14 February 2022]; Cf. Matthew 26:75 which has 'ploravit amare' (he cried bitterly) instead.

[66] *Postola sögur*, p. 442.

[67] *Postola sögur*, p. 286. Compare to a similar pasage in *María saga*: „Hinn (helgi) Petr hofdinge postolanna, hinn styrkazti stolpi kristninnar, huerium er gud gaf himinrikis lykla, neitadi Kristi eigi einn tima eda tuisuar helldr þrim sinnum, enn sem **hann idradizt** ok **gret beiskliga**, feck hann myskunn sins glæps, ok þar med var hann skipadr hirdir ok hofdingi drottinligrar hiardar." [This (saint) Peter chief of the apostles, the strongest pillar of Christianity, one to whom god gave keys to heavenly kingdom, renounced Christ not once or twice but three times, but as he repented and wept bitterly, he received mercy for his wickedness, and with that he was ordained a shepherd and a chief of the Lord's flock.] (*María saga: Legender om Jomfru Maria og hendes Jertegn* , ed. Carl R. Unger (Christiania, 1871), pp. 1097-8.)

[68] It is curious that this same collocation is not found in the Icelandic Homily Book: there, in the context of Peter's story, his bitter weeping is twice rendered by 'grata sárlega', which is synonymous to *beiskliga.* See, *Ressurectio domini*, in *Homiliu-bók*, pp. 71–79 (p. 76: 36r12) and *Untitled homily,* in *Homiliu-bók,* pp. 170–175 (p. 171: 78v8). While in the former homily the collocation is likewise preceded by the denotation of Peter's remorse by the verb *iðra*, the latter features no such indication. Cf., '*Ande heilagr...* ', in *Homiliu-bók*, pp. 208–215 (p. 212: 99r26): „Sǽler erom vér es vér grǫ́tom þat sárlega es vér misgerþom epterlátlega at siálfræþe óro. afþuiat vér scolom fagna at fyrgefnom oss synþom." [Those of us are more blessed who weep sorely for what we did wrong compliantly [and] by our own free will, because we should rejoice at the forgiveness of our sins.] Out of the three attested instances of 'grata sárlega',

As already mentioned, 'grata beiskliga' is frequently used in Old Norse-Icelandic religious literature in the context of genuine remorse. Nevertheless, its use is not limited to one genre or one semantic field, and might have other 'connotative meanings within the text' which — just as with its previously discussed meaning — are 'context-based and require the reader (or audience) to read deeply into the circumstances of their usage to determine the way in which it should be interpreted'.[70] Even though Oddr Snorrason's *Óláfs saga Tryggvassonar* is often seen as a work aspiring to be a hagiographical narrative,[71] its use of the collocation might be seen as outside the genre of religious prose since it is used — very much in line with romance narratives — to describe Óláfr's widow's grief and her transition into the period of mourning, which ends in her death:[72] „Grét hon beizkliga, því at henni var mikill harmr kveykðr í hiarta, svá at hon mátti hvárki eta né drekka. /Þat er sagt at Þyri dróttning kunni illa skaða sínum ok grét beizkliga fráfall Óláfs konungs, ok svá var mikill hryggleiki í hennar hjarta at hvárki mátti hon eta né drekka."[73] [She wept bitterly because there was great grief kindled in her heart, such that she could neither eat nor drink. /It is said that queen Þyri tolerated poorly her harmful loss and wept bitterly for the death of king Óláfr, and so great was the grief in her heart that she could neither eat nor drink.] Þyri's bitter weeping is accompanied by her inability to eat or drink. Likewise, in *Flóvents saga* (one of the *riddarasögur* translated in the early fourteenth-century and based on a *chanson de geste*),[74] upon receiving news of her beloved's possible death, the king's daughter utters a brief lament and then weeps bitterly; 'gráta beiskliga' is used therefore in a similar context and accompanies yet another ritualistic expression of grief, namely tearing one's own clothes: „En er hvn hafði mę́llt við miclvm harmi, þa **grę́t hvn beískliga**

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two describe Peter and the only other one refers to the rejoicing upon being forgiven for one's sins which might be seen as an expression of gratitude mixed with repentance. All the references to folios and lines are from Andrea De Leeuw Van Weenen, *Lemmatized Index to the Icelandic Homily Book. Perg. 15 4° in the Royal Library Stockholm* (Reykjavík, 2004).

[69] See, *Heilagra manna søgur: fortællinger og legender om hellige mænd og kvinder,* v. 2 , ed. Carl R. Unger (Christiania, 1877), p. 671: „Toku þeir nu brærdnir ok **idruduz beiskliga** sins glæps." [Then they became brothers and rued bitterly their wickedness]. Or, alternatively, *Maríu saga,* p. 1085: „Ok sem þessir lutir koma honum i hug, tekr hann nu heldr at lægia drambit ok **idraz beiskliga**, ok mædir sik i faustum ok vokum ok aa bænum ath liggia, ok iafnan sua **med tarum talandi**:[...]." [And as soon as these things come to his mind, he then forsakes his arrogance and repents bitterly, and chastises himself with fasting and waking and ever prostrating [himself] in prayers, and always saying thus with tears:[…]] Here, however, tears usually evoked by *gráta* are featured at the end of the sentence before it resolves into a direct speech conveying verbose lamentation.

[70] Sif Ríkharðsdóttir*, Emotion in Old Norse Literature: Translations, Voices, Contexts* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2017), p. 64.

[71] See, for instance, Christopher Abram, 'Modeling Religious Experience in Old Norse Conversion Narratives: The Case of Óláfr Tryggvason and Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld', *Speculum* 90.1 (2015), pp. 114–157 (pp. 116–117).

[72] Kristen Mills, 'Gender and Death from Grief in Medieval Scandinavian Texts', in *Grief, Gender, and Identity in the Middle Ages: Knowing Sorrow*, ed. Lee Templeton (Brill, 2022), pp. 118-141 (p. 122).

[73] Oddr Munk Snorrason, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, in *Færeyinga saga; Óláfs saga Odds*, ÍF XXV, ed. Ólafur Halldórsson (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 2006), pp. 123–362/380 (pp. 353, 371).

[74] Sif Ríkharðsdóttir, 'Riddarasögur', in *The Cambridge History of Old Norse-Icelandic Literature*, ed. Heather O'Donoghue and Eleanor Parker (Cambridge University Press, 2024), pp. 435–451 (p. 438). For a more nuanced definition of *Flóvents saga* and its genre as so-called romance epic, see Mariana Kalinke, *Found in Translation: Itinerant French Epics in Medieval Scandinavia* (Toronto: Pims, 2024), pp. 6–10.

ok reíf af ser cleði.“ [And when she had said that with much grief, then she wept bitterly and tore her clothes.][75] Overall, in these narratives the bitter weeping is suggestive of the grief associated with death and loss, and caused by (and occasionally, as in queen Þyri's case, resulting in) them.

II. Bitter Tears & Joyful Meetings in Poetry

A similar grieving pattern appears in elegies; 'gráta beiskliga', however, is absent from the poetic texts and is substituted with a poetic counterpart. For instance, in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II*, overwhelmed with sorrow for her husband, Sigrún is presented as weeping with 'grimmum tárum':

45. „Ein veldr þú, Sigrún
frá Sefafiǫllum,
er Helgi er
harmdǫgg sleginn.
Grætr þú, gullvarið,
grimmum tárum,
sólbiǫrt, suðrœn,
áðr þú sofa gangir;
hvert fellr blóðugt
á brjóst grami,
úrsvalt, innfjálgt,
ekka þrungit.[76]

> [You alone, Sigrun from Sefafell, cause Helgi to be soaked in sorrow-dew; you weep, gold-adorned lady, bitter tears, sun-bright southern girl, before you go to sleep; each falls bloody on the breast of the prince, cold and wet, burning into me, thick with grief.][77]

This speech by revenant Helgi follows Sigrún's expression of her joy at their meeting:

43. „Nú em ek svá **fegin**
fundi okkrum
sem átfrekir
Óðins haukar,
er val vitu,
varmar bráðir,
eða dǫgglitir
dagsbrún sjá.[78]

> [Now I am so glad, at our meeting, as are the greedy hawks of Odin when they know of slaughter, steaming flesh, or, dew-gleaming, they see the dawn.]

As it happens, Helgi, deceased yet unquiet, was wept back into life by his wife for one more encounter, at which Sigrún is filled with joy: 'em ek […] fegin fundi' (I am glad at [our] meeting).[79] A similar evocation of a joyful meeting, or 'find', albeit in a form of a compound-noun *fagnafundr*, also appears in the elegiac skaldic poem *Sonatorrek*, preserved in *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* which is usually dated about 1230; the poem itself is traditionally ascribed to the eponymous hero of the saga, the tenth-century warrior and skald Egill.[80] Stanza 2 brings together ‘heavy sobbing’ (*ekki höfugligr*) — also present in the previously discussed stanza (45) from *Helga kviða Hundingsbana II* — and a ‘happy find’, or a ‘happy meeting’:

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[75] *Flóvents saga I,* in *Fornsögur Suðrlanda : Magus saga jarls / Konraðs saga / Bærings saga / Flovents saga / Bevers saga*, ed. Gustaf Cederschiöld (Lund, 1884), p. 147.

[76] *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II,* in *Eddukvæði II*, ÍF, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson and Vésteinn Ólason (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 2014), pp. 270–283 (p. 281).

[77] Here and onward, the transaltion of *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II* is quoted from Mills, 'Gender and Death', pp. 126–127.

[78] *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II,* p. 281.

[79] For a discussion of the episode, see, Mills, 'Gender and Death', pp. 126–127.

2. Esa auðþeystr,
þvít **ekki veldr**
hǫfugligr,
ór hyggju stað
fagnafundr
Friggjar niðja,
ár borinn
ór Jǫtunheimum.

> [The joyful find of the kinsmen of Frigg, brought long ago from the world of giants, is not easily driven from the home of thought, and cruel grief causes this.][81]

Egill is famously struggling to compose a verse commemorating the death of his favourite son: his grief and heavy sobbing, allegedly coming from repressing (bitter) tears, strip the elderly skald of his eloquence and command of his poetic gift. [82] It is tempting, therefore, to see these expressions of seemingly controversial but yet linked emotions — sorrow juxtaposed with joy — as an attribute of elegies and lament-songs, relating stories of death and loss.

III. Joyful Meeting: St Andrew & Egill

Andreas saga postola I features a similar combination of bitter weeping and ‘joyful meeting’, the latter of which is absent from the source text:[83]

> En er Andreas postoli sa Mattheum postola þar inni með oðrum bandingium, þeim er þeir borgarmenn hofðu i pislum fyrir guðs nafni, þa **gret hann beiskliga** ok bað til guðs ok mælti: „[…].“ En þegar er hann hafði lokit bøn sinni, þa skalf myrkvastofan, ok þvi næst skein lios mikit i myrkvastofuna af himni. Þa tok Mattheus postoli sion sina, ok fellu af honum iarnrekendrnar, er hann var bundinn með, ok allir þeir er bundnir voru, slitnuðu bondin af þeim, ok urðu þeir lausir, ok lofuðu allir guð ok mælltu: „Mikill er guð, sa er helgir postolar boða.“ Siðan leiddi Andreas postoli þa

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[80] Joseph Harris, “Myth to Live By’ in *Sonatorrek*’, in *Laments for the Lost in Medieval Literature*, ed. by Jane Tolmie and M. J. Toswell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 149-171 (p. 152). For further discussion, see Torfi H. Tulinius, ‘The Construction of Egils saga’, in *Egil, the Viking Poet: New Approaches to Egil’s Saga*, ed. Laurence de Looze et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), pp. 23–39; Karl G. Johansson, ‘The Selfish Skald: The Problematic Case of the Self of the Poet of *Sonatorrek*’, in *Approaches to the Medieval Self*, ed. Stefka G. Eriksen, Karen Langsholt Holmqvist, and Bjørn Bandlien (De Gruyter, 2020), pp. 123–144.

[81] *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, ÍF II, ed. Sigurður Nordal (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 1933), p. 247. Translation is cited from E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 29. Also, see Inna Matyushina’s more literal translation of this stanza in her article ‘Grief, Gender, and the Birth of Lyric in Old Norse Poetry’, in *Grief, Gender, and Identity in the Middle Ages: Knowing Sorrow*, ed. Lee Templeton (Brill, 2022), pp. 94–117 (p. 113): “It is not easy to emit (to breathe out), as *the sobbing* [italics is mine — *E.V.*] presses hard out of the dwelling of thought (=breast) a joyful gift of the descendants of Frigg (=Æsir), delivered in ancient times from Joţunheimr.”

[82] ‘ekki, a., m.’ in Cleasby-Vigfússon.

[83] The lexical unit *fagna-* or *fagnaðar-fundr* is not uncommon in the Old Norse prose texts and appears across a variety of genres, in the vast majority of cases it occurs as a part of the rather formulaic expression ‘[ok] varð/verðr þar fagnafundr mikill’ (and there was a great joyful meeting), cf. ‘fagna·fundr *sb.m.*’, in ONP: *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o19039> [accessed 16 February 2022] and ‘fagnaðar·fundr *sb.m.*’, in ONP: *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* < https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o18989> [accessed 16 February 2022].

> menn alla or myrkvastofunni, ok let hvern fara til sins heraðs. **Þa varð fagnaðarfundr mikill** með þeim postolum, [...].[84]
>
> And when Andrew the apostle saw Matthew the apostle therein with other captives, those who endured tortures for the name of God, then he wept bitterly, and called out to God, and said: '[…].' And as soon as he finished his prayer, the prison trembled, and then, next, a great light from heaven shone in the prison. Then Matthew the apostle recovered his sight, and the iron fetters with which he was bound fell from him, and all those who were bound broke free from their bonds, and they became free, and all praised God and said: 'Great is God, whom the saintly apostles preach.' Then Andrew the apostle led all those men out of the prison and bade each of them go to their provinces. Then there was a great joyful-meeting between the apostles, […].

Considering that the prison in Mirmidon bears strong resemblance to hell, or simply the underworld,[85] the connotations of loss do not seem entirely out of place: the apostle Matthew may be as good as dead and Andrew's weeping structurally prompts his release from the prison-cell. This, in turn, refers the audience to the Harrowing of Hell, which is typologically akin to the resurrection of Lazarus.[86] *Sonatorrek* further supports this reading: not only it is composed on the death of the skald's son but the *fagna fundr*, a 'happy find', is brought back from the land of giants — a place strongly suggestive of a liminal space or even otherworld. Although standing for different things in these two texts, in both of them *fagna fundr* is a gift received through, or rather from, god. Andrew meets Matthew through God's mediation, while the mead of poetry, encoded in Egill's kenning, is originally procured and distributed by Oðínn. Just as Egill's tears are repressed and come out as sobbing, his eloquence is stumbling over his grief and he is striving to use Oðínn's 'happy' gift. In Andrew's case his 'tremendous' weeping is an overture to the apostle's unhindered and verbose evocation of God, instrumental to Matthew's liberation and their consequent joyful meeting. It might be argued that 'Egill struggles with his pagan faith, especially with his special relationship to Odin', and that it takes him twenty-four stanzas (out of twenty-five) to regain and recognise his poetic gift as a recompense for the loss he suffered.[87] Both Andrew and Egill, therefore, attain *fagnafundr* (or, its variant-spelling *fagnaðarfundr*) as the outcome of speaking; however, if the Christian god is generous to his follower and assists him in his hardships, Óðinn is far more capricious in his affections and betrays rather than supports the poet.

Furthermore, both *Sonatorrek* (at least according to the saga's description of its origin story) and the Mirmidon-episode are set in a rather similar environment. While the famous poem was allegedly composed in the retirement of a private bed-closet, action in *Andreas saga postola I* unfolds within the confines of a city, or a fortress, and then — most importantly — inside the prison-walls: „Siðan gekk hann af skipi i borgina til myrkvastofu þeirar, er Mattheus var inni; […]" [Then he went from a ship into the fortified city to the prison inside of which was Matthew].[88] In a way, Egill and Andrew share in the same journey: as the apostle makes his way from the seashore to the city (*í borginna*) and then to the prison, so does the skald: he brings his son's body — found on the shore — to his homestead, very appropriately called nothing other than *Borg,* and later locks himself into the confinement of his sleeping chamber: „Eptir þat reið Egill heim *til Borgar* [italics are mine — *E.V.*], ok er hann kom heim, þá gekk hann þegar til lokrekkju þeirar, er hann var vanr [at] sofa í; […]" [After that Egill went home to Borg, and as soon as he came home, he went to the locked bed-closet, wherein he used to sleep].[89] In a broader sense their 'journeys' share more than just physical destination and landscape: they represent a spiritual progression towards salvation, with as many or as few Christian connotations as their respective situations allow.[90] Just like Andrew's prayer, Egill's elegy — albeit extremely narcissistic in comparison — bears a 'soteriological function' and prevents him from starving himself to death.[91] As the Christian apostle imitates Christ in his toils, labours, and spoken word, so does the elderly skald manifest his 'internal *imitatio dei*' in 'the verbal world' he creates.[92] St Andrew's mimesis is largely shaped by the compiler's apt use of intertextual references and imagery rather than consciously performed by the apostle himself, and so might be the case with Egill. Although he might have styled his elegy to reflect the Odinic myth, namely one-eyed god's mourning of Baldr, it is plausible that it was the saga-author — possibly none other than Snorri, the author of *Gylfaginning,* relating the myth as we know it — who 'noted and strengthened the parallel between Egil and Odin'.[93] Regardless of the mimetic perspective, Andrew and Egill are at home in the realm of typology and re-enactment, and they might both be seen as imitators, whose experience is a *re-presentatio* of certain pre-set events — be it Christ's passion and his subsequent Harrowing of Hell or the 'first death and grief' in the Old Norse cosmology.[94] Seemingly different things, Christian and outwardly pagan myth, unfurl within the similar eschatological and soteriological framework: Baldr's death, resulting in a series of events leading to Ragnarǫk, and Baldr's consequent return to the renewed world might be aligned with Christ's death on the Cross and his Second Coming in the end of the world. Considering the possible provenance of *Sonatorrek* and 'its familiarity with clerical literature', this connection was likely to be explicitly seen by its author and contemporary audiences, turning the poem into a story of conversion and celebrating 'the Salvation promised by Christ.'[95] Overall, both protagonists embark on their 'journeys' for soteriological reasons and they both require a certain degree of eloquence to reach their final destination. The skald and the apostle, therefore, have much more in common than first meets the eye. The affinity between *Andreas saga postola I* and *Egils saga* might have been recognized by the audience giving it a chance to compare, contrast, and think about the two sagas side-by-side — to their mutual enrichment.

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[84] *API*, p. 320.

[85] See, this chapter, pp. 75, 92.

[86] For further discussion, see chapter 2, pp. 92–94.

[87] Harris, 'Myth to Live By', p. 156; cf. Richard North, *Pagan Words and Christian Meanings* (Amsterdam; Atlanta: Rodopi, 1991), p. 25.

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[88] *API,* p. 320.

[89] *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, ÍF II, ed. Sigurður Nordal (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 1933), p. 243.

[90] See, for instance, Torfi H. Tulinius, 'Le statut théologique d'Egill Skalla-Grímsson', in *Hugur: offerts à Régis Boyer pour son 65ᵉ anniversaire*, ed. Claude Lecouteux and Olivier Gouchet (Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 279-288.

[91] Harris, 'Myth to Live By', p. 157.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

[93] Alison Finlay, 'Elegy and Old Age in *Egil's Saga*', in *Egil, the Viking Poet: New Approaches to* Egil's Saga, ed. Laurence de Looze, Jón Karl Helgason, Russell Poole, and Torfi H. Tulinius (University of Toronto Press, 2015), pp. 111–130 (p. 118).

[94] Harris, 'Myth to Live By', pp. 159, 163. More on Egill's *imitatio* to be found in Philip Roughton, 'A Hagiographic Reading of *Egils saga*', in *Á austrvega. Saga and East Scandinavia. Preprint Papers of the 14th International Saga Conference*, ed. Henrik Williams and Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist (Gävle: Gävle University Press, 2009), pp. 816–822 (pp. 819–822).

IV. Joy & Eloquence

This parallel between the poetic gift and ability to preach is further developed later in the episode: after Matthew's release and departure, Andrew stays in Mirmidon and begins to preach openly, thus incurring hostility and torment from the inhabitants of the city. However, being subjected to torture does not quench his zeal but, on the contrary, prompts the apostle to spread the Word even more vigorously: „Af bøn postolans ok hans verðleikum[96] fyrir guðs miskunn varð sva mikils vert um dyrð postolans, at **hann var sem mest kennandi ok katastr, er þeir pindu hann sem mest;** [...].“ [By the prayers of the apostle and his merits through God's grace, the glory of the apostle became of such great worth [was so greatly valued] that he was the greatest teacher/preacher and the merriest [of men] when they tortured him the most.][97] This description is an addition to the text, introduced by the saga-compiler and not found in its initial Latin source. The alliterative pair 'mest **k**ennandi ok **k**atastr' is, in its form, reminiscent of a formulaic sequence, and probably was intended to be read as an *ad hoc* formula infused with intertextual connotations derived from other formulaic expressions containing either of the two words. At the same time, the collocation might perhaps be also seen as a hendiadys — two synonymous words used to express one concept.

The quoted passage is later echoed in the description of Andrew's execution: not only does the apostle use a similar syntactical structure when referring to his torments, but later another hendiadys is used to describe his joyful disposition at the crucifixion — 'glaðr ok feginn' (glad and joyful).[98] Although,

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[95] See, Torfi H. Tulinius, 'The Conversion of *Sonatorrek*', in *Analecta Septentrionalia. Beiträgee zur nordgermanischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte*, ed. Wilhelm Heizmann, Klaus Böldl and Heinrich Beck (Berlin; New York: DeGruyter, 2009), pp. 701–714 (pp. 709–710). On Christian influence and context for *Sonatorrek*, also see Siân Grønlie, '"There Is Hope for a Tree": Two Laments on the Loss of Sons', in *The Medieval North and Its Afterlife: Essays in Honor of Heather O'Donoghue*, ed. Siân Grønlie and Carl Phelpstead (Berlin, Boston: Medieval Institute Publications, 2024), pp. 13–26; Russell Poole, '"Non enim possum plorare nec lamenta fundere': *Sonatorrek* in a Tenth-Century Context', in *Laments for the Lost in Medieval Literature*, ed. by Jane Tolmie and M. J. Toswell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 173–200. Further on the Christian context of Egill's life and parallels to religious writing in *Egils saga*, see, Torfi H. Tulinius, 'Le statut théologique d'Egill Skalla-Grímsson', pp. 279-288; David Bond West, '*Egils saga* and the Old Testament', *Saga-Book* 40 (2016), pp. 56–68; Margaret Clunies Ross, 'The Art of Poetry and the Figure of the Poet in *Egils saga*', *Parergon* 22 (1978), pp. 3–12 (p. 6).

[96] On '*verðleikr*' and its role in salvation, cf. David Bond West, 'Rhetoric and Style in Old Norse Religious Prose*'* (Doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2024), p. 98: "The inefficacy of *sjalfra sinna verðleikum* (one's own merit) for salvation is one of the themes that Paul discusses most in his epistles, and the benefits of *goðra mann bænir* (good men's prayers) and God's own intervention for repentance and salvation also reflect his writings."

[97] *API*, p. 321. As fn. 17 of this chapter has already stated, a more accurate, literal translation of the this line would be 'he was teaching the most and the merriest when they tortured him the most'. For the sake of style, this thesis uses a more loose translation.

[98] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to', p. 205. *API*, pp. 340–1: „En Andreas postoli bað lyðinn þess, at þeir dveldi eigi pisl hans, en hann tok pisl glaðr ok feginn ok let eigi af kenningi drottins.“ [And Andrew the apostle

glaðr, *feginn*, and *kátr* are synonyms expressing the emotional state of merriment, all three — when contextualised — might assume a different set of connotations, becoming semantically close to *kennandi*. Although earlier in the text it is mentioned that Andrew ‘tok at kenna kenningar i borginni berliga’ [began preaching the teachings openly in that town], he is not explicitly identified as a preacher, *kennandi*, until he is tortured. Torture might be, therefore, seen as a transformative experience propelling Andrew towards his mimesis. A parallel found in one of the Icelandic homilies further clarifies the use of *kennandi* and its relation to apostolic service. The homily considers St Stephen’s role in the conversion of Saul, later known as Paul the apostle: „hann snøresc til guþs af bǿn stephans oc georþesc **postole oc kennande þióþa**“ [he turned to God by Stephan’s prayer and became an apostle and a preacher to the nations or Gentiles], and later „niþr fell hann grímr ofstopamaðr en hann reís upp agǽtr **kennande**“ [Down he fell, grim and an overbearing man, but he rose up a goodly preacher].[99] In this instance *kennandi* indicates the conversion of Paul, his marked transition from an unbeliever to the apostle.[100] The same, perhaps, might be said about St Andrew, whose endurance proves him to be ‘the best preacher and the merriest of men’, and now that he is named as such, he is properly initiated into apostolic service.

Kátr, on the contrary, is not found in Icelandic homilies at all, being closer to the secular prosaic — and even poetic — language;[101] it often denotes either ‘a positive mental state (*kátr*), which implies that things are in balance’ or a state of ‘general merriment in festivities’ accompanying inebriation and drinking.[102] It also appears in this latter sense in some religious texts: such is the case in *Gyðinga saga* which, while relating a story of Simon Thassi’s assassination at the feast, renders Latin *inebriatus* as „Simon var kátr af dryck.“ [Simon was merry with drink.][103] Albeit usually clarified by its context (cf. poetic *öl-kátr*), *kátr* has a strong connotation of intoxication, caused by drinking; yet it assumes this meaning from the surrounding vocabulary which means it could provide for several associative layers induced by its context. The former sense — a positive mental state resulting from things being in balance — is likewise elaborated by the lexical units encircling the word; this way it forms a rather formulaic adjectival pair with *heill*, thus producing a hendiadys ‘heill ok kátr’.[104] *Heill* on its own means ‘whole’ or ‘sound’, marking a

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asked the crowd not to delay his torture, and he underwent the torture gladly and happily and did not let go of the teaching of the Lord.]; also, the sentiment and syntax, similar to the discussed line from the Mirmidon-episode, can be found on p. 340: “[…] þvi þægari verð ek guði minum, sem ek stondumz fleiri þrautir fyrir hans nafni” [The more struggles I endure in the name of my god, the more acceptable I become to him].

[99] *‘J gér helldom ver...*’, in *Homiliu-bók*, pp. 176–180 (p. 178: 81v15; 81v22). Also, cf. West, ‘Rhetoric and Style’, p. 102.

[100] Cf. II Timothy 1:11-12: “Wherein I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and teacher of the Gentiles. For which cause I also suffer these things”.

[101] However, it is not unheard of in the later religious poems, for instance, the fourteenth-century *Petrsdrápa* — a contemporary of the surviving four stanzas of *Andréasdrápa* — features the adjective in stanzas 47, 54. In the former, *kátr* is juxtaposed with weeping (*gráta*) in the context of martyrdom. See, David McDougall, ‘Anonymous, *Pétrsdrápa*’, in *Poetry on Christian Subjects: Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, vol. VII, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 796–844.

[102] Sif Ríkharðsdóttir*, Emotion in Old Norse Literature*, pp. 64-5; ‘kátr *adj.*’, in ONP: *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o42722> [accessed 18 February 2022].

[103] ‘kátr *adj. Gyð(1995) 108*^{4}’, in ONP: *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* < https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?c339738> [accessed 21 February 2022].

[104] kátr *adj:* heill ok kátr’, in ONP: *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o42722> [accessed 21 February 2022].

state of health derived from a body's integrity; and, when brought together, both adjectives might point towards balance and wholeness, both mental and physical. For instance, in *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jacobs (hins eldra)* Jacob brings relief to a poor bed-ridden man who 'sprettr upp […] heill ok kátr' ('springs up whole and happy') at once after the apostle's prayer; needless to say that upon being healed the man praised Jesus with 'miklum faganaði' ('great joy').[105] As saints and their holy relics were believed to make a person whole and healthy again and their post-mortem bodily incorruptibility was seen as a sign of holiness, there is no wonder that *heill* has an affinity with *heilagr*, 'holy' or 'saint', both at the etymological and semantic levels.[106]

These semantic overtones, attributed to *kátr* through its association with *heill*, fit in well with the narrative situation in which 'mest kennandi ok katastr' are applied to Andrew. Not only do they highlight his equanimity in the face of physical torture and his bodily integrity — occasionally granted to holy martyrs and manifested here in the absent description of the mutilated apostle's body — but they also resonate with Andrew's newly recognised status of a preacher and the state of holiness that belongs with it. However, *katastr* can be further juxtaposed with *kennandi* in the same way that inebriation can be equated to eloquence. Explicitly outlined as such in Snorri Sturluson's *Prose Edda,* written sometime between 1220 and 1240, the association between poetic composition and drink was a common trope in Old Norse-Icelandic literary tradition (as well as in the Old English) — a link Christians would not have immediately dismissed.[107] Of some interest is an attested case of *kátr* encountered in close proximity to *málreitinn*, an adjective meaning 'talkative, open', providing a link between free-flowing speech and contentment: 'þá var Hrœrekr kátr ok málrœtinn' [then Hrœrekr was merry and talkative].[108]

V. Joy & Torture

In *Andreas saga postola I* the connection between eloquence and its origins in tipsy merriment is further intensified through an allusion to the New Testament narrative, namely to Luke 23:34. As was previously discussed, the saga is permeated by strong Christological motifs; in the Mirmidon episode it goes as far as Andrew repeating the words of Jesus at the end of his prayer: „Drottinn minn Jesus Kristr, luk upp þu hjartans augum þessara manna með þinni miskunnar hendi, sva at þeir snuiz fra villu sinni, **þviat þeir vita eigi, hvat þeir gera.**“ [My lord Jesus Christ, open the heart's eyes of these men with your merciful hand so that they turn away from their heresy, for they do know not what they are doing.][109] The phrase 'þviat þeir vita eigi, hvat þeir gera' appears in the Icelandic *Homiliu-bók* in the *Passio Domini* homily: after being sentenced to be crucified, Christ appeals to his Father to forgive the Jews who 'know not what they are doing': „Faþer fyrgef þo þeim synþ þessa. **Þviat þeir vito eige hvat þeir gera**“ [Father, forgive them still this sin. For they know not what they are doing].[110] The same homily begins with Christ calling out to God, asking to be spared from a 'drink of torture': „Faþer tacþu af mér **píslar dryc** þenna at þat ma verþa. En þo verþe vile þinn en eige minn.“ [Father, take this drink of torture from me if that may be. And yet let it be your will and not mine.][111] Both utterances originate from the Gospel of Luke, Luke 22:42 and Luke 23:34, being a close translation from Latin. Given the connotations inherent to *kátr*, the familiarity of the audience with the religious texts, and explicit intertextual references within the saga, 'píslar dryc' might be potentially regarded as an implicit referent and a cause of Andrew's *kátastr-* and *kennandi-*qualities.[112] If torment, or suffering, might be seen as a drink, then it can intoxicate; if something is an intoxicating drink, it can be linked to the poetic mead and lead to a fit of poetic eloquence. Even though there is no clear indication of Andrew suffering from the torments inflicted upon his body by Mirmidonians, the saga mentions that his blood was seen on every street and stone. This mention of blood becomes crucial in equating torment with an inebriation-inducing liquid as the Old Norse skaldic tradition supplies further links between the two: according to its mythological origin-story, poetic mead was a mixture of Kvasir's blood and honey, and one of the kennings for it was 'Kvasis dreyra', Kvasir's blood, evoking the image of the 'blood-poetry'.[113] Thus, in *Andreas saga postola I* the apostle's torture manifests itself in his spilt blood, and 'píslar dryck' can be also visualized as [Kvasir's] blood and even likened to the poetic mead. Blood, therefore, flows out of Andrew's body in the same way words move out of the poet's breast; and as witnessed by *Sonatorrek*, sometimes the poetic liquid can be 'expelled only with difficulty and in connection with emotional trauma', just as blood is drawn as an outcome of physical torment.[114] Taking this one step further — through this chain of associations, the soteriological function of preaching and lamentation is physically shown in the bloodied streets of the city: like Andrew's preaching, his blood becomes instrumental to the conversion and redemption of Mirmidonians, showing them the *heilsugata*, the 'path to salvation' — both metaphorically and literally.[115] When it comes to salvation, words and blood become merged together, at once unconfused and inseparable.

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[105] *Postola sögur*, p. 587. This joyful disposition can be also seen as derived from *kátr* which, despite all its connotations and sematic undertones, primarily means 'merry, cheerful'. See, for instance, another hendiadys featuring *kátr* and highlighting its basic meaning — *glaðr ok/eða kátr:* kátr *adj:* kátr (…) ok/eða glaðr', in ONP: *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o42722> [accessed 21 February 2022].

[106] Cf. Fedor B. Uspenskij, *Scandinavians — Varangians — Rus': Historical and Philological Studies* [*Skandinavy — Variagi — Rus': istoriko-filologicheskie ocherki*] (Moscow: Iazyki Slavianskoy Kultury, 2002), pp. 219–221.

[107] North, *Pagan Words and Christian Meanings*, pp. 22, 26. Although in Bede's account Cædmon receives his poetic gift through the divine intervention in his dream, the events of that night are closely linked to feasting (*convivium/gebeorscipe*).

[108] *Óláfs saga Helga*, in Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla II,* ÍF XXVII, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 1945), pp. 3–415 (p. 118). As can be seen from this example, the quality of *málreitinn* is occasionally contrasted with the notion of being *fámáligr*, 'few-spoken' or 'silent', used previously to describe king Hrœrekr („fámalugr ok svaraði stiff ok stutt"), recovering from his wounds, and apparently dispelled into talkative disposition by his contentment at the allocation of a proper carer and companion (cf. connotations of *kátr* with physical health and integrity, inherent to the process of healing). Also, see *Óláfs saga kyrra* — the same contrast might be found there: in the case of king Óláfr, however, it is apparently resolved by the state of merry drunkenness, this time expressed through *glaðr*, the adjective synonymous to *kátr*: „Hann [Óláfr] hafði gult hár sem silki ok fór afar vel, bjartan líkam, eygðr manna bezt, limaðr vel, fámálugr optast ok ekki talaðr á þingum, *glaðr við ǫl, drykkjumaðr mikill, málrœtinn* [italics are mine — *E.V.*] ok blíðmæltr, friðsamr, meðan hans ríki stoð." (Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla III,* ÍF XXVIII, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 1951), pp. 203–209 (p. 203).)

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[109] *API,* p. 321.

[110] *Passio domini,* in *Homiliu-bók,* pp. 66–70 (p. 79).

[111] *Passio domini*, p. 66.

[112] On the 'cup of death/life, etc.' in the Old Norse Homilies, see, David M. McDougall, 'Studies in the Prose Style of the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian Homily Books' (Doctoral thesis, University of London, 1983), pp. 517–522.

[113] Carol Clover, 'Skaldic Sensibility', *Arkiv foȑ Nordisk Filologi 93* (1978), pp. 63-81 (p.73); *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, 1949), pp. 101–102, 113:„[...] þá kölluðu þeir hann með sér á einmæli ok drápu hann, **létu renna blóð hans** í tvau ker ok einn ketil, ok heitir sá Óðrerir, en kerin heita Són ok Boðn. **Þeir blendu hunangi við blóðit,** ok varð þar af mjöðr sá, er hverr, er af drekkr, verðr skáld eða fræðamaðr.“ [[…]when they called him for a one-to-one conversation with them and killed him, they let his blood run into two vessels and one cauldron, and that one was called Óðrerir, and the vessels were called Són and Boðn. They mixed honey with the blood, and that became such mead that whomever were to drink it, would become either a poet or a learned man.]

In a sense, in Andrew the figures of a skald and an apostle are equally merged. This conjunction is well attested in the Old Norse literary tradition, as David could be called *sálmaskáld*, a 'skald of psalms', or an odd evangelist is occasionally identified as *guðspjallaskáld*, a 'gospel-skald'.[116] Moreover, apparently, Christian daily prayers such as the Credo and the Paternoster could have been compared to the art of poetry which likewise belonged to the category of *fræði*.[117] Likewise, from at least the mid-twelfth century skalds sought their inspiration from God and the Holy Trinity, often beginning their poems with an invocation asking for the gift of poetry.[118] And as in the Christian tradition 'all writers of scripture were believed to be inspired by the Holy Spirit', so were skalds of whom the evangelists, i.e. *guðspjallaskáld,* were part.[119] In this regard, a mention of St Andrew's glory, attained through prayers and God's grace, is rather telling: „**Af bøn postolans ok hans verðleikum fyrir guðs miskunn varð sva mikils vert um dyrð postolans**, at hann var sem mest kennandi ok katastr, er þeir pindu hann sem mest; [...].“[120] [By the prayers of the apostle and his merits through God's grace, the glory of the apostle became of such great worth that he was the greatest teacher and the merriest [of men] when they tortured him the most.] The apostle, therefore, invokes his Lord in a manner similar to a skald, and is likewise granted endurance and eloquence, further prompted by torments.

The alliterative pair 'mest kennandi ok katastr' therefore can be indeed read as hendiadys where both parts identify the apostle as a wielder of words; however, each part introduces a number of overtones thus broadening the semantic field. While *kennandi* defines Andrew in his Christian, apostolic role, *katastr* points the audience towards the divine nature of the apostle's preaching: given by God's grace and facilitated by the torment — both of which have an intoxicating effect often associated with skaldic poetry. Furthermore, at a deeper level and in a subtler way, *katastr* refers the audience to the ideas of contentment, physical integrity and even sanctity, becoming self-explanatory and clarifying Andrew's equanimity — albeit encoded in his name — in the face of torments. Overall, this reading of the Old Norse interpolation, enriches the understanding of its purpose and its multilayered meaning: being infused with both religious and more indigenous cultural conventions, the apostle's cheerful disposition becomes an emotive script less counterintuitive to modern and contemporary audiences.

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[114] Clover, 'Skaldic Sensibility', p. 71.
[115] Cf. *Assumptio Sancte Marie,* in *Homiliu-bók,* pp. 4–10 (p. 6): „þviat hon georþesc verþ at bera þann es eoss leýste meþ síno blóþe fra helvitis qvoolom.“ [therefore she became worthy to bear that one who redeemed us with his blood from the torments of hell.]
[116] Sverrir Tómasson, '"Sǫguljóð, skrǫk, háð": Snorri Sturluson's Attitude to Poetry', in *Úr Dölum til Dala. Guðbrandur Vigfússon Centenary Essays*, ed. Rory McTurk and Andrew Wawn (Leeds: University of Leeds Printing Service, 1989), pp. 317–326 (p. 342.); Denis A. Golovanenko, 'Skald of Psalms: Education and Poetry in Twelfth Century Iceland [Skald Psalmov: Uchenost' i Poeziya v Islandii XII v.]', in *Facts and Signs: Research in History of Semiotics*, 4 [*Fakty I Znaki: Issledovaniya po istorii semiotiki*, 4], ed. Boris A. Uspenskij and Fedor B. Uspenskij (Moscow: Neolit, 2020), pp. 87–112. (p. 102).
[117] Torfi H. Tulinius,'The Prosimetrum Form 2: Verses as the Basis for Saga Composition and Interpretation', in *Skaldsagas. Text, Vocation, and Desire in the Icelandic Sagas of Poets*, ed. Russell Poole (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 191–217 (p. 197); Sverrir Tómasson, "Sǫguljóð, skrǫk, háð," p. 342.
[118] Katrina Attwood, 'Intertextual Aspects of the Twelfth-Century Christian *Drápur*', *Saga-Book* 24 (1994–1997), pp. 221–239 (pp. 230–231); Golovanenko, 'Skald of Psalms', pp. 100-101.
[119] Torfi H. Tulinius,'The Prosimetrum Form 2', p. 195.
[120] *API,* p. 321.

VI. Andrew & Weeping Christ

Although 'gráta beiskiliga' fits within this framework and is closely connected to skaldic and elegiac tradition in Old Norse literature, within the context it might also point the audience towards very particular scriptural events. The cloud of associations might, therefore, become clearer — …or more convoluted? — if the weeping is simultaneously seen as a typological link to the New Testament where Jesus wept at least on two occasions, both of which need to be considered. Out of the two, the more lexically straightforward parallel would be *Vulg* Luke 19:41 describing Christ's arrival to Jerusalem: "Et ut appropinquavit, videns civitatem **flevit** super illam, dicens:[…]." [And as he approached, seeing the city he wept about it, saying: […].] The word choice in the Latin original indicates a possibility of a conscious reference which would be recognised by the translator — the link is even more obvious since in the Pseudo-Abdian account the weeping follows immediately after Andrew's arrival to the city of Mirmidon. This further intensifies a corresponding relationship between the two cities and two nations inhabiting them, i.e., Jews and Mirmidonians, and hints at the Christological nature of the imminent apostle's suffering in Mirmidon. Both motifs are present in the Old Norse version of the story. To draw the parallel further, albeit at the risk of pushing it too far, both episodes are dealing with the idea of unseeing eyes as a metaphor for the lack of faith, used by the protagonist as a part of their utterance. This is also present in the Old Norse translation which generally preserves direct speech intact, rendering it word for word. The presence of a qualifying adverb *beiskiliga* with its inherent reference to Peter — albeit already present in the Latin source — seems likewise appropriate within the context of the saga: if Gregory the Great's homilies — known to medieval Icelanders[121] — are addressed. In his *Homily 39* on Luke 19:41–47 he comments on Christ's weeping:

> Dróttinn sá borg ok grét yfir henni. (*Lk 19.41–42*) Þat, er hann gerði of sinn, þá es hann sá Hierusalem fyrfarask, þat gera liðir hans hvern dag, þá es góðir menn gráta, er þeir sjá suma hverfa frá góðu lífi til illsku. En hinir kunnu eigi sjálfir gráta sik, er misgera, svá sem Salomon mælti: „Þeir gleðjask, þá es þeir gera illa, ok fagna enum verstum hlutum." En þeir møndi gráta sik sjálfa, ef þeir mætti skilja hefnd synða sinna.[122]

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[121] Cf. Kristen Wolf, 'Gregory's Influence on Old Norse-Icelandic Religious Literature', in *Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, ed. Rolph H. Bremmer Jr., Kees Dekker, and David F. Johnson (Paris: Peeters, 2001), pp. 255–85.

[122] Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen, *AM 677 4°: four early translations of theological texts: Gregory the Great's gospel homilies, Gregory the Great's dialogues, Prosper epigrams, De XII abusivis saeculi* (Reykjavík : Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2018), p. 39.

> The Lord saw the city and wept for her. (Luke 19:41–42) That, which he did at the time, when he saw Jerusalem being destroyed, that his members do every day, when good men weep, when they see some of them turning away from the good life to evil. And those, who do wrong, could not weep for themsleves, just like Salomon said: 'They rejoice, when they do evil, and delight in the worst things.' But they would not be able to weep for themselves if they could know the vengeance for their sins.

Later in the same sermon he develops this theme and admonishes his audience to 'constantly consider the sins we have committed, weep, consider them, and erase them weeping'. [123] As a result, in his homily tears become interwoven with the ideas of repentance and atonement. While the association with repentance serves to illuminate the overlap between the stories of Peter and Christ, evocation of Solomon's words along with the topos of ignorance resonates distantly with Andrew's utterance, borrowed from Christ, that Mirmidonians know not what they are doing. The atonement-overtone inherent to weeping, in its turn, might be read as yet another element of the *imitatio Christi* pattern in this part of the saga: seeing all the crimes committed against his fellow apostle and his companions in captivity, Andrew cries, moved by overwhelming compassion and preparing to redeem those unknowing by his own blood and tears. Overall, reading this collocation in parallel with Luke 19:41 would further stress other references to the Gospel of Luke (Luke 22:42 and Luke 23:34) found in *Andreas saga postola I*, creating a more universal framework within which the saga might be interpreted.[124]

While Luke 19:41 and Pseudo-Abdian *De gestis beati Andreae* share a lexical parallel, which was probably taken into account by the Old Norse translator, John 11:35 provides another possible typological connection which seems to be first properly elucidated in *Andreas saga postola I*. The New Testament episode in question tells the story of Lazarus's resurrection, performed by Jesus, who weeps upon finding out about Lazarus's death: 'Et lacrimatus est Jesus' [And Jesus wept]. Later he resurrects the man, and the miracle is presented as a natural expansion of Christ's healing powers (see, John 11:37: 'Quidam autem ex ipsis dixerunt : Non poterat hic, qui aperuit oculos cæci nati, facere ut hic non moreretur?' [But some of them said: „Could not he, who opened eyes of the one born blind, make immediately so that he were no longer dead?"]). As was discussed earlier, the flow of the narrative in *Andrea saga postola I* likewise tends to revolve around the saint's healing powers: their progression is one of the central stranding motifs of the saga; the apostle's miracles and deeds found in the Latin source material are rearranged so as to conform to this pattern. As a result, this fragment establishes one more subtle link between Christ and Andrew on his spiritual journey. Not only does it foreshadow the resurrection of forty youths performed by the apostle later in the story, but it also further highlights the 'Harrowing of Hell' motif underlying the Mirmidon-episode, thus contributing to the self-contained image of *imitatio Christi* there. According to *Evangelium Nicodemi*, the Gospel of Nicodemus, known to the medieval Icelanders,[125] raising Lazarus from the dead is established as a *pre-figuratio* of Christ's Harrowing of Hell: therefore, in the narrative one can signpost or even stand for another. In *Andreas saga postola I* it functions in a similar way, and the bitter weeping precedes Andrew's 'harrowing' of a prison-cell and consequent release of the captives suffering in God's name. An additional parallel is introduced by the original description of the locks and their springing open:

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[123] Gregory the Great, *Homily 39*, in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, tr. Dom David Hurst, OSB (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgia Press, 2009), pp. 357–367 (p. 364).

[124] Also, see a parallel to Luke 2:14 in *Sonatorrek* which — as discussed above — shares some tropes with *Andreas saga postola I*, see Torfi H. Tulinius,'The Prosimetrum Form 2: Verses as the Basis for Saga Composition and Interpretation', p. 196.

> [...] ok þa er hann kom þar, þa var a myrkvastofunni varðhalld mikit, ok var hon **læst ramliga**. En er Andreas postoli kom at myrkvastofunni, þa spruttu þegar fra **lasarnir**, ok skein lios solu biartara fyrir honum i myrkvastofuna.[126]
>
> [...] and when he came there, there was a heavy guard at the prison, and it was heavily locked. But when apostle Andrew came to the prison, then immediately the locks sprang open, and in front of him into the prison shone the light brighter than the sun.

The use of *lasarnir* might be purely coincidental, but still there is an explicit aural and visual similarity between 'locks' and the proper name of Lazarus. The former is therefore evocative of the unspoken name of the latter and could be read as such due to the already established typological parallel. As a result, this imagery comes into a greater resonance with the '*tollite*' motif present in Lazarus's story (John 11:39: 'Ait Jesus: Tollite lapidem.' [Jesus spoke: 'Remove the stone.']). Moreover, it links it to a similar motif found in the Old Norse version of 'The Descent into Hell', *Niðrstigningar saga*, where following the original *Evangelium Nicodemi,* it explicitly refers to, or rather directly quotes from, Psalm 24(23):7–9 — the *Tollite portas* verses of which were often orally recited 'within a liturgical ceremony or procession representing the Passion and Resurrection of Christ'.[127]

VII. Harrowing of Hell/Mirmidon

Throughout *Andreas saga postola I* the compound *myrkvastofa*, lit. 'dark-room', is used to denote a place of captivity; literally meaning a 'dark room', it is the most common Old Norse word for prison. In the Icelandic homily on the resurrection of Christ, hell is likewise decsribed as *myrk* and associated with darkness:

> Sva kalla helga beókr sem nótt myrc synþa oc villo. oc þar meþ reíþe guþs. lǽge yver allre verolld. fra synþ ens fyrsta manz. allt til upriso domini. *su es allt mann kynn leídde til daúþa. oc til helvítis myrcra ýr heime* [italics are mine — *E.V.*]. Su nótt endesc i upriso criz.[128]
>
> So the holy books call night the darkness of sins and heresy, and with that the wrath of God lay over all the world and from the sin of the first man to the resurrection of the Lord, which led all mankind

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[125] Dario Bullita*, Niðrstigningar saga: Sources, Transmission and Theology of the Old Norse Decent into Hell* (University of Toronto Press, 2017).
[126] *API*, p. 320.
[127] Bullita*, Niðrstigningar saga*, p. 74.
[128] Cf. *Resurrectio domini,* in *Homiliu-bók,* pp. 71–9 (p. 71).

> to death and into the darkness (shadows) of hell out of the world. This night ends with the resurrection of Christ.

In *Niðrstigningar saga*, the 'darkness of Hell' appears on multiple occasions, such as 'i heliar myrcrom', or 'myrcr helvites'.[129] The semantic unity between the two concepts is definitely telling, if not original.[130] The literary corpus along with the compiler's word choices and interpolations weave a net of associations evocative of hell and its harrowing. „Siðan leiddi Andreas postoli þa menn alla or myrkvastofunni, ok let hvern fara til sins heraðs" [Then Andrew the apostle led all those men out of the prison and bade each of them to go tp their provinces], for instance, resonates with a line from *Resurrectio domini*: while in the latter it is a sin committed by Adam which leads all mankind out of their home and into the dark hell, in the former the situation is reverted as Andrew leads all men out of a 'dark place of captivity', enabling them to go back to their respective home provinces. In this way, the Mirmidonian prison is meant to remind the audience of hell and Andrew, leading people out of it, is evocative of Christ himself.

Hell-bound lexical parallels and cues continue as both *Niðrstigningar saga* and *Andreas saga postola I* describe the state of prisoners' captivity and breaking of their fetters which is in both cases accompanied by a bright shining light and a quaking, or trembling, occurring in the place of imprisonment.[131] The quintessential overlap occurs in a younger redaction of *Niðrstigningar saga*:

> […] ok þa er hann sagdi þetta heyrde helviti ok sagdi til hans. Særi eg firir krapta þina ok mina at eigi leidir þu hann híngat til min þviat þa er ek heyrda styrkan matt ordz hans þa vard ek miog gagnhræddur med skialfanda otta ok allir helvitis þionar med mier urdo skialfir. Ok eíge matta ek hallda **Ladarum** med aullum styrk ok fliotleik mínum ok spratt hann upplifandi ok heill ok sialf jord su er hiellt daudligan likama Ladari gallt hann lifanda ok firir þvi veit ek at sa madur er þessa alla hluti matti giora hann er styrkur i valldi mattugur i manndomi grædari allz mannkyns ok hann mun leysa þa er byrgdir eru i grimre **myrkvastofu** ok stridligum synda baundum ok **leida** til lífs sins guddoms.[132]

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[129] Bullita*, Niðrstigningar saga*, pp. 135 (XVIII.3), 145 (XXII.1).

[130] On the conceptual overlap and rapprochement of prison and Hell in the medieval thought, with an emphasis on Old English literary tradition, see, Daniel Thomas, 'Spatial Dialectics: Poetic Technique and the Landscape of Old English Verse' (Doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2012), pp. 171–192.

[131] Cf. Bullita*, Niðrstigningar saga*, p. 145 (XXII.1): „Þa er David hafði þetta męlt þa com Konongr Dyrþar at helvitis virki. Hann braut þegar borg helvitis oc gørþi a hliþ miket. Hann hevir vitraz i manz asiono meþ liose miclo svat myrcr helvites hafa þa horfit Hverr goðr maþr hevir þa losnat or þvi bandi sem bundinn var. Sva micell craptr oc gnýr hevir at gørzc viþ þat er sva sciot reð ⟨hann⟩ um brotet helvites at dioflar aller toco at falma oc at scialva." [When David had said this, the King of Glory came to the stronghold of Hell, destroyed at once the fortress of Hell and opened up a large gate. He revealed Himself in the shape of a man with such a great light that the darkness of Hell vanished, and every good man was then freed from the bond binding him. Such great power and din has occurred with it, and so quickly He destroyed Hell, that all the devils began to flinch and tremble. *Ibid*, p. 163.] *API*, p. 320: „En þegar er hann hafði lokit bøn sinni, þa skalf myrkvastofan, ok þvi næst skein lios mikit i myrkvastofuna af himni. Þa tok Mattheus postoli sion sina, ok fellu af honum iarnrekendrnar, er hann var bundinn með, ok allir þeir er bundnir voru, slitnuðu bondin af þeim, ok urðu þeir lausir,[...]." [And as soon as he concluded his prayer, the prison shook and the next moment a great light from heaven shone into the prison. Then Matthew recoverd his sight, and the iron fetters with which he was bound fell away from him, and all those who were bound — their bonds were broken — became free, […].]

[132] Bullita*, Niðrstigningar saga*, p. 156; cf. XXIII.1 of the older redaction, p. 146.

> And when he said this, Hell heard these things and said to him, 'I adjure you through your powers and mine not to lead Him to me, for when I heard the strong might of His Word I became very frightened with trembling fear, and all Hell's servants were shaken with me. And I could not hold Lazarus with all my strength and fleetness, and he sprang up whole and alive, and the earth itself, which held the mortal body of Lazarus, returned him alive. And, therefore, I know that this man who was able to do all these things is strong in power and mighty in humanity, saviour of all mankind, and He shall free those who are enclosed in the grim dungeon by the severe bonds of sins and lead them to the life of His divinity.'[133]

Here hell is directly identified with a prison, a place of enclosure where its captives are bound and from which Christ shall free them so as to lead them to the life of his divinity. This resonates with an already cited passage: Andrew leads Matthew along with others out of the prison cell and thus facilitates the spread of the Christian teachings across lands. Moreover, it is later echoed in a description of Matthew's departure and thus highlights the mimetic nature of the apostolic office: „Þa for Mattheus postoli a braut þaðan ok ut a Blaland, ok leiddi þar margan lyð til guðs fyrir sina kenning, [...].“ [Then apostle Matthew went away from there and out to Blaland, and there through his teaching led many people towards god […].][134]

The parallel between the two texts might be expanded further, as in *Niðrstigningar saga* the promise of liberation is preceded by the story of Lazarus, albeit in this particular redaction peculiarly spelt as *Ladarus*. In this way both fragments follow the same structure where they first reference Lazarus's resurrection as a prefiguration of the now imminent raid on a place of confinement and then proceed to relate the event itself. However, while in the 'Descent into Hell' this sequence appears in the speech of personified Hell who anticipates the future events, in *Andreas saga postola I* it is used to describe the events as they are actually unfurling in the narrative. This shift in the temporal mode from anticipating future events to stating the ongoing action adds subtlety to this elaborately constructed parallel between Christ's Harrowing of Hell and Andrew's exploit: the echoes of the former are to be read not as a direct identification between Andrew and Jesus, but as an apostle's mimesis of his Lord's deed. Overall, the intertextual parallel is established between the prefiguration of the Harrowing of Hell in the New Testament and the re-enactment of the event, while the event of Harrowing itself is only in the mind of the readers: by the virtue of its felt absence, it infuses the echoed sequence with meaning.

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Juxtaposition of sorrow and joy brings out a set of literary motifs, indicative of elegy, lamentation, or some sort of poetic diction. The dichotomy or rather a complex tandem of the two, however, seems to permeate the sensibility of the Middle Ages,[135] and point towards the ways of seeing the world as well as modes of devotional practices (e.g., affective piety and medieval mysticism). The affinity between the two emotions seems to be almost archetypal, but in this particular context, it is particularly interesting as it may refer the reader to the scene of the Last Supper from John 16 where Jesus speaks for a while on how his disciples' sorrow will eventually turn into joy by the intercession of the Holy Spirit. In a relevant passage of *Andreas saga postola I*, this is exactly what happens. On a deeper level, the sorrow-into-joy topos, albeit fulfilled and exemplified, precedes a scene of torture which, as has been already shown, can be seen in parallel to the garden of Gethsemane: both shedding blood, which can remind the devout audience of bloody sweat and the verbal parallel with Jesus's prayer to his Father and the imagery of the cup of torment, can be an equivalent to sorrow, which subsequently turns into Andrew's merry disposition and sober inebriation resulting in a feat of eloquence. The passages dealing with Andrew's tortures and final martyrdom form a narrative of its own — the narrative which, as any religious narrative naturally does, points beyond itself and to the Scripture: it is the triduum sequence that one can glimpse behind the hagiographic tale. The multiplicity of layers of meaning is impressive, and the images the text presents are the signs with many, albeit related, signifiers.

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[133] Bullita*, Niðrstigningar saga*, p. 169.
[134] *API*, p. 320.
[135] Cf. Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London: Penguin Books, 1922), pp. 9–30.

The Mirmidon-episode presents a passage rich in allusions and intertextual references, bringing together overtly religious parallels and elegiac overtones. The figure of the apostle acquires certain features of the skald who could be likewise seen as a recipient of the divine gift of eloquence. In case of Andrew, however, this image is infused with the scriptural sense of endurance — he achieves his penultimate power over words as he progresses in his *imitatio* of the Word incarnate. What at the first glance appears to be emotionally-expressive vocabulary, in fact, creates a network of associations, weaving an image of the apostle moved by the divine grace and instrumental to the salvation of the city-dwellers, both through his preaching and his blood. At the same time, the elegiac motif present in the episode simultaneously highlights Andrew's human nature and the divine provenance of his powers over words, as well as his equanimity in the face of torment.

CHAPTER 3

WORTHY IMITATOR OF CHRIST

Imitatores mei estote, sicut et ego Christi.[1]

[1 Cor. 11:1]

þá es øss naúþsyn at glíkiasc þeím í siþom es vér dýrkom i hótíþar haldeno[2]

[A allra heilagra messu]

Fekk Andréas yndi
æstr á krossi mæstum
lofandi guðs í lífi
líkjari himinríkis.[3]

(Andr^{VII}*,* I.5-8)

While the audience are 'meant to identify with the saint' when reading his or her life, the saints themselves are meant to act as Christ's 'representatives on earth'.[4] The life of every Christian, and the saint's life in particular, is a life in imitation of Christ and his teachings: within this paradigm 'the apostolic office is one of intermediary mimesis', and since St Andrew was one of only a few who met their death in the same manner as Jesus — on the cross — his mimesis might be seen as 'directly related to Christ's suffering'.[5] However, mostly for the iconographical reasons,[6] later tradition re-imagined the cross as X-shaped; even before then the apostle would be depicted bound rather than nailed to the cross. The Old Norse saga, following its source texts, contains no indication that the shape of his cross is different from the one on which Jesus was crucified:[7] „Þa reiddiz Egeas iarl ok let krossfesta Andream postola, ok bauð sva kvelíondum, at þeir byndi hendr hans ok føtr a krossinn, en negldu eigi, til þess at hann hefði þar langa pisl sva sem i stagli" [Then Egeas the jarl got enraged and commanded [them] to crucify Andrew the apostle and ordered the tormentors to bind his hands and feet to the cross, but not to nail [them down], so that because of this he would suffer as much torture there as on the rack] and „þa hofu pinendr hann a krossinn ok bundu reipum allan likama hans, sem þeim var boðit" [then the torturers raised on the cross and bound his whole body with ropes].[8] Of note is the fact that neither the Latin nor the Old Norse ascribe the substitution of nails with ropes to the wish to differentiate between Christ's and Andrew's passions: if anything, the extended duration of torture allows the apostle to fully experience his teacher's agony. Still, it is worth keeping in mind that as 'the didactic goal of hagiography was to inspire imitation or emulation', it was 'not the protagonist's actions but their motivations' that should be emulated in the first place.[9]

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[1] "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ."

[2] "then it is necessary for us to imitate those who we venerate in the observance of feast days", from *A allra heilagra messu*, in *Homiliu-bók,* p. 41.

[3] "Most noble Andrew, in his life a praiseworthy imitator of God, obtained the joy of the kingdom of heaven on the most glorious cross." From *Andréasdrápa,* in *Poetry on Christian Subjects. Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages, v. 7,* ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 845–851.

[4] See further, Shari Horner, *The Discourse of Enclosure: Representing Women in Old English Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), p. 103.

[5] Robert Boenig, *Saint and Hero: Andreas and Medieval Doctrine* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1991), pp. 78–79; cf. Constance B. Hieatt, 'The Harrowing of Mermedonia: Typological Patterns in the Old English *Andreas*', *NM* 77 (1976), pp. 49–62 (pp. 51–52): "In some sense, the life of any Christian saint is, of course, an *imitatio Christi*; but the events of the *Andreas* can be seen to be so in an essentially schematic way."

[6] See, for instance, Judith Calvert, 'The Iconography of the St. Andrew Auckland Cross', *The Art Bulletin* 66.4 (1984), pp. 543–555.

[7] Andrew's passionate address to the tool of his torture further conflates the two crosses.

This chapter focuses on the martyrdom of St Andrew, offering a detailed discussion of the saint's motivations, of Christological motifs as well as the narrative technique used to both depict Andrew's mimesis of Christ and show its infectious nature, extending an invitation to join in to the audience of the saga. Therefore, it is the *passio* section of the saga that is under particular scrutiny; its fragments are the earliest from the whole saga to have been preserved in AM 645 4$^{\text{to}}$.[10] Its source text has been identified as the apocryphal *Passio Andreae* which is the same source that — most likely — Ælfric of Eynsham used for his homily on Andrew's nativity, composed in Old English in the tenth century.[11] However, the Old Norse compiler also makes use of the sixth-century *Conversante et Docente*, which underlies the martyrdom-account in his major source for the *vita*-part, the *Historia Apostolica*.[12] In his fundamental study of the saga, Philip Roughton noted the conflation of the two Latin accounts up to *API* 349:24 and 336:34-35 and then concedes that, after the reversal of roles when Andrew becomes the one interrogating Egeas, the saga closely follows *Passio Sancti Andreae Apostoli*, also known as the Epistle.[13] However, upon further scrutiny this proves to be not entirely true as the compiler continues to conflate both Latin accounts, enriching the speeches of both the crowd and the apostle. Finally, he then adds an ending from Gregory of Tours' miracles: the miracle (37) tells about manna and oil flowing from Andrew's tomb and is not found in any other of the already mentioned sources.[14] The Old Norse compiler slightly expands it and further adds that „En ef þessum heilivagi er riðit a siukamenn, þa fa þeir bøtr sinna meina, hvat sem þeim er aðr at meini“ [And if this holy way is travelled by sick men, then they recover from their ailments whatsoever was hurting them before], which contributes to the thematic unity and reintroduces the motif of healing.[15] Finally, the Old Norse-Icelandic saga ends with what seems an authentic prayer that praises the apostle's faith, firmness, and patience on the cross and in which the compiler (following St Andrew himself!) exhorts the reader to follow Andrew's way (cf. John 14:6), i.e., to imitate the saint:[16]

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[8] *API*, pp. 340–341. Curiously enough, this is the first mention of the saint's body in the saga — the body here is essentially being moulded into the shape of the cross with which, in a way, Andrew becomes one and together they act as an ultimate conduit of grace and redemption ensured by Christ.

Given that the body of the martyr is in itself an instrument of torture, the executioners' later inability to remove Andrew from the cross — which is a literal instrument of torment whose servant the apostle claims to be — can be read as the body and the cross being one and the same, and Andrew's refusal to give up the cross can be read as the refusal to give up his integrity which is maintained throughout the narrative by means of his voice taking the shape of a prayer. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 47. Cf. Maureen Tilley,'The Ascetic Body and the (Un)Making of the World of the Martyr,' *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59.3 (1991), pp. 467–479 (p. 469): "Nothing exists but a body in pain, and **the only defence of integrity is voice.**" This would also explain his perseverance in preaching in the most painful moments.

[9] Rutger Kramer and Ekaterina Novokhatko, 'Dead Authors and Living Saints: Community, Sanctity, and the Reader Experience in Medieval Hagiographical Narratives', in *The Past Through Narratology: New Approaches to Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mateusz Fafinski and Jakob Riemenschneider (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Press, 2022), pp. 205–226 (p. 222).

[10] Harty, 'An Edition', p. 121; A Handlist, pp. 299–300. I think there are multiple grounds to suggest that it was the first one to be translated.

[11] For the edition of the *Passio* text as well as for the existing and extant manuscripts, see *Acta apostolorum apocrypha, ii, 1,* ed. Maximilian Bonnet (Leipzig, 1898), pp. xi–xiv, 1–37. For its connection to Ælfric's homily, see Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælric's Catholic Homilies. Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS ss 18 (Oxford, 2000), p. 513.

[12] For *Conversante et docente,* see *Passio sancti Andreae apostoli*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XIII, ed. Carolus de Smedt, Iosephus de Backer, et al. (Bruxelles: Societé des Bollandistes, 1894), pp. 374–378; for its version found in *Historia Apostolica,* see *Fabr*., pp. 507–515.

[13] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 229, 231.

> Biðum ver nu sælan guð a himnum, at hann sendi oss slika tru ok traust með sannri þolinmøði undir krossinum, sem hinn helgi guðs postoli Andreas hafði, ok at ver mættim með honum at liðnu þessu lifi fa eilifa gleði ok vist i himinriki fyrir varu Jesum Kristum. Amen.[17]
>
> Now we ask the blessed God in heaven that he sends us such faith and firmness with true patience under the cross, just as the holy apostle of God Andrew had, and so that we may with him at the end of this life attain eternal joy and dwelling in heaven for our Jesus Christ. Amen.

This compilation strategy results in, as Philip Roughton has put it, 'the longest, most detailed and dramatic of any of the [martyrdom] accounts included in the AM 652/630 4to and AM 645 4to collections' and demonstrates the translator's concern with 'presenting as thorough an account of the apostle's life as he could'.[18] Multiple alterations and insertions from *Conversante et Docente*, through *Historia Apostolica*, are aptly used by the compiler to enhance the drama of the moment.[19] The Old Norse translator-compiler tends to conflate the two in order to accentuate the rhetorical flourish which results in expanding the speeches and leads to moving the audience. As Roughton has observed, 'the marks of highly original thinking' are found all across AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to, both 'in the ways that Latin rhetoric is often streamlined' and 'in the ways that dictional choices give certain subtle nuances to the translations that the originals lack.'[20] This chapter will consider some of themes and imagery in the *passio*-part of *Andreas saga postola I* and how they contribute to its depiction of apostolicity, grace, and torture as well as ensure the thematic unity of the whole saga.

PEACE & CREED

The *upphaf,* beginning the *passio*-part of the saga, is modelled after the Latin text of *Passio Andreae*, which the compiler self-consciously signposts with "Þat er upphaf a fornum bokum at pislarsǫgu Andreas postola, at sva mælir sa er sǫguna hefir setta" [This is the beginning in the ancient books of the passion-tale of Andrew the apostle, that so says the one who first put the tale together].[21] The references to both 'fornum bokum' and 'sa er sỏguna hefir setta' are explicit references to the Latin text and the indications of the derivative nature of the martyrdom's account.[22] The derivative nature of it seems to preoccupy the compiler to such an extent that a few sentences later the Latin "hanc fidem didicimus a sancto Andrea apostolo domini nostri Iesu Christi, cuius passionem, quam coram positi uidimus, prout possumus explicamus"[23] [this faith we learnt from Saint Andrew, the apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose passion that we have seen in front of us we explain as well as we can] becomes in Old Norse

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[14] Gregory of Tours, *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli,* ed. Max Bonnet and Bruno Krusch, in *MGH SRM 1.2* (Hannover, 1885), pp. 821–846 (p. 845); Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 232; Harty, 'An Edition', p. 125.

[15] *API*, p. 343. Also, cf. Roughton's idea of the thematic unity 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 233.

[16] This can be seen in parallel to St Andrew showing a way to salvation with his own blood earlier in Mirmidon (cf. chapter 2): as his blood left marks, so the compiler's ink guides its reader to salvation.

[17] *API*, p. 343.

[18] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 233.

[19] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 199.

[20] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 66.

> En þessa tru namum ver af Andrea postola drottins vars Jesu Kristz, segir sa er sỏguna hefir fyrst dictat, ok kvezt seð hafa allar pislir hans ok þrautir, ok heyrðum ver kenningar hans,[24] segir sa er sỏguna hefir dictat, ok megum ver fyrir þvi fra segia, at ver vitum sannleik a.[25]
>
> And this faith we took from Andrew the apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, says the one who first composed the tale, and says of himself to have seen all his torments and labours, and we heard his teachings, says the one who composed the tale, and we are therefore able to relate what we know is the truth.

In the course of this translated passage the authority of the Latin account is invoked twice and functions as quotation marks:[26] for the Icelanders definitely were not catechized by the apostle and they could not have seen his martyrdom. It seems, however, that showing this ability to substantiate the story is of primary importance to the Old Norse narrator and that the role of the eye-witness (*kvezt seð*, cf. to *set* in the Mirmidon episode) already present in Latin ('quam oculis nostris uidimus' [which we have seen with our own eyes], 'quam coram positi uidimus' [which we have seen before us]) but further stressed in Old Norse as well as the authority of the original author in Latin are what would make the account truthful in the eyes of the Old Norse audience — 'ok megum ver fyrir þvi fra segia, at ver vitum sannleik a' [and we are therefore able to relate what we know is the truth]. In a way, it may be seen as a conscious attempt at a basic historiographic analysis which would relieve the compiler of the responsibility for its veracity: unlike an *auctor* whose 'writings had considerable *auctoritas* ('authority') and who was responsible for them', the compiler — lat. *compilator* — bore no responsibility for what he drew from his sources.[27] The Old Norse compiler's remark on the veracity seems to be addressed to his immediate audience and assumes the same collective pronoun *ver*, 'we', as features in the 'quotation' from the source. This consistent use of 'we' serves not only to re-establish the continuity of witness but also to highlight the Icelandic audience's sense of belonging to the same universal Church as the addressees of the original text. This resonates with the alteration of the greeting which in the Latin text is addressed to deacons and presbyters in all four corners of the earth. The Old Norse compiler re-imagines the address so as to make it more vague and possibly to include all Christian people across the world („Friðr se yðr ollum kristnum monnum, er settir eruð i Kristz nafni i austri ok vestri, i norðri ok suðri, ok ollum þeim, er trua a einn guð i algørri þrenningu [...]" [Peace be to you, all Christian men, who are placed in Christ's name in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South, and to all those who believe in one God in perfect Trinity]).[28] Curiously enough, the compiler's concern with authority does not prevent him from changing — or, one may say misquoting — his source in the process of translation in order to make the saga more nuanced and relatable. In a similar manner, the previously given passage is expanded compared to its Latin counterpart and 'cuius passionem' ('whose passion') becomes in Old Norse a hendiadys 'allar pislir hans ok þrautir' ('all his torments and labours') further supplied with 'ok **heyrðum** ver kenningar hans' ('and we heard his teachings'), which has no precedent in Latin but seems to highlight the importance of the teachings related in the text. All the verbs of seeing and hearing, therefore, seem to introduce the idea of witnessing to which the audience is invited, by proxy: just as the apostles and martyrs were the witnesses of Christ, the audience are to be the witnesses of Andrew's Christological martyrdom — either by being at his death and passion or by hearing/reading it from the records.

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[21] *API*, p. 336.

[22] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 226.

[23] Bonnet, pp. 2–3.

[24] Roughton suggests that this represents an 'obvious appeal to authority' of 'the one who first wrote the account' and who 'claimed to have seen all of Christ's sufferings and trials and heard his teachings (see Post. 336:7–12)'. 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 226. However, it makes more sense that it is Andrew's suffering and preaching to which the author of the letter is referring. This is the reading adopted in this dissertation.

[25] *API*, p. 336.

[26] On the writers' self-conscious insertions, see discussion in David Bond West, 'Rhetoric and Style in Old Norse Religious Prose*'* (Doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2024), p. 77: "Though Einar Ólafur Sveinsson asserts that learned writers are guilty of 'inserting themselves into the narrative', it is important that we note that often it is not, in fact, themselves that they are inserting, but sources they deem to be authoritative."

[27] Alastair Minnis, 'Late Medieval Discussions', p. 387. For the thorough discussion of compilation in Old Norse religious writing see West, 'Rhetoric and Style', pp. 83–84.

Seen in the light of communal participation in Christ's passion, the previously mentioned greeting acquires further significance due to its liturgical overtones and the Biblical connotations it is able to evoke. The salutation, albeit adjusted to the new target audience, is not original and follows the Latin text:

> pax uobis et uniuersis qui credunt unum deum in trinitate perfectum, uerum patrem ingenitum, uerum filium unigenitum, *uerum spiritum sanctum procedentem ex patre in filio permanenetem, ut ostendatur unus spiritus esse in patre et filio* et hoc esse unigenitum filium quod est et ille qui genuit.[29]
>
> Peace be to you and to all who believe in one God in perfect Trinity, the true unbegotten Father, the true only begotten Son, the true Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and abiding in the Son, so that it may be shown that there is one spirit in the Father and the Son and that this is the only begotten son the one who is and the one who begat.

It renders the Latin text with great precision until the question of *filioque* arises. While the Latin adheres to the outdated view that the Spirit proceeds from the Father but only abides in the Son, both sharing the one Spirit,[30] the Old Norse compiler shows his critical attitude and attention to detail as he aligns the passage with the contemporary Roman Catholic theology. This means that, in translation, the Spirit proceeds both from the Father and the Son; it also means that more attention is given by the compiler to the question of the relationship between the persons of Trinity (which sounds repetitive and almost pedantic).[31]

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[28] Cf. *Trúarjátningin*, in *Homiliu-bók*, pp. 145–150 (p. 148 ll.33–39).

[29] Bonnet, p. 2.

[30] St Thomas Aquinas, for example, uses this very quote from 'the legend of Saint Andrew' ('Dicitur enim in legenda beati Andreae') in his *Summa Theologiae*, I, Q.36, A.2, as one of the objections to be later discarded in his answer.

> Friðr se yðr ollum kristnum monnum, er settir eruð i Kristz nafni i austri ok vestri, i norðri ok suðri ok ollum þeim, er trua a einn guð i algørri þrenningu, sannan fỏður ogetinn, sannan son eingetinn af feðr, sannan helgan anda framfaranda af feðr ok syni, ok þann foður almatkan truum ver allan einn vera, er gat son, ok son eingetinn, þann er getinn er af almatkum feðr.[32]
>
> Peace be to you, all Christian men, who are placed in Christ's name in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South, and to all those who believe in one God in the perfect Trinity, the true unbegotten Father, the true Son, the only begotten of the Father, the true Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son, and the father Almighty we all believe to be all one, who begot the Son, and the only begotten Son, the one who is begotten from the father Almighty.

As Haraldur Hreinsson has observed, in Old Norse-Icelandic religious writings the ideas of peace and faith are often interconnected, with doctrine or moral practice 'constituting the grounds for peace'.[33] He further cites this passage from *Andreas saga postola I* as an example of such a relationship: the passage offers peace and asks for 'the correct faith — summed up in a formula with an unmistakable Nicene flavor' as its prerequisite.[34] This sentiment is further reinforced in Andrew's speech addressed to Egeas in which he admonishes the tyrant not to „snua hogværð drottins i **diofulligan ofrið**, þviat drottinn syndi oss alla þolinmøði" [turn the Lord's equanimity to devilish enmity because the Lord showed us all patience] and later wishes 'frið ok þolinmøði', peace and patience, upon Egeas.[35] In this passage, peace and endurance are closely linked and stand in opposition to the lack of peace — *ofrið* — which is directly assosiated with the devil and the absence of Christian faith. Haraldur Hreinsson also remarks upon the parallel between "Peace be with you" and the salutation formula from the New Testament Pauline epistles ('Grace and peace be with you'), already present in Latin: 'pax uobis' ('peace be with you') and 'gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre nostro et Domino Iesu Christo' ('grace be with you and peace of God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ').[36] Given the subject-matter of this section of the saga and its Christological nature, however, this passage might have offered further parallels to an audience well-versed in the Scriptures.

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[31] Roughton notes the ON compiler's consistent interest in the Trinity, see 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 226. It is tempting to connect this to the issues raised at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

[32] *API*, p. 336.

[33] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, p. 201; *The Christian Tradition 3: The Growth of Medieval Theology 600–1300* (University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 11–23.

[34] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, pp. 201–202.

[35] *API*, p. 339.

[36] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, p. 202; Bonnet, p. 2. Also, see the opening lines of the epistles, to cite just a few examples: Romans 1:7, I Corinthians 1:3, II Corinthians 1:2, Galatians 1:3.

In John 20:19 ‘pax uobis’ are the first words spoken by Jesus after his death and resurrection to his disciples who are full of fear for Jewish authorities and hiding behind the locked doors. The second time Christ offers peace (John 20:21) it is to send his apostles into the world as he himself was sent there by the Father. Finally, in John 20:26 Jesus addresses Thomas in a similar way: Thomas, who was not present on the previous occasion, touches the wound and believes. Therefore, John 20:19–29 is structured around the formula of peace. The Old Icelandic *Homiliu-bók* features a pericope of John 20:19–23, leaving the story of Thomas outside its scope but still providing the audience with the vernacular version of Jesus’ words ‘friðr se yðr':

> Fimta sine syndesc drotten postolom sínom a paska dege. þa es fram orþet vas dags. þa vas þomas eige viþ stadr. þa com dominus in til þeira at lǫcnom durom. oc stóþ a meþal þeira oc mælte viþ þa. **Friþr se yþr**. Sýnde hann þeim oc hendr sínar oc føtr. meþ merkiom piningar sinar. þa urðo discipuli **fegner fvnde** dróttens. Siþan mælte. hann viþ þa i anat sin. **Friþr se yþr**. Svasem faþer sende mik. svá sende ec yþr. þa blés hann a þá oc mælt. Takeþer helgan anda. Fyr gefnar scolo synþer þeim monnom es ér fyr gefeþ. oc eige mono fyr gefasc þeim es ér fyrgefeþ eige.[37]
>
> The fifth time the Lord appeared to his apostles on Easter day when it was late in the day. Then Thomas was not present, then the Lord came in to them with the doors locked and stood among them and said to them: ‘Peace be with you.’ He showed them his hands and feet with the marks of his passion. Then the disciples rejoiced at the meeting of the Lord. Then he spoke to them for the second time: ‘Peace be with you. As the Father sent me, so I send you.’ Then he blew on them and said: ‘Receive the Holy Spirit. Forgiven will be the sins of those men whom who forgive, and those whom you do not forgive will not be forgiven’.

This passage, when brought to mind, provides the necessary framework for the saga-section at hand as it raises the question of corporeality as well as witness underlying the idea of apostolicity. Moreover, it seems to contribute to the previously discussed topos of grief (over a loss) juxtaposed to the happy meeting (of reunion against all odds) — ‘þa urðo discipuli **fegner fvnde** dróttens’ (‘then the disciples rejoiced at the meeting of the Lord‘) — that was first introduced in the Mirmidonian episode. Given the density of the intellectual culture of the time, the intertextual allusions implied, consciously or unconsciously, by the Old Norse compiler might have stretched even further than that. Given the attention the saga pays to the concept of *filioque* as well as its potential to evoke John 20:19-29, it is possible that the compiler might also have had in mind the twenty-sixth of Gregory the Great’s *Homiliae .xl. in Evangelia*. Not only is it known that they were translated into Old Norse in the first half of the twelfth century to become ‘the most copiously disseminated sermons in Old Norse’,[38] but a fragment of

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[37] *Resurrectio domini*, in *Homiliu-bók*, p. 73.

[38] Thomas N. Hall, ‘Old Norse-Icelandic Sermons’, in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 661–709 (p. 674); cf. Britta Olrik Fredriksen, ‘Til engleafsnittet i Gregors 34. evangeliehomilie in norrøn oversættelse’, *Opuscula* 7 (1979), p. 64.

Homilia 26 has survived in AM 677 4to (c. 1200–1225) alongside ten others.[39] In his homily, Gregory comments on John 20:19-29 and early on discusses the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, which resonates with the Old Norse rendering of the salutation.[40] Unfortunately, that part of the Old Norse-Icelandic homily has not survived, and it is impossible to say whether there might be any direct lexical parallels between the two. Still, this is not the only thematic overlap between *Andreas saga postola I* and *Homilia 26*, as in the course of the homily Gregory discusses the apostolic mission and suffering inherent to it as well as the relation of faith to witness (Thomas); there is even a reference to the resurrection of Lazarus, the image of whom lurks behind aural effects in the first part of the saga. Therefore, it is only natural that the interplay did not go unnoticed by the compiler, who incorporated it into his translation, or even that the compiler used the homily as an inspiration throughout the saga.

As was already noted by Haraldur Hreinsson, the greeting contains the confession of faith and has a distinct Nicene flavour.[41] It is not too far-fetched, then, to suggest that this passage is overall reminiscent of the Creed, albeit in its very basic version. Such alignment seems only fitting if one thinks about the order of liturgical service and the loosely bipartite structure of the saga. As the first logical part of the divine office — the liturgy of the Word — comes to its conclusion, the Creed marks the beginning of its second part — the liturgy of the Eucharist — leading to communion. This formulaic beginning ('friðr se yðr', i.e. 'peace be with you') functions in a very similar way: the more verbose and literary *vita*-part ends, and the *passio*-part telling of Andrew's martyrdom, evocative of Christ's sacrifice on the cross (which underlies the idea of the eucharistic sacrament), and his eventual reunification with God begins. This passage can be a stand-in both for the Creed, which usually closed the liturgy of the word, and for the sign of peace, which usually followed the Lord's Prayer,[42] and which further led to *Agnus Dei* and finally to communion.[43] Within the framework of the saga, the evocation of peace would precede Andrew's debate with Egeas, featuring the sacrifice through the image of a lamb (*agnus*), and the apostle's death on the cross — in imitation of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross — thus loosely reproducing the liturgical order. As in the beginning of the *vita*-part the audience is put into the liturgical frame of mind by the references to the sequence and the gospel-reading, so it is reminded of the liturgy by the creed-like opening of the martyrdom account. The two parts of the divine office seem to reflect the shifting tone of the saga: from joyful glorification to solemn and humbling edification.

The passion then continues with a statement that Andrew converted the people of Patras („Andreas postoli kristnaði allan lyð i borginni Patras“[44] [Andrew the apostle baptised all people in the city of Patras]) which evolves into a brief summary of Andrew's activities in Greece, recounting all kinds of miracles which are discussed in detail in the *vita*-part:

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[39] For an edition see *Leifar fornra kristinna fræða íslenzkra: Codex Arna-Magnæanus 677 4to auk annara enna elztu brota af íslenzkum guðfræðis- ritum*, ed. Þorvaldur Bjarnarson (Denmark: Hagerup, 1878), pp. 19–22.

[40] Gregory the Great, *Homily 26*, in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, tr. Dom David Hurst, OSB (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgia Press, 2009), pp. 200–211 (p. 202).

[41] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words*, p. 202.

[42] E.g., in St Augustine, see 'Sermon 227', in *Sermons on the Liturgical Seasons*, vol. 38, tr. Mary S. Muldowney, The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, ed. R.J. Deferrari (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1959), p. 197.

[43] Åslaug Ommundsen, 'A Saint and His Sequence: Singing the Legend of St Olaf', in *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 5 (2009), p. 153.

[44] *API*, p. 336.

> hann hafði aðr farit um allt Grikkland ok gørvar margar iartegnir i nafni drottins ok sneru hvern dag morgum lyð fra blotum skurðgoða til rettrar truar, dauðum gaf hann lif, en blindum syn, ok rak diỏfla fra oðrum monnum.[45]
>
> he had previously travelled all around Greece and performed many miracles in the name of the Lord and each day converted many people from sacrifices to idols to the true faith, to the dead he gave life, and to the blind sight, and drove away demons from some other people.

This appears to be an interpolation introduced by the Old Norse-Icelandic compiler and absent from the Latin text.[46] This seems to be also the case for the following passage, in which the priests bring money to Egeas and ask him to deal with Andrew, who disrupts the laws and habits of the land; Egeas accepts money and orders his men to capture and bring the apostle to him, and at the same time he forces his people to sacrifice to pagan idols.[47] Then for most of the section, in a classical trope of Christ in front of Pilate,[48] Andrew explains the tenets of his faith and the sacrifice on the Cross — strongly evocative of catechesis. In the process of this 'interrogation', Egeas as well as the saga audience are getting an account of the last days of Christ's life which, in turn, brings to mind the liturgical time of Easter week. In a way, Andrew's ordeal progresses at the same time and pace as Christ' passion unfolds. His 'sermon' to Egeas serves to highlight similarities between the two. To a certain extent, the Biblical story exceeds 'real' life within the saga in its vividness and emotion. Not that characters are totally devoid of emotion, but it is in the inset story that Jesus is angry ('reiddiz hann') and the disciples — including Andrew — are afraid/distressed ('þa urðum ver allir hryggir'), which stands in contrast with Andrew's state of equanimity (*óhryggr*), a state which mirrors that of Jesus at the Last Supper. This remark is later echoed during the apostle's crucifixion: the crowd of believers, the city itself, becomes a stand-in for Christ's disciples ('borg var **hrygg**', i.e., 'the city was distressed/afraid') and this time it is Andrew — just like Jesus did: „hann villdi eigi þat lata verða vara hrygð" [he did not want it to distress us] — who exhorts them to have patience in the face of fear/distress. Whilst telling the story of Christ, which according to Philip Roughton can be considered his 'central sermon', Andrew mentions his brother Peter and his pleas to Jesus to have mercy upon himself which angered Christ.[49] Curiously enough, the Old Norse compiler omits the name of Satan in 'Vade retro Satanas' (go back, Satan),[50] turning it into the much more neutral '[h]verf aptr þu' (turn back, you).[51] This might be seen as a foreshadowing of Andrew's own unfolding story: he knows godly things when he sees them and does not let people take him down from the cross, which would prevent his glorious and luminous death. Andrew the apostle implicitly rebukes his brother Peter who, contrary to Andrew, is not unlike Egeas who 'eigi ma […] þat skilia' (is not able to discern) and 'skilr eigi þa hluti, er guðs eru' (does not see the things which are God's).[52] Egeas asks questions and thinks Andrew a fool. Andrew proclaims himself the servant of the Cross. Egeas tries to dissuade him by putting him in prison overnight, then by tying the apostle between two trees and having him flogged; neither of these works, and Andrew continues to preach. Finally, Egeas despairs and orders Andrew to be crucified, since he is so keen on the Cross. As an exemplary martyr, who would see suffering as not 'simply something that happened to a person' but as 'the means of achieving real selfhood' (i.e., *imago Dei*),[53] Andrew gladly ascends the cross but not before addressing it in an elaborate speech.[54] Andrew is bound to the cross for two days and converts twenty thousand people as he preaches continuously (in itself a curious detail, given that the section begins with him having converted all of Patras — both details are absent from the Latin sources). The crowd tries to set him free, but he refuses and prays for his speedy departure from this world and final reunion with his Lord in heaven. His wish is granted; he dies on the cross in a beam of light descending from heaven. The saga then tells of the apostle's burial, Egeas' fate at the hands of devils, and the posthumous miracles at Andrew's grave.

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[45] *API*, p. 336.

[46] Cf. Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' p. 226. Roughton suggests that it loosely corresponds to the beginning of *Conversante et docente*, but the correspondance is very loose indeed.

[47] Cf. Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 226–27.

[48] On Andrew's dialogue with Egeas where he explains mysteries of the cross, see Carlé, 'The Legend of the Virgin Saint', pp. 13–14: "It is a stock element in the legends that when taken into court, as part of her defense the virgin explains to the judge the essentials of the Christian dogmas. Of course such events reflect the historic background of the persecutions; in the legends, however, their function has been to elucidate the main Christian doctrines. Hagiography was probably the most important and the most efficient tool used by the Church in the process of Christianisation of ordinary people." Margaret Cormack further observes the parallels, such as quipping, between 'saint at the court' and 'Icelanders at the king's court' in 'Christian Biography', in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (Blackwell Publishing, 2005), pp. 38–39.

[49] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 229–230.

[50] Bonnet, p. 7. Cf. Mark 8:3 "vade retro me Satana" [get behind me, Satan].

[51] *API*, p. 337.

LIGHT

The apostle's luminous death on the cross is in many ways the *telos* of the story, and the detail about the light from heaven surrounding Andrew does not come as a surprise: just as the whole narrative of the saga is shaped by the saint's death, so the radiance theme builds up towards the final martyrdom. After his bloody initiation into apostolic service at Mirmidon, in the course of his adventures and miracle-working Andrew continuously defies the constraints of his physicality, which is previously hinted at by the description he is given at the beginning of the saga: his appearance is as radiant as that of an angel.[55] Later in the text, as Andrew approaches a prison in Mirmidon, the locks miraculously fall off and the light, brighter than the sun, shines in its darkness: „En er Andreas postoli kom at myrkvastofunni, þa spruttu þegar fra lasarnir, ok skein lios solu biartara fyrir honum i myrkvastofuna" [But when apostle Andrew came to the prison, then immediately the locks sprang open, and in front of him into the prison shone the light brighter than the sun.][56] A few moments later, after the apostle finishes his prayer, the shining occurs again accompanied by the shaking of the prison cell, and by Matthew regaining his sight as well as the prisoners' iron fetters breaking: „En þegar er hann hafði lokit bøn sinni, þa skalf myrkvastofan, ok þvi næst skein lios mikit i myrkvastofuna af himni" [And as soon as he finished his prayer, the prison trembled, and then, next, a great light from heaven shone in the prison].[57] The next time the light imagery appears is just after Andrew calms the storm and arrives in Byzantium, greeted by a multitude of armed men. The apostle makes the sign of the cross and says a prayer, as a result of which an angel appears to the troops and delivers Andrew from death by the sword: 'þa for engill guðs fyrir þeim með miklum biartleik ok tok sverð hermannana, en þeir fellu allit til iarðar' [then the angel of God went in front of them with great brightness and took the guardsmen's swords, and they all fell to the ground]. [58] When the deed is done and the danger averted, he disappears with a great light: 'engill drottins hvarf þa fra þeim at syn með liosi miklu' [the angel of god then disappeared from their sight with great light].[59] The apostle follows the angel's lead closely and on his next stop at Pervitum, where he miraculously prevents a lucrative marriage between cousins, he himself becomes so radiant that everyone wonders at it: 'skina andlit postolans var sva biart sem sol,[60] sva at allit undruðuz ok lofuðu guð' [the apostle's countenance was as bright as the sun, so that all wondered and praised God].[61] A few lines later, in case the audience has failed to draw a parallel between the angel and Andrew, the saga reframes it in more definite terms that men saw 'skina asionu postolans sva sem engils guðs' [the apostle's countenance shine so as that of an angel of God].[62] Immediately after that the shining occurs again, this time in Philippi: first, the crowd led by the parents of Exuus, who has become Andrew's disciple, tries to burn the house with both young Exuus and Andrew in it; when they fail due to Exuus performing a miracle after an ardent prayer, some people venture to the house to kill the apostle but are struck blind and fall down the stairs; finally, after a moving speech by Lisimakus — one of the wiser city-dwellers — the others acknowledge the glory of the Christian God as well as their ill-deeds and the brightest light shines. Previously blinded, the people see again, and the first thing they see when they enter the house is the apostle at prayer:

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[52] *API*, p. 337.

[53] David L. Weddle, *Sacrifice in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2017), pp. 108–109; Weddle cites Judith Perkins, 'The "Self" as Sufferer', *Harvard Theological Review* 85.3 (1992), pp. 245–272 (p. 264).

[54] A number of scholars have suggested that this speech in Latin was the inspiration and the source behind the Old English 'Dream of the Rood' preserved in the tenth-century Vercelli Book, also containing the Old English *Andreas*. See Thomas D. Hill, 'The "Passio Andreae" and "The Dream of the Rood"', *Anglo-Saxon England* 38 (2010), pp. 1–10; *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: the Major Latin Texts in Translation*, tr. M. J. B. Allen and D. G. Calder (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 51-8. On *The Dream of the Rood* and its provenance: *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. Michael Swanton (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), pp. 1–42.

[55] See chapter 1, p. 46.

[56] *API*, p. 320.

> Ok er þeir toluðu þetta, með þvi at þa var myrkt vorðit af nott, þa skin hit biartasta lios yfir þeim. Ok af þessu liosi lukuz upp augu þeira allra, er aðr voru blindir vorðnir, sem fyr segir. Siðan stigu þeir upp til postolans ok fundu hann a bøn sinni, ok fellu til fota honum.[63]
>
> And when they said this, even though it was dark at night, then the brightest light shone over them. And from this light the eyes of all, who were struck blind before, opened, as already mentioned. Then they came upstairs to the apostle and found him in his prayer, and they fell to his feet.

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[57] *API*, P. 320. Cf. chapter 2, p. 83.
[58] *API*, p. 324.
[59] *API*, p. 324.
[60] On the solar and light imagery in the poetic and liturgical traditions, see Martin Chase, 'The Refracted Beam: Einarr Skúlason's Liturgical Theology', in *Verbal Encounters: Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Studies for Roberta Frank,* ed. Antonina Harbus and Russell Poole (University of Torronto Press, 2005), pp. 203–221 (pp. 210–214).
[61] *API*, p. 325.
[62] *API*, p. 325.
[63] *API*, p. 327.

The bright light is not therefore directly ascribed to Andrew, but his prayers implicitly suggest that he facilitated its appearance, turning it into a miracle of conversion performed by him and with help of his newly found disciples. According to Roughton, this miracle contains a fair number of expansions compared to the Latin text, many of which are stylistically rich: such as an unprecedented abundance of appositive present participles and alliteration in the inserted inciter-parents' direct speech.[64] Given this episode's central position within a series of miracles (it is preceded by seven and is followed by seven more), the stylistic devices seem not only to highlight the drama inherent to it but also draw the audience's attention to the climactic point in Andrew's apostolic ministry: it is in the second half of his wanderings that he moves on to resurrecting people, one at a time as well as, finally, *en masse*. At long last, at the end of his life Andrew dies in a ray of bright light which comes from heaven and remains visible for half a day:

> þa sa allir lios mikit koma sva sem ellding af himni yfir crossin, sva at engi matti i gegn sia. En er þat lios hafði verit halfa stunds dags, þa var andlat postolans, ok for ond hans með þvi hinu mikla liosi ok mikilli dyrð till almattigs guðs.[65]
>
> Then everyone saw great light coming just as lightning from heaven over the cross, so as no one could see through it. And when that light had stayed for half a day, then came the apostle's death, and his spirit departed with that great light and great glory to the almighty God.

The light and the glory are brought together by the conjunction 'ok' and therefore semantically linked, although not entirely synonymous: light is the visible sign of glory, and also of grace. As has been previously discussed, metaphors of light were often used by the ascetics and are frequently employed to describe the state of grace.[66] Andrew himself is depicted through these and likened to angels, who are in their turn incorporeal beings. However, the apostle has a physical body: it might not be 'shown' but it is inferred from the context. The first and only time, though, Andrew's body — *likamr* — is mentioned as a whole is at the end of the saga, when he is depicted being bound to the cross: „þa hofu pinendr hann a krossinn ok bundu reipum allan **likama** hans, sem þeim var boðit" [then the torturers raised him on the cross and bound his whole body with ropes, just as they were bidden].[67] Not only is it a practical detail, but it is also theologically significant, for Christ was the embodied Word and died a physical death — the point made by Andrew to Egeas as part of his catechesis: „Drottinn allz velldis let ser soma at stiga niðr af himni ok taka mannz likama a sik, ok var hann viliandi pindr til þess, at hann leysti fra dauða hinn fyrsta mann" [The Lord of all power deigned to descend from heaven and take a man's body upon himself, and he was willingly tortured so that he could release from death the first man].[68] At the same time, even though it comes at the crucial moment, the mention is rather brief and, just as before, there are no descriptions of the effect the torture inflicts upon the apostolic body. His body is mentioned again only after he is dead and taken down from the cross to be buried; at this stage his body is a saintly relic.[69] An important caveat, as well as a resonance, is introduced in Andrew's resplendent address to the cross, which he calls 'helgaðr […] af likama Kristz ok skryddr af limum hans sva sem af gimsteinum' ('hallowed by the body of Christ and adorned with his limbs as if with gemstones').[70] As Peter Hallberg has noted, not only are 'God, Christ, Our lady and the protagonists of Christendom […] again and again seen as bright and shining' but also a *gimsteinn*, gemstone, is one of the common metaphors of light in Old Norse religious writings, 'indicating both preciousness and brilliance'.[71] Therefore, the body of the apostle is further semantically redefined within the tradition and in terms of brilliance and holiness, stemming from both his meticulous mimesis of Christ, contact with the 'hallowed' cross as well as his graceful nature.

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[64] Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 210–211.

[65] *API*, p. 342.

[66] See, on spiritual blindness and the light of the Truth, see Peter Hallberg, 'Imagery in Religious Old Norse Prose Literature: an Outline', *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 102 (1987), pp. 140–42.

[67] *API*, p. 341.

[68] *API*, p. 337.

Moreover, the *Postulamál* from the *Homiliu-bók* provides even further context when rendering, rather loosely, the words of Jesus to his apostles from Matthew 5:13–16. The homily takes the metaphors of light and salt from the Gospel but continues with a rather different exegesis:

> Er eroþ liós heims oc ér eroþ sallt iarþar. Maclega kallasc postolar liós. þuiat kenningar. þeira lýsto af allan heim. þa er áþr vǫro i villo myrkre. Jorþ kallasc hiorto iarþlegra manna. en þat funar eige er saltat es. Postolar kallasc sallt iarþar. þuiat keningar þeira styrkþo iarþleg hiorto at þau funaþe eige af saure.[72]
>
> You are the light of the world and you are the salt of the earth. Rightly the apostles are called light because their teachings enlightened all the world which before was in the darkness of error. The Earth is called the hearts of earthly men and that does not decay which is salted. The apostles are called salt of the earth because their teachings strengthened earthly hearts so that they did not decay from filth.

The apostles are, therefore, the light of the world ('liós heims') and dispel the darkness of error and falsehood ('villo myrkr') as they strengthened the hearts of men through their teachings. A similar opposition appears in *Drottens daga mál,* which reflects on how „skiliom vér liós frá myrkrom. es vér lǫ́tom skína trú liós i hiortom órom. at vte byrgþom *villo myrkrvm*" [we separate light from darkness, when we let the true light shine in our hearts, so that we preclude the darkness of error].[73] This language is closely parallelled by St Andrew in the saga when he explains Christianity to Egeas: „Hinn sanni er a himnum, þar er **lios** rennr up, þat er a braut rekr **villumyrkr**" [The true one is in heaven, where the light originates which drives away the darkness of error].[74] This passage, alongside the preceding few lines discussing man-made idols (337:30–35) is not in either of the Latin source texts, and its insertion must have been a conscious choice made by the compiler. Here the apostle uses language familiar to the churchgoing audience of the saga and informed by the universal tradition of exegesis; the saga compiler, however, uses this interpolated passage to illustrate various points of Christian faith and to highlight the imagery of light and darkness. The use of the opposition *líos/villumyrkr* can be also seen as evocative of the apostles as the metaphoric light of the world: in the saga, however, Andrew literally radiates light in which he is closer to angels and Christ whose body is as luminous as gemstones. It is only fitting that one of the 'lights of the world' should shine with brightness, but the effect seems to be achieved mostly through the grace and mercy of God.[75] This rich interplay of associations, curated by the compiler, enables Andrew to be fully corporeal and yet as if made of light as the apostles — who metaphorically shine — are supposed to be.

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[69] *API*, P. 342.

[70] *API*, p. 341.

[71] Peter Hallberg, 'Imagery in Religious Old Norse Prose Literature', p. 140.

[72] *Postulamál,* in *Homiliu-bók*, p. 16.

[73] *Drottens daga mál*, in *Homiliu-bók*, p. 26.

[74] *API*, p. 337. Further on the metaphors of light and darkness in the Old Norse religious writings and homilies, see Hallberg, 'Imagery in Religious Old Norse Prose', pp. 140–142; David M. McDougall, 'Studies in the Prose Style of the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian Homily Books' (Doctoral thesis, University of London, 1983), pp. 524–535.

EGGING ON

After Andrew is attached to the cross, he continues to preach to a surrounding crowd of twenty thousand and lament his unjust sentence: „En Andreas postoli **styrkti hugi manna** þeira er guði truðu, ok **eggiaði** þa til þolinmøði, ok kvað þa eilifa dyrð taka mundu fyrir þessa heims pislir" [And Andrew the apostle strengthened minds of men, those who believed in God, and incited them to patience, and said [that they] will receive eternal glory for this world's torments].[76] This final sentiment has already been expressed in Andrew's 'lecture' to Egeas and resonates with Romans 8:18 in which Paul teaches that, to his mind, 'the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come that shall be revealed to us'. In a dramatic turn of events, this episode reflects and reverses the beginning of the saga, when the crowd in Mirmidon, incited by the evil force, demands that the apostle should be tortured: it is Andrew's torment that serves to convert the Mirmidonians and acts as a rhetorical device of persuasion within the narrative. Now, it is the opposite, for in this instance the crowd, converted by the apostle, is strongly opposed to the apostle's execution and demands his release from the cross, while St Andrew, 'heilagr maðr ok rettlatr' (holy and righteous man) strengthens their minds/hearts in the face of the earthly torments and incites (*eggia*) them to patience. Patience, along with endurance, are the apostle's core features and often can be seen in the context of longsuffering in this world. Therefore, Andrew's call to patience can also be read in line with Pauline teaching: in Hebrews Paul's counsel is to 'endure the suffering of persecution, accept divine discipline' and worship God with 'fear and reverence' (12:28–29) as well as to join Christ 'bearing his reproach' (lat. 'inproperium eius portantes') when he suffered outside the gates of Jerusalem (13:12–13).[77] Moreover, Hebrews 13:9 speaks of the good that comes from our hearts being 'established with [/strengthened by] grace' which also finds a reflection in *Andreas saga postola I* in which Andrew is said to have strengthened the hearts/minds of men ('styrkti hugi manna') before, or simultaneously to, inciting them to patience.[78] The Pauline sentiment is already present in the Latin Epistle relating Andrew's martyrdom: 'sanctus uero Andreas **confortabat mentes credentium Christum**, **hortabatur** tollerantiam temporalem docens nihil esse dignum passionis ad remunerationis compensationem aeternam' [but St Andrew strengthened the minds of those believing in Christ, exhorting them to temporal patience/forbearance, teaching them that nothing is worthy of passion [compared to] the eternal compensation of reward].[79] To the compiler, knowledgeable in Latin and rhetoric, this implicit reference to Paul's letters would be suggestive of the rhetorical force behind Andrew's preaching on the cross (the location which also augmented the effect of Andrew's eloquence, providing him with inspiration, as his previous address to the Cross shows). Although Paul's challengers said that 'his oratory fell flat', his speech being contemptible ('sermo contemptibilis'), they didn't dispute the art of his epistles ('epistulae inquiunt graves sunt et fortes').[80] In the later tradition, in his *De Doctrina Christiana* St Augustine uses Pauline letters as a praiseworthy example of rhetorical art and Christian oratory.[81]

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[75] On 'liós miskunnar', see McDougall, 'Studies in the Prose Style,' p. 527.
[76] *API*, P. 341.
[77] See David L. Weddle, *Sacrifice in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, pp. 114–115.
[78] Cf. II Timothy 2 and its idea of soldiering for Christ.

However, the Old Norse compiler, in translating this passage, might have — either accidentally or deliberately — supplied it with yet another close parallel from the *Homiliu-bók*'s sermon on All Saints' (*Á allra heilagra messa*): „þa erom vér andlega mótker oc styrker. **ef vér styrkiom hiorto ór meþ tru oc ǫst**. litellǽte oc **þolen mǿþe** svát vér megem meþ þeim mǽtte oc crafte stíga yfer fjándans vélar oc teýgingar" [Then we are spiritually mighty and strong, if we strengthen our hearts with faith and love, humility and patience, so that with that strength and power we can overcome the enemy's machinations and devices].[82] In this excerpt of the already discussed sermon,[83] the hearts of the faithful are said to be strengthened through faith and love, humility and patience, which are instrumental in defeating the devil's devices. It is all the more conspicuous that earlier in the same sermon there is a reference to Paul — 'vér erom mustere guþs sem poll postole mǽlte' ('we are the temple of God as Paul the apostle said'), cf. I Corinthians 6:19 — and therefore there is a certain thematic unity to the allusion. As the Old Icelandic *Homiliu-bók* 'offers some of the most pointedly rhetorical texts in the Old-Norse Icelandic corpus' as well as reflects 'Augustine's threefold aim of the Christian rhetor: to instruct, to delight, and to move',[84] this lexical allusion to the sermon together with its Pauline overtones suggest — implicitly but forcefully — the homiletic and eloquent nature of Andrew's own sermon on the cross (even though following the conventions of the Latin source it is rendered in shorthand, as an indirect speech).

But the implications of this intertextual reference stretch even further. The parallel between the Mirmidonians urged by evil forces to torture the apostle and St Andrew urging the newly converted crowd to patience presents itself as a deliberately and artfully crafted artistic device which reveals the rhetorical art displayed by the crucified Andrew.[85] At the same time, the Old Norse compiler forgoes the loquacious and yet not very rhetorically-ornate admonition spoken by Andrew on the cross as it is recorded in the *CeD*-based Pseudo-Abdian account of the apostle's passion:

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[79] Bonnet, p. 27.
[80] II Corinthians 10:10.
[81] For example, see Augustine of Hippo, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. R.P.H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 278.
[82] *A allra heilagra messa*, in *Homiliu-bók*, p. 42.
[83] Cf. chapter 2, on 'blood' and the All Saints' feast's close proximity to St Andrew's feast, p. 72.
[84] West, 'Rhetoric and Style', pp. 48–49.
[85] See, pp. 117–119. On a similar connection between speech and extrapolated conversion narrative, absent from the source-text, see West, 'Rhetoric and Style', p. 40.

> aperuit beatus Apostolus os suum, & ita loquutus est: Ego quidem gratias habeo Domino meo Jesu Christo, qui me tandem perfunctum jussione sua abire corpore vult, ut per bonam confessionem, perpetuam consequar misericordiam, dilectusque & notus ejus efficiar, qui me ad vos misit. Vos autem manete in verbo vobis tradito, docentes & admonentes alterutrum, ut & ipsi sitis cum Deo meo in perpetuum, & cum eo habitetis, promissionesque ejusdem recipiatis.[86]
>
> [The blessed Apostle opened his mouth, and spoke so: I am grateful indeed to my Lord Jesus Christ, who, now that I have at last fulfilled his command, wills me to depart bodily, so that through a good confession I may obtain perpetual mercy, and be made beloved and known to him who sent me to you. But you remain in the word delivered to you, teaching and admonishing one another, so that you too may be with my God forever, and dwell with him, and receive his promises.]

Contrary to the Epistle, it does not mention patience but still suggests that Andrew's audience are to continue with teaching and admonishing each other.

> toto eo die, & nocte quæ insecuta est, iugiter loquebatur, neque in aliquo fatigabatur aut deficiebat. Sequenti igitur die videntes ejus tolerantiam & animi conflantiam, denique spiritus prudentiam, & **mentis robur**[87]
>
> [all that day, and the night that followed, he talked continuously, and neither tired nor collapsed. On the following day, therefore, seeing his forbearance and the conflagration of his soul, finally the wisdom/prudence of his spirit and strength of his mind]

The rest of this passage introduces the idea of patience and mental strength but as it is displayed, and not preached, by the apostle: while his endurance impresses the spectators into petitioning for the apostle in front of Egeas, Andrew's virtues — however inspiring they are — are not depicted as overtly encouraged in others. Although this passage did not make it into the Old Norse translation of Andrew's martyrdom, it seems to have affected the introduction of the apostle at the beginning of the saga and is echoed in the suggested Latin etymology, not simply *virilis* but also *roboratus*.[88] Moreover, 'animi conflantiam' likewise resonates with the extended description of Andrew as radiant and in his brightness approaching angels. Returning to the compilation strategy employed in the *passio*-part of *Andreas saga postola I*, it is safe to assume that the Old Norse compiler was guided by considerations of thematic unity and concision. In his arrangement, the effect of Andrew's preaching and its power to move become even more explicit, as it is followed by the forceful and beautifully crafted speech delivered by the crowd to Egeas. The omission of the apostle's speech allows the text-external audience to appreciate the crowd's address to the tyrant without openly comparing and contrasting it with the rhetorical art of the apostle.

To this end, in the Old Norse version the crowd rushing to the rescue of the apostle is given a voice, while the Latin Epistle simply renders their speech as indirect quotation:

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[86] *Fabr.*, p. 512.

[87] *Fabr.*, pp. 512–513.

[88] On the implications of the second word as a gloss, see chapter 1, pp. 51–53.

> Interea uadit omnis populus cum clamore ad domum Aegeae omnes pariter clamantes **dicebant uirum sanctum, pudicum, ornatum moribus, bonum doctorem, pium, modestum, rationabilem** non debere hoc pati, sed debere deponi de cruce, quia iam secunda die in cruce positus ueritatem praedicare non cessat.[89]
>
> [In the meantime all the people came shouting to the house of Aegeus, all shouting together, saying that a holy man, chaste, decorated with good manners, a good teacher, pious, modest, reasonable, should not suffer this, but should be taken down from the cross, for it was already the second day he was on the cross, he did not cease preaching the truth.]

Albeit not altogether deprived of rhetorical varnish, the Latin passage remains laconic. The Old Norse translation, however, reworks it into the direct speech by drawing on and conflating it with its counterpart from the *CeD*-based Pseudo-Abdian version:

> venerunt turbæ ad Aegeatem, ac sedente eo pro tribunal, vocifernates dixerunt: Quæ ista tua est tam crudelis sententia, Proconsul, ut hominem probum, qui nihil mali commisit, crucis supplicio velis condemnari? Pertrubata est tota civitas, & simul cum eo omnes perimus. Quæsumus te, ne Cæsaris tam celebrem perdas civitatem. Concede nobis **hominem justum**, redde nobis **hominem Sanctum**, ne interficias hominem **Deo charum**, ne perdas **hominem mansuetum & pium**. Biduò enim suspensus vivit, quæ res miraculo non caret: & quod pius est, loquitur adhuc, & nos sermonibus reficit. Quare reddas nobis humc virum, ut vivamus : solve pudicum, & omnes patriæ erunt in pace.[90]
>
> [The multitudes came to Aegeas, and as he sat in his judgement-seat, calling out loudly, they said: What is this cruel sentence of yours, Proconsul, that you wish to condemn an honest man, who has committed no evil, to the execution on the cross? The whole city is disturbed, and we all perish with him. We beseech you, lest Caesar should lose so illustrious a city. Grant us a just man, give us back a holy man, do not kill a man dear to God, do not lose a meek and pious man. For he lives suspended for two days, which is not without a miracle: and what is pious, he still speaks, and refreshes us with his words. Why do you [not] return this man to us, so that we may live? Release the virtuous one, and the whole country will be at peace.]

Not only does the Old Norse preserve its source material by merging two accounts but it also enhances them both into a variegated, rhetorically ornate, and lengthy speech. Its difference to the Epistle's version in length is striking, and yet it is more concise than that found in the Pseudo-Abdian text:

> Þa for allr lyðr með miklu kalli til husa Egeas iarls ok mællti: „Hvi gegnir þetta atkvæði þitt? Rangliga dømir þu, grimmir eru domar þinir. Hvat gerði sa maðr illt eða rangligt? Nu er borg var **hrygg,** ok fyrirforumz ver allir. Glataðu eigi borginni, ok veit oss **helgan mann** ok drep eigi **astvin guðs helgan ok raðvandan** ok **skryddan goðum siðum**, lat eigi þu pina goðan kennanda, **milldan ok hoglyndan, skynsaman ok hofsaman**, þviat hann hefir nu verit *tva daga a krossi*, ok lætr enn eigi af

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[89] Bonnet, pp. 28–29.
[90] *Fabr.*, p. 513.

> at kenna oss hit sanna *ok syna oss þat, er rett er ok gott.* Gef þu oss **helgan mann**, at ver lifim, **leystu raðvandan mann**, ok mun allt Grikkland i friði vera; gef þu oss **spakan maðr**, ok mun Achaiaherað eignaz **miskunn**.“ [91]

> [Then, with great shouting, all the people went to the house of Egeas the jarl and said: What does this decree of yours mean? Unjustly you judge, grim are your judgements. What did this man do that is bad or wrong? Now is our city afraid/distressed, and we all perish. Do not destroy the city, and grant us the holy man and do not put to death the friend of God, holy and upright and adorned with good manners; do not have the good teacher tortured, graceful and gentle, wise and temperate, for he has been on the cross for two days now and still has not ceased to teach us his truth and to show us what is right and good. Give us the holy man so that we may live, set free the upright man, and the whole of Greece will be in peace; give us the wise man, and the province of Achaia will receive mercy.]

The Old Norse compiler preserves most of the rhetorical devices from the both texts, adjusting them to the conventions of a single speech: not only does he preserve the majority of repetitions and series of synonyms but he also rearranges them so as to achieve better coherence and dramatic effect.[92] He further expands some of the lines, infusing them with more rhetorical flourish: for instance, one question becomes two with an inserted almost gnomic utterance in the middle ‘rangliga dømir þu, grimmir eru domar þinir’ (unjustly you judge, grim is your judgement) characterised by the inverted syntax. The juxtaposition between Egeas’ judgement and the unjustly condemned apostle’s holiness reflects the general trend of this saga section which revolves around the classical trope in saints’ lives’ where the saint ‘explains to the judge the essentials of Christian dogmas’.[93] So while Andrew is mostly called ‘Andreas postoli’ and given the epithet ‘heilagr’, Egeas is consistently presented as a judge, an administrative position he indeed holds. Early on in the *passio* the apostle calls Egeas a judge and lists the qualities which befit this status, thus introducing the implicit comparison with Christ who is an ultimate Judge whom real life judges should strive to imitate: „Þat somir þer, er þu ert domandi manna, at þu kennir domanda þinn, þann er a himnum er, ok kunnir sannan guð, en kallir hug þinn fra þeim, er eigi sǫnn guð.“ [It befits you who are a judge of men that you know your judge who is in heaven and know true God but call your mind away from them who are not true gods.][94] Egeas’ failure to accept the tenets of Christian faith prevents him from pronouncing a just sentence.[95]

Turning back to the alterations introduced to the speech in question, the no longer relevant — in the Icelandic context — mention of Caesar is omitted in the Old Norse version, just as is the mention of the somewhat miraculous nature of Andrew's endurance. The final petition to release the apostle is expressed through a tripartite series of pleas 'gef þu oss', 'leystu', and 'gef þu oss', each of which mentions yet another quality of Andrew (*helgan, raðvandan,* and *spakan*) and is followed by its purpose: so that they may live and that there will be peace in Greece, and, more specifically, in Achaia. This invocation of peace echoes the beginning of the *passio*-section and its peace-formula, reiterating faith — or rather a chance for salvation to which Andrew's wellbeing is instrumental in the eyes of the city-dwellers — as a prerequisite for it. On a diegetic level, it can be read as the direct influence of the apostle's sermon from prison which dwelt on an undesirable 'djofulligan ofrið' and much desired 'frið ok þolinmøði', the ideas internalized by his audience after „[þ]essum orðum ok oðrum þvilikum talaði Andreas postoli fyrir lyðnum um alla nottina, unz dagr kom" [these words and others like these said Andrew the apostle to the people all night long until day came].[96] These formal and thematic elements of the popular speech, not to mention the crowd's conversion and general behaviour, highlight the eloquence displayed by Andrew in his speeches: they instruct, they delight (arguably), and they move. The imitation which Andrew inspires affects both the crowd's behaviour and their ways of speaking.

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[91] *API*, p. 341.

[92] Curiously enough, the reference to Andrew as *pudicum* is toned down to the Old Norse *raðvandr* (upright) which corresponds rather loosely to the quality of being chaste. This seems to be a general compilation trend for the Old Norse-Icelandic saga consistently downplays the chastity-motif which is exceptionally prominent in the original secondary Acts. Cf. Anna Rebeca Sålevag, *Birthing Salvation: Gender and Class in Early Christian Childbearing Discourse* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 137–197, esp. pp. 149–150.

[93] Carlé, ‘The Legend of the Virgin Saint’, pp. 13–14.

[94] *API*, p. 336.

[95] Of note are the modes of referring to pagan gods in the saga: Andrew and the narrator call them *skurðgoð*, carved gods i.e. idols, opposite to Christ who is *sannan goð*, true goð; Egeas, however, calls his gods simply *goð varra*, our gods, which does not contest Christian god’s only truth.

Overall, the apostle's speech from the prison-cell provides a whole new set of echoes between the Mirmidonian torture-scene, the apostle's death, and Christ's sufferings:

> En Andreas postoli mællti við þa: „Eigi skulu þer snua hogværð drottins i **diofulligan ofrið**, þviat drottinn syndi oss alla þolinmøði, þa er hann var pindr, eigi þrætti hann ne kallaði, ok eigi var kall hans heyrt a **strætum**; hafi þer frið ok þolinmøði ok dvelit eigi pisl mina, helldr bui þer yðr sialfa til, at þer megit stiga yfir vandra manna ognir ok pislir með *oskialfanda* hug ok þolinmøði.[…]"[97]
>
> And Andrew the apostle said to them: 'You shall not turn the Lord's equanimity into devilish enmity because the Lord showed us all patience when he was tortured, he neither quarreled nor cried, and not a cry of his was heard in the streets; have peace and patience and do not delay my torment, but rather prepare yourselves so that you can overcome difficult men's threats and tortures with unshaking mind and patience'.

The translation of the whole speech is generally close to the Latin original, albeit not verbatim. To this end, Andrew's reference to both *diofulligan ofrið* and *a strætum* is a direct translation of the Latin *seditionem diabolicam* and *in plateis* of the Epistle.[98] The evocation of the streets with regard to Christ's suffering is reminiscent of the Mirmidon episode and its rendering of St Andrew's torment: the Latin 'per plateas civitatis trahebant' (dragged through the streets of the city) is transfomed into the Old Norse 'a hverium steini ok stræti var hans bloð set' (on every stone and street his blood was seen).[99] The verbal and semantic parallel it creates is rather subtle, but it does not stand alone: the apostle's warning to the crowd not to fall into the 'devilish enmity' resonates with the idea of the devil as an inciter from the very same

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[96] *API*, p. 339.
[97] *API*, p. 339.
[98] Bonnet, pp. 16–17.
[99] *API*, p. 321; *Fabr.*, p. 459.

Mirmidonian episode. The Old Norse translation renders the sense of the Latin 'Nolite quietem domini nostri Iesu Christi in seditionem diabolicam excitare […]' [Do not provoke devilish discord in the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ].[100] However, the Latin verb *excitare* — translated in this instance with the more neutral *snúa* — is much closer in meaning to the Old Norse *eggja*, the verb used in the Mirmidon episode to talk of the devil's incitement.[101] The interpolation in the earlier part of the saga then seems to be an outcome of the Old Norse compiler's intentional effort to echo in the *vita*-part certain motifs from the *passio* so as to link the two parts of the narrative, each based on distinctive sources. Moreover, this parallel, introduced by the interpolation, ensures that in the *passio*-section the crowd of Andrew's supporters has agency of its own and is distinctly acting of their own will: contrary to the people in Mirmidon, they oppose the unjust violence sanctioned by Egeas, who can be associated with the devil and later is indeed dragged to hell by demons. Consequently, while it is the devil who acts as a primary agent of evil in Mirmidon and manipulates the inhabitants of the city, the crowd in Patras is presented as both discerning, to a degree, and exercising their free will in actively withstanding the devil's enmity. This radical change in crowd-behavior can be ascribed to Andrew's successful and eloquent preaching.

This moving effect of Andrew's sermon and its connection to the Mirmidon torture-episode are both further intensified by the compiler's use of the verb 'eggja'. In the Old Norse translation its employment accords with the Latin source but is infused with overtones specific to the Old Norse-Icelandic linguistic and cultural context, often implying a negative meaning or at least having a connotation of manipulation.[102] For women in the *Íslendingasögur*, the act of incitement — *hvǫt* — is the primary means of participation in men's affairs, which belong to the public sphere.[103] It is through goading — predominantly but not exclusively expressed by the verb *eggja* — that women or any other member of society lacking access to physical power exercised influence on those who have it, by moving them into action as instructed.[104] The ability of the speech act described by *eggja* to instruct and move resonates with the objectives behind the sermon as imagined by St Augustine, and it also aligns with the idea of Andrew's strength as a passive quality. The original Latin 'hortor, -ari', on the other hand, is generally more positive and often means 'to exhort, to encourage': and indeed, Modern English 'to exhort' is derived from Latin.[105] Moreover, in Latin the apposition of strengthening the minds of the believers and encouraging their patience are semantically close, even synonymous: the verbs *confortare* and *hortari* can be seen as synonyms. This further highlights the resonance of this speech with Andrew's nature as enduring.[106] The Old Norse verbs *styrkja* and *eggja*, however, do not share the same close relationship as their analogues in Latin. The first part of the passage, both in Latin and Old Norse, seems to resonate with Psalm 30(31):25,[107] an allusion to which can also be found in the opening description of St Andrew in *Andreas saga postola I*. A further intersection with the description of Andrew is found in the apostle's dramatic address to the Cross which precedes the crowd's appeal to Egeas: in Old Norse, Latin 'securus ergo et gaudiens venio ad te' (therefore equanimous and rejoicing I come to you) becomes 'oruggr ok fagnandi fer ek til þin' (undaunted and rejoicing I come to you).[108] This binds the end of the saga with its beginning: if in the *vita*-part Andrew is said to be 'oruggr at gera guðs takn hvervetna' ('fearless to perform God's wonders everywhere'),[109] then in the martyrdom account Andrew speaks often of the wonders (or mysteries of the Cross) — 'krosstakn', 'takn krossins', or 'guðs takn', etc.[110] Therefore the character-sketch in the opening of the *vita*-part of the saga hints at what is to come: not only does Andrew live up to his name, but the saga itself makes sure it lives up to what it has promised.[111] This series of parallels only further corroborates the suggestion that the deeds were translated in the aftermath of the passion and that a conscious effort was made to link the two and set them under the same framework.

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[100] Bonnet, p. 16.

[101] Cf. p. 117 of this chapter.

[102] The meaning of the verb is mostly negative, but not limited to it, see 'eggja, *vb.*', in *ONP: A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* < https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o16444 > [accessed 10 October 2024].

[103] Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, *Women in Old Norse Literature: Bodies, Words, and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 15.

[104] See Carol J. Clover, 'Hildigunnr's Lament', in *Cold Counsel: Women in Old Norse Literature and Mythology: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Sarah M. Anderson and Karen Swenson (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 15-54 (p.17).

[105] 'hortor, (b)', in *Database of Latin Dictionaries — DLD* (Brepols, 2024); <https://clt-brepolis-net.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dld/Dictionaries/Search?field=HEAD&query=hortor&dict=FL&article=dbm1zbuQ%2f%2fE%3d > [accessed 10 October 2024].

To this end, the interpolation from the Mirmidonian episode, introducing the incitement of the city-dwellers by the devil which leads to torturing of the apostle — 'þeir er eggiaðir voru af diofuls krapti at svivirða guðs kenningar' [they who were incited by the devil's power to disgrace the teachings of God][112] — is worth further consideration. In the grander scheme of the conversion episode, this introduced motivation makes the Mirmidonians' professed ignorance ('ver vissum eigi, hvat ver gerðum' [we did not know what we were doing])[113] more plausible: they are prompted towards violence by the devil, and the use of the grammatical passive mode renders them literally passive by stripping them of their agency. At the end of the saga, Andrew's incitement is also connected to the idea of passivity (and passion) which is inherent to the virtue of patience, or forbearance, which he urges the crowd to emulate. But this time, the multitude of newly-converted believers is supposed to choose knowingly and willingly.

The verb *eggja*, thus, not only invites the text-external audience to see both episodes in close connection to each other but also draws their attention to the paradigmatic shift which transpires between the two. The use of *eggia* in the saga, however, is not limited to the two execution-related cases, apart from which the verb appears four times in three instances across the narrative in-between. Contrary to the previous examples, the other four times that *eggja* is used, it occurs within the direct speech to describe an opponent's action: spoken either by St Andrew or the Christian boy Sostratus, who seeks the apostle's help, and referring to a lustful and lying mother, a violent chieftain, or the worst devils and enemies of mankind.

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[106] Cf. chapter 1, pp. 49–55.
[107] Cf. chapter 1, p. 54.
[108] Bonnet, p. 25; *API*, p. 341.
[109] *API*, p. 319.
[110] E.g., *API*, pp. 319:31; 321:37; 337:19–20; 338:6, 9, 15; 339:2.
[111] Cf. Roughton, 'AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to,' pp. 201–202, for observation of 'an outstanding' link between the prologue and the *passio* as well as the central themes of Andrew's preaching.
[112] *API*, p. 321.
[113] *API*, p. 321.

> Sveinn nokkurr kristinn het Sostratus, er kom til fundar við Andream postola leyniliga ok mællti: „Moðir min girniz fegrðar asionu minnar, ok optliga **eggiar** hon mik til þess, at ek hafa samræði við hana, ok þvi fly ek þinnar miskunnar ok raða goðra, at hon er nu með reiði mikilli, ok er nu farin at **eggia** iarl þessa heraðs mer a hendr […].“[114]
>
> A certain Christian lad was called Sostratus who came to meet Andrew the apostle in secret and said: 'My mother desires my fair appearance and often incites me to have an intercourse with her, and I flee to your mercy and good advice for now she has much anger and is now on her way to incite the earl of this province against me.'

Here it is the woman who is doing the goading, which is clearly negative for she urges her son to commit incest and is about to goad the jarl into destroying her son: there is no doubt that the mother is the agent of evil. The Old Norse-Icelandic Biblical compilation *Stjórn*, albeit produced a century later, provides an interesting parallel when telling the story of Adam and Eve's fall. Eve is first incited by the serpent with a maiden-face and then Eve incites Adam to eat from the apple. In both cases *eggja* is the verb used to describe the act of incitement.[115] As Janet Schrunk Ericksen has pointed out, not only does *Stjórn* emphasise the domino effect of sin but it also consistently links the fall with uncontrolled sexuality and emphasises the corporeal ramifications of the original sin.[116] In *Andreas saga postola I*, driven by her unnatural lust, the inciter-woman seems to be a reflection of a very similar sensibility.

The next instance when the verb *eggja* is used occurs in the depiction of a chieftain who coerces his troops to attack the apostle with swords:

> Ok er þeir gengu a land upp, þa sa þeir mikinn mannfiolda með brugðnum sverðum, ok gerðu for at þeim. Ok þa er postolinn sa þat, þa gerði hann krossmark a moti þeim ok mællti: „Bið ek þik, drottin, at niðr falli hofðingi þeira, sa er þa **eggiar** þetta at gera; skelfiz þeir af **guðligum krapti**, at eigi grandi þeir þeim, er fulltings vænta af þer.“[117]

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[114] *API*, pp. 321–22.

[115] *Stjórn. Gammelnorsk bibelhistorie fra verdens skabelse til det babyloniske fangenskab*, ed. C.R. Unger (Christiania [Oslo]: Feilberg & Landmark, 1862), p. 35: „Nu af þi at konan uar metnaðargiǫrn. i þi er hon uilldi samlikiaz uid gud af ormsins **aaeggian**. [...]ok þaa eitt epli af aauexti þess sama tress ok aat. ok gaf sidan bonda sinum þar af. **eggiandi** hann til at eta eigi sidr.“ [Now the woman was proud in that she wanted to be like God through the incitement of the serpent […] and then took an apple of that very tree's fruit and ate, and then gave some of it to her husband, inciting him to eat in no way less]. In the Norwegian *Konungs skuggsiá*, also known as *Speculum regale*, which dates from around 1250 and is therefore more contemporary to *Andreas saga postola I*, the story of the Fall is narrated differently and the 'egging' is ascribed only to the serpent that, however, still has a woman's face — a detail borrowed from Peter Comestor. See, *Speculum regale: Ein altnorwegischer Dialog*, ed. Oscar Brenner (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1881), p. 137.

[116] Janet Schrunk Ericksen, 'Transforming Female History in "Stjórn"', *Scandinavian Studies* 70.2 (1998), pp. 195–208 (pp. 199–202, 204–205). For further reading on the Fall, both in *Stjórn* and *Konungs skuggsjá*, see Siân E. Grønlie, *The Old Testament in Medieval Icelandic Texts: Translation, Exegesis and Storytelling* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2024), pp. 125–128, 154–155.

[117] *API*, p. 324.

> And when they landed, then they saw a great multitude of men with drawn swords and [who] were advancing on them. And when the apostle saw that, then he made a sign of the cross against them and said: "I beg you, Lord, that their chieftain fall down, the one who incites them to do this; may they be shaken with God's power so that they do not hurt those who hope for your help."

The phrasing of St Andrew's prayer to God strongly suggests that the chieftain and the crowds who are following his orders are in opposition to the divine power ('guðligum krapti') as well as to people relying on it. The difficult situation is resolved by the manifestation of divine power through the appearance of an angel. Therefore, the setting ensures that the chieftain's incitement acquires connotations of evil, while the use of 'guðligr kraptr' invites a comparison to the previously mentioned 'diofuls kraptr', both of which are contextually linked to incitement. At the same time, if *eggja* is a slightly peculiar verb to use in relation to a saint, so is *kraftr* to a fiend: according to the ONP, it is predominantly associated with the divine influence and, although well represented, the scale of its use with regard to dark and devilish powers is much more limited.

The final instance of *eggja* in direct speech occurs in Andrew's conversation with Egeas and features in a discussion of idolatry in which false idols are directly identified as 'the worst devils and enemies of all mankind':

> En Romaborgar hofðingiar vita eigi þat, at sonr guðs kom hingat i heim monnum til hialpar, ok sagði skurgoð þessi eigi guð vera helldr hina verstu diofla ok ovini allz mannkyns, þa er þess **eggia** menn at gera þat, er guð reiðiz þeim ok hverfi fra þeim ok heyri eigi bønir þeira; […][118]
>
> And the chieftains of Rome do not know that the son of God came hither into the world to help men and said that these carved idols were not God but rather the worst devils and enemies of all mankind, those who incite men to do things that make God angry at them and turn away from them and not to hear their prayers; […].

The devils in the guise of idols are inciting people to turn away from God and do abominable things, thus facilitating the continuity of the fall and its 'domino effect'. This resonates with the description of the inciter-woman earlier in the text and also continues the theme of the dichotomy between evil and divine forces displayed in the previous example. The thematic coherence between all these cases seems to be specific to the Old Norse version where this unity is amplified through the lexical parallel. For instance, while in the first and second cases the Latin verbs corresponding to *eggja* are *insector, -ari* and *instigo, -are*, it is a neutral verb *doceo*, *-ere* (to teach, to instruct) that is used to talk about the urgings of the idols/devils: "sed esse daemonia pessima et inimica humano generi, quae hoc **docent** homines unde offendatur deus, et dum offensus fuerit auertatur et non exaudiat" [but they are the worst of demons and enemies of human race which teach humans how to offend God, and as he is offended he turns away and does not listen].[119] The Old Norse *Andreas saga postola I*, on the other hand, displays a consistent use of *eggja* which is generally infused with negative connotations. This series of examples, in turn, makes the choice of the same verb to describe St Andrew prompting the crowd towards patience more forceful and the shift in their mode of interaction more powerful.

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[118] *API*, pp. 336–337.

[119] Bonnet, p. 4.

The positive use of *eggja* in a religious context, however rare, is not unique to *Andreas saga saga postola I*. Although the majority of occurrences of the verb in the *Homiliu-bók* are negative, the sermons employ it in its positive sense on at least two occasions: in the homily on 'In capite ieiunij' and *De sancte spiritu*. While in the former — which was to be read during Lent — it is Jesus who urges his companion towards wakefulness, the latter offers a meditation on God's mercy which leads us to encourage others to do good things.[120]

TREES

As was mentioned earlier in the introductory chapter, it is likely that the earlier acts, and especially *Acti Petri*, provided the model for Andrew's martyrdom account and St Peter's execution, Andrew's brother, could have suggested the manner of Andrew's death. Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna (d. 450) and later Theophanes Cerameus (d. 817) both mention death on a tree, which yet functions as a cross. In his sermon on Andrew's birthday (date now unknown), Peter Chrysologus says that 'Peter climbed a cross, Andrew a tree, and as they desired, they became co-sufferers with Christ'.[121] In his turn, Theophanes Cerameus draws a parallel with Jesus being brought to the Cross and proceeds to say that Andrew was crucified in an olive tree.[122] In the Eastern tradition, Pseudo-Hippolytus picked up on this detail and likewise spoke of an olive tree in his List of the Twelve.[123] *Breviarium Gothicum* of the Mozarabic liturgy uses 'crucis patibulum' to refer to the tool of the apostle's death which is often translated as 'fork-shaped cross' but this understanding is far from conclusive.[124]

Curiously enough, the Old Norse-Icelandic translation seems to preserve an echo of a literal tree being used as a tool of torture. Following its Latin sources, *Andreas saga postola I* tells of a flogging to which Andrew is subjected prior to his execution. As far as it follows Christ's flagellation in the Gospels (Matthew 27:26, Mark 15:15, John 19:1; Luke 22: 63-64 is the only one which mentions beating and mocking), flagellation was a standard prelude to crucifixion in the Roman judicial process. However, the compiler elaborates that Egeas did not simply order Andrew to be beaten but to 'binda postolann milli tria tveggia ok beria hann með svipum' ('bind the apostle between the two trees and beat him with whips')[125] — a detail not found in either of the Latin sources. At the same time, this seems to be a variation on Latin *extensum*, 'stretched', since a degree of stretching is required to bind a body between two trees: the posture would probably remind either of 'Y' or 'X'.[126] At the same time, the idea of a tree as a cross is a long-standing one, present both in the Latin tradition and continued into the Old Norse writings. *Andreas saga postola I* is no exception and uses the traditional arboreal imagery.[127] In this it follows the Epistle, which contains an expansive passage explaining the fall and redemption. The Old Norse text, however, slightly truncates it and reworks the remainder in a more streamlined and concise passage which displays both variation and antithesis (as in „Dauða varn tok hann a sik ok gaf oss lif sitt" [Our death he took upon himself and gave us his life]) structured around the theme of the original sin, leading to death and Christ's sacrifice on the Cross granting eternal life to humankind.

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[120] 'In capite ieiunij', in *Homiliu-bók*, p. 62: „Siálfr iesus eggiaþe sína faronauta til vocunar.“ [Jesus himself urged his companions to wakefulness]; *De sancte spiritu*, in *Homiliu-bók*, p. 24: „Milde guþs heiter en .vj.^{te} þa hofom ver hann. er vér veniomks góþom hlutom siálver. oc eggiom aþra til góþs.“ [Mercy of God is called the sixth. We have him then when we ourselves get used to good things and encourage others to [do] good].

[121] Peter M. Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter. His History and Legends* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), p. 12.

[122] Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, p.17.

[123] Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter,* p. 20.

[124] Cf. Ruben van Wingerden, Ruben, 'Carrying a *patibulum*: A Reassessment of Non-Christian Latin Sources,' *New Testament Studies* 66 (2020), pp. 433–453. Also, Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, p. 15; Charlotte Denoël, *Saint André: Culte et iconographie en France (V^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)* (Paris: École des chartes, 2004); Ursula Hall, *The Cross of St Andrew* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006).

Aegeas dixit: Restauratur hoc quod perisse docetur. numquid anima mea periit, ut ad eius me restauratuonem uenire per fidem nescio quam tu adseras?	Egeas mællti: „Þat kalla menn endrbøtt, er spillt hefir verit, en ek veit eigi, at ond min hafi spillt verit, sva at hon þurfi endrbotar."
Andreas respondit: Hoc est quod te dicere desiderabam, ut dum perditas animas omnium hominum docuero, istam restaurationem earum per crucis misterium pandam.	Andreas svaraði:
primus enim homo per **lignum praeuaricationis** mortem induxit, et necessarium hoc erat generi humano ut per **lignum passionis** mors quae ingressa fuerat pelleretur. et quioniam de inmaculata terra factus fuerat homo primus, qui per **lignum praeuaricationis** mundo mortem intulerat, necessario de inmaculata uirgine natus perfectus homo, in quo dei filius, qui primum hominem fecerat, mixtus, uitam aeternam, quam perdiderant per Adam homines, repararet ac de	„Hinn fyr**st**i maðr, er allra dauða olli af synd **girndartres**, hann var **s**kapaðr af o**s**aurgaðri iorðu; en þar var ok nauðsyn, at fra osaurgaðri meyiu leti beraz guð ok maðr, sa er skop hinn fyrsta mann, ok leiddi manninn til lifs þess, er hann hafði tynt, ok bøtti þat a **krosstre**, er misgert var a **girndartre,** en hann retti hendr sinar hreinar a krossim ok var honum gefit eitr at drekka, at hann bøtti þat **a pislartre**, er hendr Adams toku søta føzlu a **bonnuðu tre**. Dauða varn tok hann a sik ok gaf oss lif sitt."[129]

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[125] The number of blows remains the same as in both Latin sources: „En er siau hriðir hofðu gengit bardagans, þa var hann enn leiddr fyrir iarlinn" [And when he was flogged seven times, he was led back before the jarl]. *API*, p. 340.

[126] Cf. The execution of Igor, King of Kiev (d. 945), by Derevlians: according to Leo the Deacon, a Byzantine chronicler, Igor was 'tied to the trunks of trees and torn in two'. *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, tr. Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis F. Sullivan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2005), p. 156; Aleksandr Koptev, 'Ritual and History: Pagan Rites in the Story of the Princess' Revenge (the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, under 945–946)', *Mirator* 11.1 (2010), pp. 1–54 (p. 2).

[127] Peter Hallberg, 'Imagery in Religious Old Norse Prose Literature: an Outline', *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 102 (1987), p. 128; e.g., *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: the Major Latin Texts in Translation*, tr. M. J. B. Allen and D. G. Calder (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 53–55.

[129] *API*, p. 338.

ligno crucis lignum concupiscentiae excluderet, panderet in cruce inmaculatas manus pro manibus incontinenter extensis, pro suaui cibo **arboris uetitae** escam fellis acciperet, et in se suscipiens mortalitatem nostram suam nobis inmortaliatatem inferret. [128]	
Aegeas said: That is restored which is taught/said to perish. Surely my soul has not perished so that its restoration comes to me through faith. I do not know what you say? Andrew answered: This is what I wished to say to you, that while I will teach/show the perished souls of all men, I will explain the restoration of these through the mystery of the Cross. Indeed the first man brought about death through the tree of prevarication, and this was necessary for the human race so that through the tree of passion the death which entered [the world] would be defeated. And since the first man was made from the unblemished soil, he who through the tree of prevarication brought death into the world, necessarily the perfect man born of the immaculate virgin, in whom is the son of God who made the first man, converged, restored the eternal life, which men had lost through Adam, and from the tree of the Cross he removed the tree of desire, he spread out his unblemished hands on the Cross for the hand reaching out incontinently, for the sweet fruit of the forbidden tree he took the bitter food, and by taking upon himself our mortality he would impart his own immortality to us.	Egeas said: 'Men call that thing restored, which has been destroyed, but I do not know, that my spirit has been damaged, so that it would need restoration'. Andrew answered: 'The first man, who caused all death [the death of all] by the sin of the tree of desire, he was created from unblemished soil; and it was necessary, that from the immaculate maiden the man and God should be born, the one who created the first man, and that he should lead the man to this life that he had lost and to restore that on the Cross-tree what was undone at the tree of desire, and he stretched his pure hands on the cross and the venom was given to him to drink so that he restored on a passion-tree when Adam's hands took the sweet fruit from the forbidden tree. Our death he took upon himself and gave us his life.'

Thus, in his conversation with Egeas St Andrew explains fall and redemption through the arboreal imagery: the *girndartre*, tree of desire, is counterbalanced with the *krosstre*, Cross-tree — the opposition is repeated again but employs variation as the trees are now called *pislartre*, tree of torment, and 'bönnuð tre' — as is Adam juxtapposed with Christ.

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[128] Bonnet, pp. 10–12.

As the flagellation happens only later, the narrative detail of being tied between two trees can be read in a more symbolic light than it suggests at the first glance: as salvation history transpires between the events marked by two trees — the tree in the garden of Eden and the Cross-tree — and humanity is metaphorically suspended between the two, so is Andrew literally bound between the two trees. In a way, the Old Norse Egeas proves to be a good student, as he orders Andrew's execution according to what he has been just told: two trees and, finally, the Cross.

CROSS

The Cross is a crucial element of the martyrdom account. Not only does the apostle spend most of his time elucidating the role of the Cross-sacrifice in the history of salvation, but he who is a disciple of Christ also proclaims himself a servant of the Cross: "Ek em þræll kross Kristz, ok mun ek helldr øskia sigrmerkis hans en hræðaz" [I am a servant of the cross of Christ, and I will rather wish for his token of victory [=cross] than be afraid].[130] As such, Andrew — who witnessed Christ's life and death on earth as well as underwent an initiation by blood in Mirmidon — is in possession of the Cross' mysteries and joys; he embraces the passion-tool and the suffering that comes with it: „en hann tok pisl **glaðr ok feginn** ok let eigi af kenningu drottins" [and he took the torture, glad and rejoicing, and did not let go of the teaching of the Lord].[131] The apostle's attitude to the cross is exemplified in his splendid address to it on his way to the crucifixion. In its form, the address becomes a testament to the divine inspiration which — overflowing — turns into an eloquent speech and is intricately connected to both joy and pain, the themes that have already made an appearance in Mirmidon episode and tap into the broader Old Norse-Icelandic literary landscape.[132]

The address to the Cross is not simply taken from one of the two Latin sources, but presents an amalgamation of both and shows deliberate effort on the part of the compiler.

> Salve crux, quæ diu fatigata requiescis, tanto tempore expectans me. Certissime autem scio, te gaudere suscipientem discipulum ejus, qui pependit in te. Quapropter lætus pergo ad te: quia secretum tuum cognosco, & mysterium novi, *qua de causa fixa si.* Suscipe nunc quem desiderans, *inveni in te.* Video enim in te, quæ a Domino mihi sunt promisat. Suscipe *itaque electa crux* humilem *proptem Deum*, & transfer *servum ejus* ad Dominum suum.[133]

> Salue crux quae in corpore Christi dedicata es et ex membrorum eius margaritis ornata. antequam te acsenderet dominus, timorem terrenum habuisti, modo uero amorem caelestem obtinens *pro uoto susciperis.* sciris enim a credentibus quanta intra te gaudia habeas, *quanta munera praeparata.* securus ergo et gaudens uenio ad te, ita ut et tu exultans suscipias me discipulum eius qui pependit in te, quia amator tuus sempre fui et desideraui amplecti te. o bona crux quae

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[130] *API*, p. 340.
[131] *API*, p. 341; cf. Latin: 'gaudens enim et exultans ibat et a doctrina non cessans' (for he went rejoicing and exulting and not ceasing from teaching), Bonnet, p. 24.
[132] Cf. chapter 2, pp. 78–95.
[133] *Fabr.*, pp. 511–512.

decorem et pulcritudinem[134] de membris domini suscepisti, diu desiderata, sollicite amata, *sine intermessione quaesita et aliquando iam concupiscenti animo praeparata*, accipe me ab hominibus et redde me megistro meo, ut per te me recipiat qui per te redemit me.[135]

Hail, Cross, you who long has rested, tired, waiting for me for a long time. But I know most certainly that you will be glad to receive the disciple of him who hangs on you. For this reason, to you I go with joy: for I know your secret, and I know the mystery, for what reason you are fixed. Receive now the longing, I have found in you. For I see in you what the Lord has promised me. Take up, therefore, the chosen Cross, the humble one before God and transfer his servant to his Lord.

Hail, Cross, you who are consecrated in the body of Christ and adorned with the pearls of his limbs. Before the Lord climbed you, you maintained earthly fear; now truly, obtaining heavenly love, you are received as a promise. For you are known to believers; how many joys you have within you, how many rewards were prepared [within you]. Therefore, untroubled and rejoicing, I approach you so that you, exalting, may receive me, the disciple of him who hung upon you, for I was always your devotee and desired to embrace you. O good Cross, you who received ornament and beauty from the limbs of the Lord, having been long desired, diligently loved, sought for without pause, and now at last prepared for the longing soul, take me away from mankind and deliver me to my master, so that he may receive me through you, he who redeemed me through you.[136]

The content of the speeches overlaps but is not identical, which allows for a rather seamless conflation of the two. While only slightly abridging the apostle's speech from the Epistle, the compiler inserts it into Andrew's more expansive address from the *CeD,* also only slightly abridged:

> „**H**eill þu *k*ross, er **h**elgaðr ert af **li**kama *K*ristz ok **skryddr** af **lim**um hans sva sem af gimsteinum, þu stendr ok biðr min, en **ek geng glaðr** til þin, þviat ek kenni leynda hluti þina. **Tak þu** við þeim, er til þin fysiz, þviat ek se i þer þat, er mer er af guði heitit, **tak þu** mik litillatan ok før mik drottni Jesu. Þu hafðir iarðliga hræzlu, aðr Kristr **ste** a þik, en nu eignastu ast himneska, þviat allir, þeir er trua, vitu,

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[134] Note that the description of cross resonates with etymology of 'Andreas', see chapter 1, p. 51.
[135] Bonnet, pp. 25–26.
[136] Kevin R. Kritsch, 'Apostles, Apostolicity & Apocrypha: The Literary Reception and Treatment of the Twelve Apostles in Anglo-Saxon England with a Study of a Cult of St Andrew' (Doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina, 2014), pp. 175–176.

> hversu mikla fagnaði þu hefir með þer. **Oruggr ok fagnandi f**er ek til þin, en þu tak glaðliga við mer lærisveini þess, er a þer hekk, þviat ek var avallt þinn unnandi ok **fuss a**t **faðma þik.** Þu goðr kross, er tekit hefir **fegrð ok pryði** af **li**ðum drottins, **l**engi fysiligr ok af ollum hug elskaðr, **tak þu** mik fra monnum ok giallt mik lærifeðr minum, at sa taki mik a þer, er mik leysti a þer.“[137]
>
> Hail you, the Cross, that are hallowed by the body of Christ and adorned with his limbs as if with gemstones, you stand and wait for me, and I, glad, come to you, for I know [teach/proclaim] your hidden things [mysteries]. Receive the one who longs for you, for I see in you what is promised to me by God, take me, the humble one, and bring me to the Lord Jesus. You had earthly fear before Christ got on you, and now you have heavenly love, for all, who believe in you, know how much joy you have in you. Undaunted and rejoicing I come to you, and you receive me gladly, the disciple of the one who hung on you for I am ever your lover and willing to embrace you. You, the good Cross, who has taken beauty and splendour from the limbs of the Lord, for a long time desirable and beloved with all [my] heart, take me away from men and yield me to my teacher so that he might take me from you, he who redeemed me on you.

The Epistle's version, is incorporated close to the beginning of the speech and is framed by the *CeD*-version. Given that the first sentence refers to the Cross being adorned by, or clad in, the limbs of Christ, the achieved effect does not fall short of iconicity as the inserted speech is likewise shrouded by its counterpart, or on the contrary, the longer speech is decorated by its shorter version. The speech itself is generally ornate and contains specimens of alliteration as well as alliterative pairs, a few examples of hendiadys and anaphora (including a bicolon), all of which produce an impression of the love lyric, in which the lover is reunited with his beloved. Although the setting is nothing but gruesome and evocative of suffering, the overall emotion expressed by Andrew is exuberant joy. The Cross, thus, is a source of joy for St Andrew as well as, he exclaims, for all those who believe in it: „allir, þeir er trua, vitu, hversu mikla fagnaði þu hefir með þer“.[138]

As in the Latin tradition, in the Old Norse-Icelandic saga the Cross is not only depicted as a *locus* of joy but also as the place of revelation. The more expanded *CeD*-based Latin speech, however, dwells on this aspect only fleetingly, focusing on joy and gifts ('sciris enim a credentibus quanta intra te gaudia habeas, *quanta munera praeparata*' [For you are known to believers; how many joys you have within you, how many rewards were prepared [within you]]). The Epistle, on the other hand, is primarily preoccupied with the mysteries of the Cross and the idea of invention: 'Quapropter lætus pergo ad te: quia secretum tuum cognosco, & mysterium novi, qua de causa fixa si. Suscipe nunc quem desiderans, inveni in te. Video enim in te, quæ a Domino mihi sunt promisat' [For this reason, to you I go with joy: for I know your secret, and I know the mystery, for what reason you are fixed. Receive now the longing, I have found in you. For I see in you what the Lord has promised me]. The Old Norse version, in combining and slightly rearranging the two sources, clearly chooses to preserve both the idea of mysteries, 'leynda hluti þina', and of God's promise which can be seen in the cross, 'ek se i þer þat, er mer er af guði heitit'. The ability to see things is likewise emphasized, thus continuing the theme permeating the whole of the saga. The Cross is an embodiment of a 'happy find', the bearer of concealed divine knowledge, mystery, and God's promise; it serves as a psychopomp which has the capacity to bring Andrew to heaven, that is, to the other world.

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[137] *API*, p. 341.
[138] *API*, p. 341.

The combination of poetic speech, finding, and otherworldly mysteries resonates, once again, with *Egils sagas Skallagrímssonar* and its *Sonatorrek*. As for Egill the poetic gift is a happy find, so is the cross for St Andrew. In this respect, Andrew's address to the Cross provides yet another parallel to the warrior-poet's lament. Andrew famously says that he approaches the cross, and his death on it, 'oruggr ok fagnandi' (undaunted and rejoicing), while Egill composes a verse stating that 'skal ek þó glaðr með góðan vilja ok óhryggr Heljar bíða' [I shall, however, happy, in good heart and fearless, await Hel].[139] Although *oruggr* and *ohryggr* are not the same word, not only do their various spellings come close to each other but so too do their meanings. Therefore, both the poet and the martyr are describing their experience of approaching death in terms relatable to each other. The 'með góðan vilja' (with good will) detail form *Sonatorrek* curiously resonates with the conditions for peace as defined in the Old Norse-Icelandic sermons and hagiographic translations, for instance, the Annunciation feast sermon from *Homiliu-bók* extends peace to all men of good will.[140] As discussed above, peace is also an important theme in this section of *Andreas saga*. Moreover, within *Andreas saga* itself, 'oruggr' in the Cross-speech harkens back to the 'oruggr' from the very introduction of the apostle in the beginning of the saga where he 'ok var orrugr at gera guðs takn hvervetna' [was also fearless to perform God's wonders everywhere].[141] Therefore, the saga is structured in such a way that Andrew lives up to his name ('Andreas sannaði nam sitt fagrliga'[142] [Andrew lived up fairly to his name]) and his distinctive personality traits, thus fulfilling the God's will and promise, which is revealed to him in the cross. The fact is stressed by the verbal echoes and lexical parallels between the beginning of the *vita*-part and the final part of the *passio*. As the compiler points out in the beginning, Andrew's readiness 'at gera guðs takn' [to perform God's wonders] meant that 'guðz mattr gerðiz biartari en aðr' [God's power was made more illustrious than before];[143] this happens, quite literally, at the apostle's death: the light from heaven descends to the cross and enfolds the apostle for half a day in which he breathes his last.

It has been already pointed out with regard to *Páls saga postola II* that the 'development in eloquence and in wisdom' can be in interplay with the apostle's 'development in sanctity' which happens as Paul 'grows from persecutor of the church to apostle to martyr'.[144] A very similar thing happens in *Andreas saga postola I*, where, as Andrew progresses from simple fisherman to fisher of men to martyr, he acquires a gift of divine eloquence and hidden knowledge. The transition is often punctuated by tortures, which seem to be a catalyst for the workings of the divine grace. Fittingly then, St Andrew's final utterance in the whole saga is a beautifully, rhetorically crafted prayer of supplication in which he asks to be received into heaven:

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[139] *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, ÍF II, p. 256.
[140] Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words,* p. 201.
[141] *API*, p. 319.
[142] *API*, p. 319.
[143] *AP1*, p. 319.
[144] West, 'Rhetoric and Style', p. 75.

> Þa kallaði Andreas postoli ok mællti: „Lat eigi **þu**, drottinn, þræl þinn verða heðan leystan, **þann er nu** *hangir a krossi fyrir sakir nafns þins*. Sel þu eigi, drottinn, mik aptr i verolldina, **þar er nu** se **ek leynda fagnaði þina a himnum**. Lattu eigi, drottinn, iarðligan mann oflægia mik, **þar er nu** kenni ek dyrð þina fyrir kross þinn, helldr **tak þu mik**, drottinn lærifaðir minn Jesus Kristr, er ek hefi **senn** ok vil enn **sia**, **tak þu mik**, drottinn Jesus Kristr goðr hirðir, *ok* ***lat mik eigi*** *leystan verða, aðr þu takir anda minn.*“[145]
>
> Then Andrew the apostle called out and said: “Do not let, Lord, your servant be untied from hence, who is now hanging on the cross for your name’s sake. Do not hand me over, Lord, back to the world now when I see your hidden joy in heaven. Do not let, Lord, [any] earthly man humble me now when I know your glory through your Cross, but rather take me, my Lord and teacher Jesus Christ, who I have seen and yet wish to see; take me, Lord Jesus Christ good shepherd, and do not let me be untied until you receive my soul.

The compiler resorts to both sources at his disposal and collates the apostle’s laconic plea from the Epistle (‘Domine Iesu Christe, magister bone, iube me de ista cruce non deponi nisi ante spiritum meum susceperis’[146] [Lord Jesus Christ, good teacher, do not let me be removed from this cross unless you receive my spirit first]) with a more expansive prayer from the *Historia Apostolica CeD*-based account, putting the former at the close of his rather verbose address:

> Sanctus Andreas exclamavit voce magna, & dixit: **Ne permittas** famulum tuum Domine Jesu Christe, qui propter nomen tuum pendet in ligno, solvi: **neque permittas** quæ Deus misericors, secretis tuis inhærentem, humanis amplius conversationibus tradi. Sed suscipe tu magister me, quem dilexi, quem cognovi, quem retineo, quem videre desidero, in quo sum quod sum. Suscipe exitum meum Jesu bone, & misericors.[147]
>
> Saint Andrew cried out in a loud voice and said: Do not allow your servant, Lord Jesus Christ, who is hanging on a tree for your name’s sake, to be released: neither allow, merciful God, the one who adheres to your secrets to be handed over once again to the human ways of life. But receive me, master, whom I have loved, whom I have known, whom I keep, whom I desire to see, in whom I am what I am. Accept my departure, good Jesus and merciful.

The compiler generally follows the structure of the Latin speech given in the *Historia Apostolica* but alters it in several ways. For example, he introduces the tricolon, three parallel syntactical structures, where Latin offers only a loose bicolon. The three sentences mirror each other not only in their opening parts (‘lat eigi þu, drottinn’; ‘sel þu eigi, drottinn’; ‘lattu eigi, drottinn’) but also in their descriptive clauses (‘þann er nu’, ‘þar er nu’, ‘þar er nu’) which also stress the present moment (*nu*) and therefore the climactic point of the narrative. The tripartite, albeit uniform, naming of God is evocative of the trinitarian imagery. The shift in the prayer is marked by *helldr* which highlights the contrast between negative pleas and demands for a more positive action which is expressed as a bicolon, also found in Latin: 'tak þu mik, drottinn lærifaðir mik Jesus Kristr' and 'tak þu mik, drottin Jesus Kristr goðr hirðir'. The shift is further marked by the expanded address to God, who is no longer just *drottinn* but also *Jesus Kristr,* a master (cf. Latin 'magister bone'/'magister') and a shepherd. Therefore, Latin structure (2+2) is transformed into (3+2; +1*) in the Old Norse-Icelandic version. The change is particularly meaningful given its Cross-infused context: in the Latin West the sign of the cross was made with three fingers symbolizing the Holy Trinity while the two remaining fingers signified the dual nature of Christ. In this way, Andrew, as a true servant of the cross, makes a sign of the cross not only with his crucified body but also with his words, which imitate the hand gesture that Andrew is unable to reproduce in his current condition. The final line of his prayer (+1) — 'lat mik eigi leystan verða, aðr þu takir anda minn' — efficiently summarizes the whole, while also echoing the opening of the prayer: 'Lat eigi þu, drottinn, þræl þinn verða heðan leystan'. On the one hand, it can be regarded as the fulfilment of an envelope pattern; on the other, however, it can be seen as a literal 'bottom line' which comes after a rhetorical *figura* imitating the sign of the cross. In this way, this passage captures, or rather offers, a multi-layered mimesis inherent to the Christian witness and serves as a verbal monument to Andrew's earthly journey's end, which is simultaneously its highest point, and his victory on the Cross. Just as in the Middle Ages, monastic learning was seen as 'culminating in the ability to speak to God correctly',[148] so does Andrew's journey culminate to in this ability: his evocative prayer is heard and he is reunited with the Lord in heaven.

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[145] *API*, p. 342.
[146] Bonnet, p. 33.
[147] *Fabr.*, p. 514.

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Overall, this chapter has sought to elucidate how *Andreas saga postola I* is a complex and carefully crafted text, in which both parts — *vita* and *passio* — are brought together by the lexical and semantic parallels as well as by a number of themes and motifs grounded in universal Christian tradition (exemplified primarily by the Latin source texts) and in the religious practice and literary culture of medieval Iceland. The translator-compiler's approach to the sources is not only thoughtful but also informed by his contemporary environment. The compiler makes an effort to expand, elaborate, and refine the rhetorical flourish of the speeches, delivered both by the apostle and the crowd converted by him to Christianity. This is achieved by using both available Latin sources — the primary *Passio Andreae* and the supporting *Historia Apostolica*'s version of martyrdom, based on the text of *Conversante et Docente* — in order to intensify the dramatic effect. At the same time, when the supporting source does not offer anything essential, the compiler does not expand his major source but makes sure to introduce or intensify the intertextual references, pointing the audience towards other vernacular sermons (on relevant subjects) by means of lexical parallels. The overarching effect of this is a saga which is at once self-contained and exceeds its own boundaries, providing further insights into salvation history: both parts work together to ensure the dramatic effect and put an audience in a frame of mind for pious contemplation and Christological mimesis. The concepts of peace, light, patience, and the cross are at the centre of the narrative, as they point towards the ideas of grace and salvation which can be achieved through words and the Word.

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[148] John J. Contreni, 'Learning for God. Education in the Carolingian Age', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 24 (2014), pp. 89–129 (p. 104). Also, cf. Kramer and Novokhatko, 'Dead Authors and Living Saints', p. 223: "While the saints take many actions in their stories, their agency depends on their role as conduits of God's grace. The characters in the narration enact God's will, and by acting embed this will into the text. God's influence was thus implicitly interpreted by the author, who effectively communicated His message."

CHAPTER 4

HRAFN SVEINBJARNARSON

> You do not have to be good.
> You do not have to walk on your kness
> For a hundred miles through the desert repenting.[1]
>
> Mary Oliver, *Wild Geese*

Now that all the strands have been brought together and offer a more comprehensive idea of how apostolicity and suffering are depicted in *Andreas saga postola I*, this final chapter explores the same concepts, motifs and structuring devices in one of the so-called contemporary sagas: *Hrafn saga Sveinbjarnarsonar* is contemporary also with *Andreas saga postola I* and is known for its mention of Andrew the apostle as well as a currently non-extant *Andreasdrápa* in his honour. Following the narrative construction of the saint-like character of Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson, this final part of the thesis addresses the problem of the Andrean readership and the influence of *Andreas saga postola I* in the cultural and literary milieu of medieval Iceland. The final chapter explores a number of correspondences — structural, lexical, and thematic — and invites the reader to join in contemplation of as well as in speculation over the respective *hagioneses*; in other words, rather than providing a clearly-cut answer, it prompts the reader to question their relation to each other.

*   *
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In her edition of *Hrafns saga,* Guðrún Helgadóttir has drawn attention to the fact that Andrew's passion, and his exhortation from the cross in particular, set the general tone of Hrafn's death as a martyr in-so-far as it 'contains lessons closely relevant to [the] interpretation of Hrafn's career and fate'.[2] *Hrafns saga* features the episode in which the poem on the apostle's martyrdom is read out loud; it is an explicit example of engagement with Andrew's hagiography and it suggests the mode of interaction with such texts as Hrafn comments on the events (*atburðir*) described in the passion-narrative. There is not much detail as to what form his running commentary takes but, regardless, it suggests an immersive and ruminative way of engaging with the saint's life (or death, to be more precise).

> Þá er Hrafn var kominn í rekkju, mátti hann eigi sofa. Hann mælti við mann þann, er Steingrímr hét, at hann skyldi kveða *Andreasdrápu.* Hann kvað drápuna, ok eptir hvert ørendi talaði Hrafn margt um þá atburði, er gǫrzk hǫfðu í písl Andreas postula. [3]
>
> When Hrafn came to the sleeping bench, he could not sleep. He spoke to the man who was called Steingrímr that he should recite *Andreasdrápa.* He recited the *drápa*, and after each verse Hrafn talked at length about those events which transpired in St Andrew's passion.

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[1] Mary Oliver, 'Wild Geese', *Western Humanities Review* 37.3 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), p. 208.
[2] Guðrún P. Helgadóttir, 'Introduction', in *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar,* ed. Guðrún P. Helgadóttir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. xi–cxvi (p. lxxxi).
[3] *Hrafns saga*, p. 41. Translations are my own, unless stated otherwise.

Hagiography, for all its piety, is not supposed to be dry: an element of entertainment is often needed to succeed in 'converting its hearers to a better way of life in imitation of the saints'.[4] In this way, *Hrafns saga*, which is 'infused with the odor of sanctity'[5] — combining elements of a saint's life and a feud narrative — seems to be a perfect conduit for the imitation. The main character is a real person, well-known and well-liked, and most plausibly more relatable than any of the remote and universal saints. And it is for the sake of relatability and its immersive effect on the audience that medieval European hagiographers often 'needed to walk a fine line between universal Christian values and localised narratives' so as to demonstrate holiness, 'timeless in principle', which is at the same time fitted the 'current issues' and '(mental and actual) landscapes surrounding the audience'.[6] To this end, the text of the saga provides its audience with both: real-life contemporary events serve both as a stage for the display of Christian virtues and as a setting for religious edification. *Hrafns saga* is thus perceived to be of a twofold nature: elements of both hagiography and traditional feud story permeate the narrative.[7] When it comes to its hagiographical nature, the saga displays a great variety of Christian tropes and draws on a rich, albeit stock, religious imagery. The saga narrator makes clear from the beginning that Hrafn's life 'was marked by his search for grace and salvation'.[8] A vast number of saints appear as the narrative unfolds: numerous feast days, pilgrimage destinations, and churches form the landscape and frame of reference within the saga-world.

Hrafns saga does not conform to a single saint's life but rather combines various tropes and motifs from well-known stories: the saga directly refers its readers to multiple saints, most likely with the intention to invite the audience to draw parallels. In this respect, the figure of St Andrew, who was, along with Peter and John, one of the three most favoured apostles in medieval Iceland and whose cult had been spreading among the islanders from the thirteenth century onwards, is particularly inviting. The saga explicitly introduces the saint by his name on the eve of Hrafn's death, which took place eight days after the feast of St Matthias. Not only the timing but also the way in which he is introduced suggests the apostle's important role. As one Icelander is listening to and commenting on Andrew's martyrdom, the other — who is none other than a priest — is dreaming about it: „Þá nótt ina sǫmu dreymði Tómas prest Þórarinsson, at hann þóttisk sjá písl Andreas postula. Þat sama dreymði hann alla nóttina, jafnan er hann sofnaði“ [That very same night Tómas Þórarinsson, a priest, dreamt that he thought himself to have seen the passion of the apostle Andrew. He dreamt the very same all night, always as he fell asleep].[9]

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[4] Margaret Cormack, 'Saints' Lives and Icelandic Literature in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Saints and Sagas: A Symposium*, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen and Birte Carlé (Odense: Odense University Press, 1994), pp. 27–47 (p. 45.)

[5] Margaret Cormack, 'Saints and Sinners. Reflections on death in some Icelandic sagas', *Gripla* 8 (1989), pp. 187–217 (p. 210).

[6] Rutger Kramer and Ekaterina Novokhatko, 'Dead Authors and Living Saints: Community, Sanctity, and the Reader Experience in Medieval Hagiographical Narratives', in *The Past Through Narratology: New Approaches to Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mateusz Fafinski and Jakob Riemenschneider (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Press, 2022), pp. 205–226 (p. 219).

[7] Úlfar Bragason, 'The Structure and Meaning of *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*', *Scandinavian Studies* 60. 2 (1988), pp. 267–292 (p. 269).

[8] Haki Antonsson, *Damnation and Salvation in Old Norse Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2018), pp. 110–111.

The apostle's presence is almost excessive as it is doubled, and in a way it feels more real than that of any other saint in the saga. Through the double link as well as the proximity to the event, St Andrew's life imminently colours the protagonist's end. This is the key moment in Hrafn's life (and becoming), for it is one's death that allows for a final evaluation of one's life and chances for salvation.[10] As both Fredrik Paasche and Úlfar Bragason have suggested, the proximity of Andrew's appearance in the story to Hrafn's death invites the audience to draw a link between the two and instructs them 'to connect Hrafn's death with the saint's exemplary patience, love of God, and death, especially because one of Hrafn's closest friends also dreamt about St. Andrew's passion the same night Hrafn was killed'.[11]

However, Margaret Cormack argues that Hrafn's death is not as close an imitation of a saint's death (any saint's) as it is in the case of his contemporary Þorgils *skarði,* who — in the eponymous saga — distinctly displays what Haki Antonsson called the 'Becket pattern' and dies in a manner very similar to St Thomas Becket, whose death he pronounces to be the best way to die on the eve of his own death.[12] Guðrún Helgadóttir follows Frederik Paasche and suggests that there are 'no circumstances in the martyrdom of Andrew which the author could see reflected in Hrafn's end'.[13] Indeed, at the first glance, the manner of Hrafn's demise has nothing to offer as a direct link to Andrew's end: some scholars find parallels with St Magnús of Orkney in the green field marking the spot of execution, others see the similarity between Hrafn's penitential pose and St Thomas who was killed while at prayer.[14] Within the existing scholarship, Andrew's appearance is seen to be more circumstantial, even accidental, rather than premeditated. Even though scholars acknowledge that St Andrew is one of the saintly figures whom Hrafn is supposed to reflect in his life and death, they tend to proceed to the more obvious parallels.[15] The gift of healing running in Hrafn's family is associated with St Óláfr; he is closely connected to St Giles and St Thomas for he made pilgrimages to their shrines, being granted a prayer from one and gifting whale's teeth to another; likewise he visited Rome and St James' shrine in Santiago-de-Compostela, later abstaining from violence against Þorvaldr on the same apostle's feast day; finally, he is attacked during Lent, contemplates St Andrew's passion and dies on the next day, eight days after the feast of St Matthias.

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[9] *Hrafns saga*, p. 41.

[10] Cormack, 'Saints and Sinners', p. 188.

[11] Úlfar Bragason, 'The Structure and Meaning of *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*', p. 282; Paasche, 'Kristendom og kvad. En studie i norrøn middelalder,' in *Hedenskap og kristendom. Studier i norrøn middelalder*, ed. Philip Houm (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1948), pp. 25–218 (pp. 207–208).

[12] Cormack, 'Saints and Sinners', pp. 190–191; Haki Antonsson, *Damnation and Salvation*, p. 111.

[13] Guðrún P. Helgadóttir, 'Introduction', pp. lxxx–lxxxi.

[14] Cormack, 'Saints' Lives and Icelandic Literature', p. 40; Cormack, 'Saints and Sinners', p. 191; Guðrún P. Helgadóttir, 'Introduction', pp. xxixxii, lxiv. Curiously, the works by which the author of *Hrafns saga* was influenced — Master Robert's *Life* of St Magnús and a biography of St Thomas of Canterbury, 'probably the one by Robert of Cricklade" — share a fundamental link in their depiction of a 'holy sufferer.' See Haki Antonsson, 'Two Twelfth-Century Martyrs: St Thomas of Canterbury and St Magnús of Orkney', in *Sagas, Saints and Settlements*, ed. Gareth Williams and Paul Bibire (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 41–64 (p. 64).

[15] Ásdís Egilsdóttir, 'Sanctity and the Sea', in *Northern Atlantic Islands and the Sea: Seascapes and Dreamscapes*, ed. Andrew Jennings, Silke Reeploeg, and Angela Watt (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), pp. 32–42 (p. 39).

This chapter demonstrates the further application of my study and considers the similarities in motifs used in both *Andreas saga postola I* and *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar* for hagiogenesis, that is, saint-making, of their respective protagonists. Although it is the poem that is directly referenced by *Hrafns saga* and not the saga of the saint, this coda compares the two prose sagas contemporary to each other. The surviving poem is addressed briefly and with a good understanding that it post-dates both sagas, originating in the fourteenth century: according to scholars, there is little to suggest that the thirteenth-century *drápa* (a long stazaic poem with a refrain), the existence of which is known exclusively through *Hrafns saga*'s allusion to it, looked anything like its later namesake.[16] All in all, this coda demonstrates how a saga-writer might be self-consciously casting a net of loose and rather circumstantial allusions throughout the saga. As their number increases, the net tightens, and it is in this net of allusions that St Andrew is subsequently caught — as a fish, or as a whale washed ashore by the force of the sea-currents.

* *
*

If one were to summarize Andrew the apostle as he appears in his eponymous saga, one would have to say that he belongs to the original Twelve disciples, and to mention his skills are fishery and sea-travel, healing and eloquent preaching, not unlike poetic art; on the other hand, Andrew consistently refuses money for his help and bright angelic light seems to accompany him on multiple occasions, including his death; the place of his burial is marked by oil and manna which signal abundance and plenitude, evocative of healing and bodily sufficiency. If one looks at Hrafn and his life, many parallels between this Icelandic chieftain and the apostle come to light. From the very beginning the saga introduces him as a man of many talents, some of which, such as healing and eloquence, resonate with St Andrew's:

> „Hann var vǫlundr at hagleik, bæði at tré ok at járni, ok skáld, þó hefir hann fátt kveðit, svá at vér vitum, ok inn mesti læknir ok vel lærðr ok eigi meir vígðr en krúnuvígslu, lǫgspakr maðr ok vel máli farinn, minningr, ok at ǫllu froðr.“[17]
>
> He was a great master (lit. *Vǫlundr*, one of the *álfar*) in arts and crafts, both with wood and iron, and a poet, yet he has composed little, as far as we know, and the greatest physician and well-learned and ordained into the lower level of priesthood, a man learned in law and well spoken/eloquent, he had good memory and was knowledgeable in all things.

The description does not end there but proceeds to mention his appearance, skills in sports and martial arts, his travels and many accomplishments. The introduction of the character is typical but personalised, in which it differs greatly from a rather abstract — however informative — description of St Andrew, or any other saint.

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[16] Ian McDougall, '(Introduction to) Anonymous, *Andréasdápa*', in *Poetry on Christian Subjects: Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, vol. VII, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 845–851 (p. 845).

[17] *Hrafns saga*, p. 2.

HEALING

One of the first things the saga addresses is Hrafn's genealogy, as befits the genre, and, in a slightly more unusual manner, the hereditary gift of healing which has been running in the family since Atli's, Hrafn's great-grandfather's, time. Atli miraculously received this ability to heal from none other than St Óláfr himself. King Óláfr appeared to his son King Magnús in a dream and bade him to select twelve men of the best lineage to tend to the wounds after the battle; according to Óláfr, their gift of healing would be passed down the generations,[18] and „[s]vá kom lækning af guðs miskunn fyrsta sinni í kyn Bárðar svarta."[19] [So came the gift of healing by the mercy of God for the first time to the line of Bárðr the Black.] As Andrew is called to the discipleship by Christ and became one of the Twelve tasked with healing the souls of men, so Hrafn's family is among twelve others chosen by St Óláfr and King Magnús to bind wounds and cure illnesses. In a way, the relationship between the King and his retainers mirrors that between Christ and his apostles.

Then the saga tells of Hrafn's immediate family and recounts the circumstances of his multiple siblings. After that it continues to introduce the protagonist himself before relating the walrus, *rosmhvalr*, incident and a following series of pilgrimages all around Europe. After his travels, Hrafn marries Hallkatla and settles in his ancestral home west in Eyrr. At this point — as the character of Hrafn is properly established — the saga focuses again on the gift of healing, or rather on Hrafn practicing it, and tells in great detail of many cases in which Hrafn was able to help.[20] His healing abilities are presented as life-giving and filled with God's power: „Svá fylgði hans lækningu mikill guðs kraptr, at margir gengu heilir frá hans fundi, þeir er banvænir kómu til hans fyrir vanheilsu sakir."[21] [The great God's power followed his doctoring in such a way that many went away healed from a meeting with him, those who were terminally ill when they came to him because of their ill health.] The saga stresses the divine origin of Hrafn's gift and its origin in the grace of God, referring to St Paul's saying 'sumum mǫnnum er gefin lækning af miskunn heilags anda' (to some men the ability to cure is given by the grace of the Holy Spirit).[22] This miraculous aspect of the cures performed by him is further highlighted by the saga emphasising his ability to heal *kynjamein,* strange or unnatural illnesses, those 'er menn vissu eigi, hvers háttar váru' (about which men did not know of what kind they were).[23] Hrafn's cures, as described in the saga, bear strong resemblance to the miraculous healings in the Icelandic saints' lives.[24]

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[18] A similar story is told in *Heimskringla*'s *Magnúss saga ins góða* but it makes no reference to St Óláfr, the twelve men are chosen by the king without any prompting from his father. See, *The Saga of Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson. The Life of an Icelandic Physician of the Thirteenth Century*, tr. Anne Tjomsland, in *Islandica,* vol. XXXV (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1951), p. 2 fn. 3; *Magnúss saga ins góða,* in Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla III,* ÍF XXVIII, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 1951), pp. 1–67 (p. 45); *Hrafns saga*, p. 1 fn. 1/18–31.

[19] *Hrafns saga*, p. 1.

[20] *Hrafns saga*, pp. 4–6.

[21] *Hrafns saga*, p. 4.

[22] *Hrafns saga*, p. 6.

[23] *Hrafns saga*, p. 5.

[24] Ásdís Egilsdóttir, 'Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson, Pilgrim and Martyr', in *Sagas, Saints and Settlements*, ed. Gareth Williams and Paul Bibire (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 29–39 (p. 35).

The other important aspect of Hrafn’s practice, bringing it even closer to the saints’ miraculous cures, is his refusal to charge people for it —‘[a]ldri mat hann fjár lækning sína’ (he never charged for his cures) — and if anything, he could forgo meals or sleep to help his patients and he often kept them at home as guests until they were nursed back to health.[25] As Philip Roughton has noted in respect of *Andreas saga postola I*, Andrew’s healing powers and his continuous ‘refusal to accept monetary reward’ are among the key motifs unifying of the saga.[26] Hrafn’s care to save souls and bodies and his generosity in doing so, eventually resulting in his self-sacrifice, are likewise the central elements of *Hrafns saga*. On a simpler level, both St Andrew and Hrafn offer healing but refuse monetary reward for it. The author of *Hrafns saga*, however, tries to reassure the audience of Hrafn’s salvation and adds that ‘væntum vér, at Kristr mun kauplaust veitt hafa Hrafni með sér andliga lækning á dauðadegi hans’ [we expect that Christ will have granted Hrafn his spiritual healing free of charge on the day of his death] for his treatment of the sick.[27]

SEAFARING

If healing is one of the stranding motifs in *Andreas saga postola I* characterising the apostle and his development into a worthy imitator of Christ, his connection to and command over the sea is another important feature of his apostolic service and the narrative development of the saga: both progress throughout the narrative and are intertwined. Hrafn is likewise strongly associated with the sea and maritime travel.

On a very simple level, both the apostle and the chieftain have travelled widely, and often by sea, which is a common trope in hagiographical narratives: both were at the court of worldly rulers, and if Andrew was led by his mission to spread the teaching of Christ, Hrafn was committed first to his pilgrimage and then to Bishop Guðmundr. But, similarly to St Andrew, Hrafn ‘had the ability to cure people’ and ‘the saga-writer seems to believe that he had power over the sea’.[28] To that end, Hrafn’s superior navigation skills can be read in parallel to Andrew’s *vita* where a storm abates at the apostle’s bidding.[29] Of course, this kind of miracle is a universal motif in hagiographic literature: it is fashioned after and imitates Jesus calming the storm at the sea of Galilee after his disciples’ plea (cf. Mark 4:35–40). Moreover, the maritime miracles are often associated with the tradition of St James who often protected seafarers from the attacks and bad weather; appropriately, Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson is the first known Icelander to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, the place of the saint’s shrine.[30] And yet, the link between Andrew the apostle and Hrafn still holds: both are evocative of Jesus at the sea of Galilee.

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[25] *Hrafns saga*, p. 5. Ásdís Egilsdóttir has made a connection between Hrafn and the martyrs Cosmas and Damian, ‘who practised medicine without charging fees’ and ‘were invoked as patron saints of physicians’, in ‘Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson, Pilgrim and Martyr’, p. 36.

[26] Philip Roughton, ‘AM 645 4to and AM 652/630 4to: Study and Translation of Two Thirteenth-Century Icelandic Collections of Apostles' and Saints’ Lives’ (Doctoral thesis, University of Colorado, 2002), p. 198.

[27] *Hrafns saga*, p. 5.

[28] Ásdís Egilsdóttir, ‘Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson, Pilgrim and Martyr’, p. 36.

[29] *API*, p. 324, *Hrafns saga*, p. 20.

[30] Ásdís Egilsdóttir, ‘Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson, Pilgrim and Martyr’, pp. 36–37.

When Guðmundr Arason was chosen bishop of Hólar and was to travel to Norway for his consecration, he asked Hrafn, who was his great friend, to join him on his journey abroad.[31] Off Scotland they were caught in a storm and only Hrafn's advice to appeal for the bishop-elect's help prevents his men from setting sail. Guðmundr's blessing of the sea limits the damage caused by the storm, allowing the crew to continue their journey. In this instance, which might be seen as the first of two seafaring miracles which involve Hrafn and work in tandem with each other, he is the one advocating the bishop's help: as Guðmundr — previously called in a verse a 'flotna stýri' (lit. 'rudder of seamen'), leader of men — is able to pacify the sea with relics and a blessing, he is reminiscent of Christ calming the sea. Hrafn in this case is not unlike an apostle, but wise rather than afraid: he acts as if he recognises the parallel between the two events and the two leaders of men. When they reach the Hebrides, they are caught in breakers and are in 'mikinn háska', great peril. This time it is the bishop-elect who asks Hrafn for help in navigating he ship, and insists on it when Hrafn is indecisve. Both this evocation of peril and request for help resonate with the similar episode in *Andreas saga postola I*, when 'baðu þeir Andream postola fulltings við haska ok braðum bana' (they [his companions] asked Andrew the apostle for help against peril and violent death).[32] At the same time, by the repetition of the verb *biðja* used by the characters in turn, *Hrafns saga* adds a humorous element to their exchange:

> Þá mælti biskupsefni ok bað Hrafn segja leið. En Hrafn baðsk undan ok kvaðsk þar aldri komit hafa. En biskupsefni bað hann til taka ok kvað mikit mega mundu **gæfu hans** ok **fréttir** hans **fróðligar**. Hrafn segir: „Dýrt er dróttins orð,“ ok bað biskupsefni gefa sér blessan ok kveðsk mundu til taka í guðs trausti hans.[33]
>
> Then the bishop-elect spoke and asked Hrafn to pilot. But Hrafn excused himself and said that he had never been there before. But the bishop-elect asked him to take the lead and said that his luck and his informed knowledge would do much good. Hrafn said: 'Strong is the master's word', and asked the bishop-elect to give him his blessing and said he would take the lead trusting in God.

This exchange also emphasises the role of divine help and blessing in this matter. As Guðrún Helgadóttir has noted in the commentaries to her edition of the saga, the concept of *gæfa* (luck), albeit 'firmly attached to the individual'; can be seen as an outcome of the grace of God; the addition of *fréttir fróðligar,* informed knowledge,[34] potentially strengthens the idea of divine origin for wisdom might be seen as 'one of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the *fróðleiksgeisli'*.[35] Hrafn proceeds to navigate the ship through the night 'með miklu viti ok gæfu' ('with much wisdom and luck') and, according to the verse:

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[31] Ásdís Egilsdóttir, 'Sanctity and the Sea', p. 37. She points out that a similar story is told in every version of *Guðmundar saga* but the emphasis is distinctively put on Guðmundr's sanctity while Hrafn's role is downplayed.

[32] *API*, p. 324.

[33] *Hrafns saga*, p. 20.

[34] Just as *gæfa* can be both inherent to a person and consonant with the divine grace, so the collocation *fréttir fróðligar* contains the ideas of both down-to-earth local and divine: while *fróðligar* has connotations of wisdom and learnig, *frett, -ir* usually means the information across which one comes in conversation or by enquiry.

Heggr fekk hváru tveggja
*hauktorgs vita borgit,
*sýlði segl ok bulði
svǫl hrǫnn, skipi ok mǫnnum.

> [The man (Hrafn) succeeded in saving both, ship and men—the sail was stiff with rime and the chill wave boomed.][36]

The imagery of frost binding the sail and the cold waves is similar to both the Old English elegiac topos of exile and the Christian ideas of the sea as a place of perdition. Therefore, as in *Andreas saga postola I*, the sea in this episode can both be a real seascape to be navigated and have a symbolic meaning while Hrafn, as a follower of both Guðmundr and Christ (for instance, given the context and references to the divine grace, the proverb he uses — 'dýrt er dróttins orð', strong is the lord's word — can be read as referring either to his master Guðmundr or to the Lord), assumes the role of the leader of men and leads them to salvation.

In this twofold miracle, Hrafn first behaves as a good disciple, acknowledges Guðmundr's power over the sea, and encourages an appeal to him for help, thus being instrumental to the ship's survival. Then, it is the bishop-elect who recognises Hrafn's skills as a navigator, and now it is Hrafn who is put in the shoes of the saviour, or Andrew the apostle.

STRANDED WHALES

St Andrew is famously a fisherman who — by the promise of Christ — has turned into a fisher of men, but, as for Hrafn, it is difficult to call him a fisherman. In *Andreas saga postola I*, Andrew's healing abilities and his command over the sea come together when the apostle makes the sea regurgitate forty drowned youths whom, once washed ashore, he successfully resurrects. In Hrafn's case, the two powers never come together, and the only things repeatedly washed ashore in *Hrafns saga* are various creatures of the -*hvalr* kind. The closest that Hrafn comes to St Andrew as the literal fisher of men or to the image of the fisherman is in an episode early on in the saga, when he helps to catch a *rosmhvalr*, walrus, by praying to St Thomas Becket:

> Atburðr sá gørðisk í Dýrafirði á várþingi, þá er Hrafn var þar, at rosmhvalr kom upp á land, ok fóru men til at særa hann, en hvalrinn hljóp á sjó ok sǫkk, því at hann var særðr á hol. Síðan fóru menn til á skipum ok gørðu til sóknir ok vildu draga hvalinn at landi ok unnu engar lyktir á. Þá hét Hrafn á inn helga Tómas erkibiskup til þess, at násk skyldi hvalrinn. Hann hét at gefa hausfastar tennr ór hvalnum,

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[35] *Hrafns saga*, p. 20 fn. 20/20–1. Also, see Peter Hallberg, 'The Concept of *Gipta–Gæfa–Hamingja* in Old Norse Literature', in *Proceedings of the First International Saga Conference: University of Edinburgh, 1971*, ed. Peter Foote, Hermann Pálsson, and Desmond Slay (London: The Viking Society for Northern Research, 1973), pp. 143–183.

[36] *Hrafns saga*, p. 21. The translation of the verse is also taken from Guðrún Helgadóttir's edition, see *Hrafns saga,* p. 21 verse-fn. 15(*e*).

> ef þeir gæti nát hvalinn at landi fluttan. Ok síðan, er hann hafði heitit, þá varð þeim ekki fyrir at flytja at landi hvalinn.[37]

> It so happened at the spring assembly at Dýrafjorðr, at which Hrafn was present, that a walrus came ashore, and the men went to wound it, but the walrus leapt into the sea and sank, for he was deeply (lit. 'internally', often equated with 'mortally') wounded. Then men went to ships and trawled [the fjord] and wanted to drag the walrus ashore and got nowhere. Then Hrafn appealed to the holy archbishop Tómas for the walrus to be caught. He promised to bestow upon him the walrus' tusks if they got to the walrus ashore. And then, not long after he had promised [this], it was easy for them to bring the walrus to land.

Similarly to the apostle's miracle on the seashore, Hrafn's prayer and pledge of the tusks to St Tomas have an immediate effect: the walrus is speedily washed ashore, not unlike the corpses in Andrew's story. This episode initiates a series of pilgrimages and also marks the beginning of Hrafn's journey towards his martyrdom. Overall, the instances of *-hvalr* washed ashore drive the plot and act as the structuring device marking the stages of the saga, of the feud, and of the character's development. The saga features three such occasions, which are marked by the lexical unit *'-hvalr kom [upp] á land'; the tentative fourth instance mentions the *hvalmál*, whale-related legal case, which is thus brought to the attention of text-internal and -external audience.

The first appearance of this lexical unit featuring a *rosmhvalr*, walrus, establishes Hrafn's character and marks the beginning of his spiritual journey: as Andrew becomes a disciple after encountering Jesus at the seastrand, so Hrafn becomes a pilgrim after the event at the shore. This leads to him assuming his place within the society, both Icelandic and Christian: he settles as the *góði* and acts as a healer. The next time the topos occurs — 'kom reyðarhvalr góðr ok mikill á land' (a fin whale, good and big, came ashore)[38] — it introduces the dishonest side of Þorvaldr as he behaves in the fashion of an *ójafnaðarmaðr*, overbearing man, and sets off a chain of events which initially leads to Þorvaldr's and Hrafn's enmity. Not only does Þorvaldr never repay the whale-meat given to him by Ragnheiðr, Hrafn's cousin and an old widow, but later when the meat is stolen from Þorvaldr, allegedly by one of the Hrafn's thingmen, Þorvaldr refuses Hrafn's offer of monetary settlement and robs the presumed thief. The saga states that ever since then 'tók Þorvaldr at ganga á hendr þingmǫnnum Hrafns at ǫðru hverju' (Þorvaldr began to encroach upon Hrafn's thingmen now and then).[39] Therefore, the fin whale incident prefigures the future major conflict and marks the stage at which the seeds of the future feud are planted. At the same time, while Hrafn is confirmed as a responsible and law-respecting chieftain, Þorvaldr is revealed as his opposite. In the course of this narrative stage the friendship between the two characters turns into confrontation, which escalates into feud because of Þorvaldr's actions against Hrafn's men and it is then further exacerbated by Hrafn remaining a faithful follower of Bishop Guðmundr against whom many prominent Icelanders — including Þorvaldr — were united at that time. This section of the saga features two incidents foreshadowing Hrafn's final stance. At the meeting at Grandi Hrafn with two men (Tómas Þórarinsson and Sturla Bárðarson) are waiting inside the farmhouse, only to be surrounded by Þorvaldr and his large following: but in this case they simply go outside and part ways after a conversation. Sturla Bárðarson is likewise one of the two men slain alongside Hrafn, and Thómas Thórarinsson — albeit not present — has dreamt about St Andrew's martyrdom. This is followed by a series of ominous portents, and then by the first attack on Hrafn's household at Eyrr in which Þorvaldr attempts to burn the house but is successfully thwarted by Hrafn's men and friends. Therefore, this sequence of events prefigures the next stage of the conflict. At the same time, as the saga-author makes clear, Hrafn already displays his willingness to sacrifice himself for peace and puts his life entirely in the hands of God: „En þat sýndisk opt, at Hrafn var ógrimmr maðr ok hann vildi heldr deyja fyrir tryggðar sakir en fyrir ótryggðar" [And it often seemed that Hrafn was peaceful man and that he would rather die for the sake of the truce than go against it].[40] And so he does later. This is evocative of Andrew's first torture which only foreshadows his final martyrdom.

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[37] *Hrafns saga*, p. 3.
[38] *Hrafns saga*, p. 24.
[39] *Hrafns saga*, p. 24.

The final stage is marked by the climax of both the feud and Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson's life, and it begins with yet another whale which came ashore on Hrafn's land: '[e]ptir um vetrinn kom hvalr norðr á Strandir á land' (the next winter a whale came ashore in the north in Strandir).[41] Þorvaldr and nine of his men steal the whale, and Hrafn brings a suit against them the following summer and all ten are convicted. As Hrafn travels to collect fines, it prompts Þorvaldr's second attack on Eyrr, but as Hrafn is warned, he musters men and fortifies his farm with stone walls. As Þorvaldr arrives, he is outnumbered, Hrafn does not want to attack Þorvaldr on the eve of the feast of St James, and in the end some sort of reconciliation is achieved: Hrafn hosts them at his table, provides them with leather for their shoes as well as with horses for their journey back. The peace holds until spring, but Þorvaldr does not show up to either of the peace meetings where their case is to be arbitrated, for he is not going to settle with Hrafn. For an extended period of time, various people see ominous portents. The final evocation of the whale-case happens just before the narrative proceeds to the final act of the conflict in which Hrafn is killed, and therefore signposts — however slightly — the change. In the Lent of 1213, Þorvaldr approaches Eyrr once more: this time at night and making sure to bind everyone at the farms he is passing so that they could not forewarn Hrafn. They force the locks of the fortification and set the house on fire. Hrafn negotiates the release of the captives at the cost of his own life: Hrafn dies so that others may live, he dies in a manner similar to a martyr. Curiously enough, the structure of this saga section mirrors that of the previous one: Þorvaldr surrounds Hrafn and his men twice, while the two incidents are separated by descriptions of various portents.

In a way, *'-hvalr kom á land' also marks transitions in Hrafn's life, his progression in piety and his way to eternal life which are closely bound to the feud-development. As chapter one of this thesis demonstrates, a very similar structuring device is present in *Andreas saga postola I* where a seashore location, established by various inflected forms of *siovarströnd*, signposts Andrew’s initiation into the apostolic office. Seen traditionally as a liminal space, the seashore becomes a place where the apostle encounters the divine and gets guidance towards important landmarks on the way to his Christ-like martyrdom.[42] In *Hrafns saga* the seashore is not mentioned, except for being a part of the toponym as in the last occurrence the whale is washed out ‘*á Strandir*’, and yet the shore is always on one’s mind: the liminality of the beaching makes it an equally efficient nexus for the narrative progression.[43]

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[40] *Hrafns saga*, p. 32.
[41] *Hrafns saga*, p. 33.

**-hvalr kom á land*	**siovarströnd*
Beginning	
Atburðr sá gørðisk í Dýrafirði á várþingi, þá er Hrafn var þar, at rosm**hvalr kom upp á land**, ok fóru men til at særa hann, en hvalrunn hljóp á sjó ok sǫkk, því at hann særðr á hol.[44]	Þeir voru fiskimenn. En eitthvert sinn er þeir voru a sio ronir, þa segir sva heilagr Mattheus i guðspialli, at Jesus Kristr gengi **at siovarstrondinn**i, þar er þeir satu fyrir utan at fiski, en sa heitir Galilea sior. Þa kallaði drottin a þa ok sagði: „Ek mun gera ykkr at fiskurum mannanna.“[45]
It so happened at the spring assembly at Dýrafjorðr, at which Hrafn was present, that a walrus came ashore, and the men went to wound it, but the walrus leapt into the sea and sunk, for he was deeply (lit. ‘internally’, often equated with ‘mortally’) wounded.	They were fishermen. Once when they had rowed out to sea, then so St Matthew says in his gospel that Jesus Christ went to the seashore where they sat fishing, and that was the sea of Galilee. Then the Lord called out to them and said: “I will make you into fishers of men.”
Prefiguration	
Í Selárdal **kom** reyðar**hvalr** góðr ok mikill **á land** þat, er Ragnheiðr átti. Ok er Þorvaldr frá þat, fór hann í Selárdal ok bað Ragnheiði, at hon skyldi selja honum nǫkkurar vættir hvals, en Ragnheiðr lét hann tólf vættir hvals ok mælti, at hann skyldi gjalda henni jafnmikinn hval síðar, þá er ræki á fjǫrur hans. Fyrir þann hval galt Þorvaldr aldri síðan.[46]	Þa er postolinn hafði þatta mælt, þa mællti engill guðs: „Far þu **til siovarstrandar**, ok muntu þar finna skip eitt litit, ok stig þu a þat. En ek mun vera leiðtogi þinn þangat, sem þu skallt fara.“ Siðan hvarf engillinn at syn fra honum. En Andreas gerði sem engillinn bauð honum, ok fann þar skip litit **a siovarstrondunni**, ok ste hann a þat. Ok þvi næst þa rennr byrr a hinn

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[42] See chapter 1, pp. 56–63.

[43] Sarah Harlan-Haughey,‘Uncanny Cetology in the Sagas and Later West-Scandinavian Balladry’, in *Ballads of the North, Medieval to Modern: Essays Inspired by Larry Syndergaard*, ed. Sandra Ballif Straubhaar and Richard Firth Green (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2019), pp. 73–90 (p. 81).

[44] *Hrafns saga*, p. 3.

[45] *API*, pp. 318–19.

[46] *Hrafns saga*, p. 24.

	høgasti, ok sigldi hann til þess er hann kom til Mirmidoniam borgar, eptir þvi sem guðs engill styrði skipi hans.[47]
In Selárdalr a fin whale, good and big, came ashore, to the land owned by Ragnheiðr. And when Þorvaldr found out about that, he went to Selárdalr and asked Ragnheiðr if she would give him some hundredweights of whale meat, and Ragnheiðr let him have twelve hundredweights and said that he must repay her in kind later when a whale drifts to his shores. Þorvaldr never paid her back for the whale meat.	After the apostle said this, the angel of God said: 'Go to the seashore, where you will find a small ship, and board it. I will lead you to the place where you are to go'. The angel disappeared from his sight. Andrew did as the angel commanded him, and he found a small ship there on the seashore, and he boarded it. Next there blew a most gentle wind, and he sailed until he came to the city of Mirmidon, just as the angel steered his ship.
Final stage	
Eptir um vetrinn **kom hvalr** norðr á Strandir **á land** Hrafns, en sá maðr, er fann hvalinn, fór ok sagði Þorvaldi hvalkvámuna. Þá gørði Þorvaldr þat ráð, at sá, er fundit hafði hvalinn, skyldi segja at hvalrinn hefði komit á almenningar ok hefði hann þar fest lǫgfesti hvalinn. En þat gegndi engu. Þa fór Þorvaldr til með sína men ok lét skera hvalinn ok flutti heim til sín, en sumum hvalnum skipti hann með mǫnnum sínum.[48]	Þa er sæll Andreas postoli for leiðar sinnar **með siovarstrondu** um dag ok ætlaði til Macidonia borgar, þa bar sva at, siorinn kastaði upp liki einu fyrir føtr postolanum til loks noktu.[49]
The next winter a whale came ashore in the north in Strandir, to Hrafn's land, and the man who found the whale went and told Þorvaldr about the whale-beaching. Then Þorvaldr devised the plan that he who had found the whale should say that the whale came ashore on public land and that he had fixed his lawful claim on the whale there. But that did not work. Then Þorvaldr went there with his men and ordered to cut it and bring it to his home, and he shared some of the whale meat with his men.	One day when blessed Andrew the apostle was on his way along the seashore and was heading to the city of Macidonia, it happened that the sea cast up a naked body to the feet of the apostle.

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[47] *API*, p. 320.

[48] *Hrafns saga*, p. 33.

[49] *API*, p. 332–333.

At the same time, for medieval Icelanders the topos used in *Hrafns saga* would have been immediately suggestive of legal regulations regarding driftwood and beachcombing as well as of confrontation over who gets to exercise them. As beached whales were valuable food resources, they 'often generated disputes, litigation and other social conflict among the communities of the Icelandic Commonwealth.'[50] The medieval audience would be likewise familiar with the function of whale-beaching in the sagas as a 'feud-generating narratological mechanism' as well as their role of often 'leading men away from Christian behaviour'.[51] By situating the final whale's corpse in Strandir, an area in the Westfjords, the saga-author also provides a link to *Grettis saga* and *Fostbræðra saga*, both featuring a fight over a beached whale which takes place in Strandir — Strandir is a common toponym and in these two sagas it refers to a different place than in *Hrafns saga*, but both are located in the same region — and serves as one of the turning points of the narrative.[52]

Typically, the whale 'catalyzes evil' and prompts characters to show their true colours: the more virtuous figures would often lose their share because of their decent behaviour while the more aggressive ones would be provoked to 'openly steal, cheat, or kill his adversary'.[53] This stands true for *Hrafns saga* where a fin whale causes Þorvaldr's misbehaviour and his subsequent falling-out with well-behaved Hrafn. Within the paradigm of the saga, the appearance of the whale plays a role similar to the devil's incitement in *Andreas saga postola I.* At the same time, the author of *Hrafns saga* brings the whale-beaching to a new level for it is no longer a single turning point in the saga-narrative but a structuring device which is used more than once and is capable of prompting both good Christian behaviour and the feud.

PORTENTS & LIGHT

As various whales structure the saga and lead to its dramatic resolution, so the dramatic resolution — namely, Hrafn's death worthy of a martyr — is foreshadowed by a series of diegetic portents. At the same time, the saga-author inserts the accounts of prophecies, foreboding visions, and dreams in each of the whale-marked stages of the saga. In all three cases these come as an interlude between events: the first interlude comes between the feud and Guðmundr's journey to Norway; in the following two sections the portents are recounted in between two attacks on Hrafn. As the narrative progresses, the portents become more numerous as well as increasingly miraculous. The first interlude comes in the form of a warning from Ragnheiðr, Hrafn's cousin and good friend. When Hrafn asks her to 'leggja góðan hug á Þorvald' (show goodwill to Þorvaldr), Ragnheiðr refuses:

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[50] Jesse S. Byock, *Feud in the Icelandic Saga* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 230.

[51] Harlan-Haughey,'Uncanny Cetology', p. 73. Also see Vicky E. Szabo, *Monstrous Fishes and the Mead-Dark Sea: Whaling in the Medieval North Atlantic* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 211–242.

[52] *Fóstbræðra saga*, in *Vestfirðinga sögur,* ÍF VI, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1943), pp. 119–276 (pp. 147–149); *Grettis saga*, in *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, ÍF VII, ed. Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1936), pp. 1–297 (pp. 87–89).

[53] Harlan-Haughey,'Uncanny Cetology', p. 74.

> „Enga stund mun ek á hann leggja, því at ek ætla, at þú hafir þar úlfr at fœða, er hann er.“ […] „Þat ætla ek, at eigi muni langt líða, áðr þér mun Þorvaldr engi gørsimi sýnask. Gøra máttu svá vel til Þorvalds sem þú vill, en eigi væntir mik, at þér verði gagn né virðing at honum.“[54]

> ‘I will take no pains on his account, for I think that in him you have there a wolf at your fodder.’ […] ‘What I think is that it will not take long before Þorvaldr will appear no gem to you. You can do as well by Þorvaldr as you like, but I do not expect that there will be either good or honour from him.’

Ragnheiðr might be just a good judge of character but the saga-writer makes sure to mention that people later found her words prophetic: „Þessi orð Ragnheiðar sýnask mǫnnum verit hafa af mikilli forspá, af þeim atburðum, er síðan gørðusk með þeim Hrafni ok Þorvaldi.“ [Men thought the words of Ragnheiðr to be of great foresight of what happened later between Hrafn and Þorvaldr.][55] Moreover, the prophetic nature fits in with a common saga-trope: an older woman’s warning is often disregarded only to prove true.[56] Ragnheiðr compares Þorvaldr with a wolf which resonates with Matthew 7:15, referring to false prophets who are known to speak in fair words,[57] and is ‘a metaphor for both a killer and a deceitful man.’[58] In the end, it proves to be the very case. At the same time, structurally Ragnheiðr’s advice occupies the same slot as the further interludes dedicated to the accounts of portents: they come just before the final narrated event, *arburðr*, in each section.

As the saga progresses to the second stage, the portents become more obvious and ominous as well as more miraculous: „Þá urðu í Vestfjǫrðum mǫrg kyn bæði í draumum ok sýnum“ [Then there happened in Westfjörds many wonders both in dreams and visions].[59] Three of the portents are rather obscure dreams experienced by various men from the area and corroborated by the verse, but the first related portent is witnessed by Hrafn himself: „Ok er þeir váru komnir skammt frá garði, sá þeir ljós mikit ór austri frá bœnum á Eyri. Hrafn sá í ljósinu þrjá men. Þar þóttisk hann kenna sik sjálfan ok tvá men aðra.“ [And when they came only a short way away from the farmstead, they saw much light to the West of the houses in Eyrr. In the light Hrafn saw three men. There he thought to have recognised himself and two other men.][60] Hrafn is much impressed by ‘þessa sýn’, this vison,[61] and thought it important. As becomes obvious later, the vision is a glimpse of Hrafn’s own death, towards which the immediately described attack is just yet another building block.

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[54] *Hrafns saga*, p. 17

[55] *Hrafns saga*, p. 17.

[56] For instance, see *Eyrbyggja saga*, in *Eyrbyggja saga,* ÍF IV, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1935), pp. 1–186 (pp. 171–174).

[57] Later in the saga, after the second attempt at burning Hrafn which ends up in Hrafn showing them both generosity and hospitality, it is said that Þorvaldr ‘mælti marga vega fagrt til Hrafns’ (spoke to Hrafn fairly in many ways) which seems to hearken back to Ragnheiðr’s warning and refer to a common trope of deceitful fair words in the sagas. On this trope in the Old Norse literature, see Daria S. Glebova, ‘What do they talk about “in fair words” in Old Norse-Icelandic literature?’, *Shagi/Steps* 10.2 (2024), pp. 234–255.

[58] Úlfar Bragason, ‘The Structure and Meaning of *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*’, *Scandinavian Studies* 60 (1988), pp. 267–292 (p. 280); Paasche, ‘Kristendom og kvad’, p. 178.

[59] *Hrafns saga*, p. 29.

[60] *Hrafns saga*, p. 29.

[61] Cf. chapter 2 on the use of *sýna* and *sýnask* with regard to Christ, p. 78.

In accordance with its narrative strategy, the final section of the saga likewise proceeds to enumerate various portents in the chapter preceding the slaying of its protagonist. As they have been gradually building up throughout the saga, now they reach their climax and this time all the occurrences are visions (*sýn*) rather than dreams.[62] Some men saw a fire on the sea, some blood on their clothing and in the church ('sýn undarlig', that is 'strange vision'); one man had an elaborate vision of a fire on the move and three armed horsemen following it, another saw an armed man at the feast pointing at Hrafn with his sword.[63] Finally, the very same winter that Hrafn was killed, his wife Hallkatla, when at church, saw a pillar of light at Eyrr, just outside the fortifications; her vision is further corroborated by the accounts of other people who saw the very same thing in the very same spot:

> Þann vetr inn sama sá Hallkatla Einarsdóttir, er hon var at kirkju, ljós heim undir virkinu, ok horfði annarr endir ljóssins upp í lopt en annarr niðr til jarðar. Henni þótti þetta undarligt ok vissi eigi, hverju gegndi. Steingrímr hét maðr. Hann var Ólafsson, heimamaðr Hrafns. Hann sá ok ljós undir virkinu, sem Hallkatla hafði sét, ok fleiri menn sá þessa sýn þann vetr inn sama undir virkinu.[64]
>
> That very same winter Hallkatla, Einarr's daughter, when at church saw a light at home just below the fortifications, and one end of this light was turned up into the air but the other down to the ground. That seemed to her wondrous and she did not know what it signified. A man was called Steingrímr. He was Óláfr's son, Hrafn's house-servant. He also saw the light below the fortifications, just like Hallkatla had seen [it], and many men saw that vision below the fortifications that very same winter.

As has been suggested by multiple scholars, these omens 'are obviously indicative of Þorvaldr's enmity with Hrafn and of Hrafn's death' as well as having symbolic Christian meaning, elucidating the questions of salvation and damnation.[65] The saga is preoccupied with its protagonist's salvation from the very beginning and the saga author expresses his hopes for Hrafn's when discussing his gift for healing.[66] As light is often seen at the death of holy men,[67] the repeated light imagery and its established connection to Hrafn strongly suggest Hrafn's state of grace at his death and his ensuing salvation: throughout the saga the light is seen by him, his wife and by the members of his household and, furthermore, at the very first sighting, he recognizes himself in one of the three men enveloped in light. The patch of grass marked by light is indeed the place of Hrafn's execution; later his post-mortem status is confirmed by a miraculous occurrence at the very spot: „Sá atburðr varð þar undir virkinu, er ljósit hafði sézk um vetrinn áðr. Þar var þá jǫrðin, er Hrafn var hǫggvinn, hrjóstrug, en um sumarit eptir var þar grœnn vǫllr.“ [There was an occurrence there below the fortifications where previously the light had appeared in winter. That ground, where Hrafn was killed, was barren but on the following summer there was a green field.][68] The identical locus of light and the miraculous revival of the field, highlighted by the saga-writer, implies their connection to each other and to ideas of holiness.

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[62] On medieval dream theory, see Robert J. Glendinning, *Träume und Vorbedeutung in der Islendinga Saga Sturla Thordarsons: eine Form- und Stiluntersucht* (Bern; Frankfurt: Herbert Lang, 1974), pp. 11–37.
[63] *Hrafns saga*, pp. 38–39.
[64] *Hrafns saga*, p. 39.
[65] Úlfar Bragason, 'The Structure and Meaning of *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*', pp. 281–282; Glendinning, *Träume und Vorbedeutung in der Islendinga Saga Sturla Thordarsons*, p. 68.
[66] Cf. p. 135 of this thesis.
[67] Cormack, 'Saints and Sinners', p. 211.

To this end, *Hrafns saga* displays further similarities to *Andreas saga postola I*. As has been discussed in the third chapter, the apostle is described as radiant of appearance and his miracle-working is occasionally accompanied by a bright light from heaven. However, it is the pillar of light which could be seen around the crucified apostle at his death that is of primary interest when a connection between the two sagas is drawn. Both sagas employ light imagery to reveal divine grace and their protagonist's relationship with it, both texts have the place of death marked by light: whether before or at the time of execution. Although the trope is common in hagiographical writings, the saga's invocation of St Andrew on the eve of Hrafn's death suggests a greater degree of deliberation in this parallelism: the audience would be expected to connect the multiple visions of light before Hrafn's death with the light engulfing Andrew at his death. This parallel, in turn, would set a framework within which Hrafn's own death is to be perceived: not only in terms of Andrew's (and Hrafn's) exemplary patience and love for God but also in connection with some more specific events from the saint's life. Within this paradigm, the miracle of green grass — often seen in scholarship as an allusion to St Magnús of Orkney's martyrdom[69] — can be also aligned with the events of St Andrew's (after-)life. After St Andrew is buried, his tomb oozes oil and manna, and by its amount people can foretell how plentiful the harvest will be:[70] in his account, the saga-compiler adds to his source material and emphasizes the abundance and plentitude which comes from God's mercy and St Andrew's holiness. The green field in *Hrafns saga* is similarly located between barrenness and fertility (or even affluence), and the martyr-like death of a pious man leads to one turning into another.

The parallel between the apostle and the chieftain is even more conspicuous if one refers to the Old English poem *Andreas*, which — it is tempting to suggest — might have been known in Iceland and in which out of Andrew's blood on the streets of Mirmidon grow blooming trees adorned with blossoms.[71] But even if the miracle is considered only in connection with Andrew's tortures in Mirmidon as described in *Andreas saga postola I*, the parallel is there. In Mirmidon Andrew's blood marks the way to salvation for its denizens to see; below the fortifications of Eyrr the light marks the place where Hrafn will shed blood and attain salvation. Later, the barren field where his blood was spilt turns into green pasture, as if allowing a glimpse of what is to be attained through salvation.

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[68] *Hrafns saga*, p. 43.

[69] Cormack, 'Saints and Sinners', pp. 191–192.

[70] *API*, pp. 342–343.

[71] Frederick M. Biggs, 'The Passion of Andreas: *Andreas* 1398–1491', *Studies in Philology* 85.4 (1988), pp. 413–427 (pp. 421–422), also *Andreas: An Edition,* ed. Richard North and Michael D.J. Bintley (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016)., p. 195 ll.1448–1449: geseh hē geblōwene bearwas standan / blǣdum gehrodene, swā hē ǣr his blōd āgēt [he saw groves standing in bloom and adorned with blossoms where his blood he poured before.]

DEATH/MARTYRDOM

As the feud progresses, Hrafn finds himself surrounded not only by the portents, but also by fortifications which he constructs in advance of Þorvaldr's second attack: „Hrafn hafði gǫrt virki mikit ok gott ór grjóti of bœ sinn." [Hrafn had built a big and good stronghold out of stone around his farmstead].[72] In thirteenth-century Iceland walls were not uncommon; however, as Guðrún Helgadóttir has noted in her edition, this is the only instance where they are said to be made of stone.[73] In a way, the stone stronghold surrounding the farmstead makes Eyrr more like the city of Mirmidon, or Patras, both of which are consistently defined as *borg* — which can mean fortification, wall, or city, especially if it is fortified — in *Andreas saga postola I*.[74] Moreover, all three places are situated by the sea. The typological similarities between these locations are potentially significant. If previously Hrafn refused to attack Þorvaldr on the eve of St James' feast, Lent which was the penitential season when warfare is prohibited did not stop Þorvaldr: his role as an agent of evil is thus confirmed by his disregard for the liturgical calendar. The stage for Hrafn's final stand is meticulously set and the suspense is gradually built through the enumeration of the attackers, the description of their approach through other farmsteads, the account of the final hours of Hrafn and his household at Eyrr before the attack. Just as saints' lives anticipate their final martyrdom, so *Hrafns saga* is structured and arranged in such a way that all strands lead to the protagonist's end. In *Andreas saga postola I* St Andrew both recounts the events of Christ's passion and lives through it in his own torture; in *Hrafns* saga, similarly, as the season of Lent points towards the events of the Holy Week, so does Hrafn's death — which manifests Christological motifs[75] — come at once as both a stand-in for and an anticipation of it. Later, he attempts to negotiate the release of captives while the house is on fire. In the end he gives himself up along with two other people, which is reminiscent of Christ's ransom of humanity and the two thieves executed alongside him on Calvary. Hrafn is 'sentenced' to death by Þorvaldr and is executed after taking communion and confessing his sins. Hrafn prays, weeps tears of repentance, and dies in a position of prayer without as much as moving. The place of his execution happens to be the exact place where the pillar of light was previously seen — an element hinting at his future salvation and resonating with the apostle Andrew dying in the ray of light. The same spot where his blood was spilt turns from barren to strewn with green grass. Everything happens in close proximity to St Matthias' day, on the second day of the second week of Lent.

As Þorvaldr and his supporters approach Eyrr, they bind people living in the farmsteads which they pass on their way to prevent their inhabitants from warning Hrafn about the imminent attack. Þorvaldr leaves chaos as well as captives, bound and aggrieved, behind him:

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[72] *Hrafns saga*, p. 35.
[73] *Hrafns saga*, p. 35, fn. to 35/ 9–10.
[74] *API*, pp. 319, 335.
[75] Guðrún P. Helgadóttir, 'Introduction', p. xxi.

> Ok er þeir kómu ofan í Arnarfjǫrð til byggða, þá bundu þeir alla menn á bœjum, þar sem þeir kómu, at eigi væri njósn borin fyrir þeim til Eyrar, en þeim, er í bǫndum váru, þótti þung sín ævi, en bǫrn grétu, er bundin váru, en mœðr eða feðr máttu eigi duga þeim, þar er allir váru bundnir.[76]
>
> And when they came over to the settlement in Arnarfjǫrð, they bound all the folk in the houses as they passed so that the news would not reach Eyrr, and those who were bound thought their lot heavy, and children that were bound wept, and mothers and fathers could not help them for they all were bound.

The binding motif is strongly reminiscent of hell and the enslavement by sin,[77] and therefore the marching retinue is even further associated with evil forces. The impression is intensified when the appeal to St Þorlákr at one of the farmsteads prompts the bonds falling off, releasing prisoners, who in turn free from bondage people from other farms:

> Á einum bœ, þar er menn váru bundnir, hétu þeir á inn helga Þorlák biskup til þess, at þeir skyldi lausir verða. Þeir hétu sǫngum. Ok er þeir hǫfðu fest heitit, þá spruttu bǫnd af einum þeira, ok leysti sá aðra, ok síðan fóru þeir á bœi, er menn váru bundnir, ok leystu menn ór bǫndum.[78]
>
> At one farmstead, where men were bound, they called out to the holy bishop Þorlákr so that they would be set free. They called out with songs. And as they had made their vows, the bonds fell from one of them and that one released the others, and then they went to farmsteads where men were bound and released men from their bonds.

After this, the saga focus shifts to Eyrr to tell the audience that, contrary to previous practice and Hrafn's advice, there were no guards at the door that night: according to Hrafn's men, no one would attack during a snow-storm, *fjúk*,[79] to say nothing of Lent. To attack at night was also considered dishonourable.[80] It is at this point where St Andrew explicitly enters the narrative: Hrafn comments on his martyrdom, while his friend Tómas Þórarinsson dreams of it every time he falls asleep that night.[81]

When Þorvaldr arrives at Eyrr, the doors are unlocked and his men quickly set the roof of Hrafn's house on fire: „Þeir Þorvaldr viðuðu þegar fyrir dyrr allar ok lǫgðu eld í ok svá víða í þekjuna." [Þorvaldr and his men piled up wood in front of all the doors and set it on fire as well as the roof.][82] After confirming that Þorvaldr is the leader, Hrafn's primary concern is peaceful resolution.[83] Three times he offers a deal to save people from fire, and it is only the third time which leads to an agreement: in form, it is not unlike the debates between the persecutor, or a judge, and the saint, including that between Egeas and the apostle Andrew. In the end he offers himself to Þorvaldr to do with him as he likes in exchange for leading people out of the fire where they would have died a painful death:

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[76] *Hrafns saga*, p. 40.
[77] Peter Hallberg, 'Imagery in Religious Old Norse Prose Literature: an Outline', *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 102 (1987), pp. 120–70 (p. 150).
[78] *Hrafns saga*, p. 40.
[79] *Hrafns saga*, p. 40.
[80] For example, *Egils saga* offers a concise summary of this sentiment when Arinbjǫrn reminds King Eiríkr that 'náttvíg eru morðvíg' ('night killings are murder'). *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, ÍF II, ed. Sigurður Nordal (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 1933), p. 181. Cf. 'nátt-víg, n.', in Cleasby-Vigfússon.
[81] *Hrafns saga*, p. 41.
[82] *Hrafns saga*, p. 41.
[83] *Hrafns saga*, p. 41.

> Þá bauð Hrafn at **gefa sik upp til friðar ǫllum mǫnnum ǫðrum**, þeim er þar váru í bœnum, at hann væri eigi brenndr. Þá svaraði Þorvaldr: „Ek mun lofa ǫllum mǫnnum út ganga, ef þér selið af hǫndum vápn yður ǫll ok leggið þá á mitt vald, hvat ek vil af hverjum gøra.“[84]
>
> Then Hrafn offered to give himself up in exchange for peace for all other men, who were in the house, so that it would not be burnt. Then Þorvaldr replied: ‘I will allow all men to go outside if you give away all of your weapons and give me the power to do with each just as I wish’.

If the binding motif has already introduced the imagery of hell, the darkness of the night and the blazing fire only intensifies it. Hrafn’s attempts to ransom his household’s lives with his own provides a link to the Harrowing of Hell which was made possible by Christ’s self-sacrifice. Similarly to Jesus in the New Testament story, Hrafn is betrayed by someone whom he treated as a friend and with whom he previously if not broke bread than at least shared food (cf. the second attack of Þorvaldr). At the same time, the emphasis placed on the concept of *friðr* and its connection with Hrafn also resonates with the martyrdom of Andrew, where it plays a significant role and where the apostle is depicted as its Christlike guarantor.[85] The inserted stanza by Guðmundr Svertingsson further stresses the point:

> 34. Bauð til friðkaups fróðum
> folkprýðandi lýðum,
> hann bauð sveit fyrir sinni
> snjallri einn at falla.
>
> [Fólkprýðandi bauð til friðkaups fróðum lýðum; hann bauð at falla einn fyrir sinni snjallri sveit.]
>
> The outstanding man made an offer in order to buy peace for wise people: he offered to die alone for his bold company.[86]

As has been pointed out earlier in the introduction to this chapter and thesis in general, there is no evidence that the fourteenth-century *Andréasdrápa*, has any connection to the one mentioned in the thirteenth-century *Hrafns saga*. However, the surviving four stanzas about Andrew show some lexical parallelism to the stanzas about Hrafn, cited below, and it is tempting to suggest that they might have been modelled after the *Andréasdrápa* to which he listened on the night of his death. It might be the other way round — the later poem might have been inspired by the stanzas composed by Guðmundr in Hrafn’s honour — but, regardless, that would mean that the two men were seen in close connection with each other, worthy imitators of Christ both. Thus, in the first *helmingr* of its first stanza, the extant *Andréasdrápa* introduces Andrew as the one who offers ‘peace to nations’ [of Gentiles] — ‘frið bjóðandi þjóðum’. At the same time, the stanza from *Hrafns saga* states that Hrafn ‘bauð til friðkaups fróðum lyðum’ which resonates with the description of the apostle as ‘frið bjóðandi þjóðum’:

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[84] *Hrafns saga*, p. 42.
[85] See chapter 3, pp. 99–106.
[86] *Hrafns saga*, p. 42: translation of the verses is also taken from there.

1. Enn kom elsku þinnar
annarr drottins manna
fýstr í faðminn hæsta,
frið bjóðandi þjóðum.

> [Enn kom annarr drottins manna fýstr þinnar elsku í hæsta faðminn, bjóðandi frið þjóðum.]
>
> Again came another of the Lord’s men, eager for your love, into the highest embrace, offering peace to nations.[87]

Moreover, a similar kenning is used to refer to both Hrafn and St Andrew in their respective poems. Although not grammatically identical, the kennings are lexically parallel: if Hrafn is called *fólkprýðandi*, ‘the adornment of men’ or possibly ‘the one adorning men’, the apostle is called ‘pryðir þjoða’, the adorner of nations, in the second *helmingr* of the third surviving stanza:

Sá hann guð sjálfr í dauða
sier bjóðandi **þjóða**
prýðir faðminn *fríða*;
frægð slík himinríkis.

> [Hann sjálfr prýðir þjóða sá í dauða guð bjóðandi sier fríða faðminn; slík frægð himinríkis.]
>
> He himself, the adorner of nations [HOLY MAN], saw in death God offering him his fair embrace; such [is] the fame of heavenly kingdom.[88]

Whether *fólkprýðandi* is to be read as an ‘adornment’ or ‘the one adorning’, the apostle and the Icelander share a connection: as ‘the adorner of nations’ can mean ‘holy man’, both men are associated with holiness.[89] At the same time, within *Andréasdrápa* Andrew’s epithet ‘prýðir þjóða’ resonates with the earlier description of the apostle as ‘bjóðandi frið þjóðum’,[90] while Guðmundr’s verse also unites the two in the very same stanza. Moreover, if in the first stanza of *Andréasdrápa* Andrew is said to be yearning for the divine embrace while offering peace to men, the third stanza reverts the pattern and now it is God who is offering his *fríða*, fair or peaceful, embrace to the apostle as the ultimate reward.[91] One of the stanzas referring to Hrafn, on the other hand, engages with the divine by using the loaded term *friðkaup* which can be a technical term, used in Norway and Denmark, for payment for the right to stay in the country when under penalty, or it can have a religious meaning. The word is generally rare in the Icelandic context and yet it appears in some of the recensions of *Thómas saga erkibiskups* to refer to Christ's sacrifice.[92] The verbal parallel between the sagas as well as the typological link between St Tómas and Hrafn are facts well-established in the scholarship. St Thomas Becket gave up his life for the Church, just like Christ did, while Hrafn did so for his people and for peace, in which he also follows Jesus: „Ek er nú búinn at láta lífit til frelsis heilagri kirkju, í þess nafni er hana keypti til friðar með sínu blóði"[93] [Now I am willing to give my life for the freedom of the holy Church in the name of the one who bought her peace with his blood].

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[87] *Andréasdrápa,* p. 846.

[88] *Andréasdrápa,* p. 848.

[89] The consistent use of poetic stanzas supporting the prose narrative and forming *Hrafnsdrápa* of its own, allegedly composed by Guðmundr Svertingsson, might be seen as a tool in substantiating the claims for Hrafn’s sanctity: especially given lexical overlaps with the poetic language used in the religious poems. Moreover, the poetic stanzas seem to have played a similar role in the attempted canonization of bishop Guðmundr Arason, who was Hrafn’s friend. See Denis A. Golovanenko, ‘Transitional Period of Skaldic Poetry in the Context of Icelandic Culture of the 11th–12th Centuries’ (Doctoral thesis, NRU ‘Higher School of Economics’, 2023), pp. 176–179.

[90] *Andréasdrápa,* p. 849.

[91] *Andréasdrápa,* p. 849.

Similarly to St Thomas Becket, Hrafn's final hours are liturgically rich. First, he is ruminating, in a very *lectio divina* mode, over St Andrew's passion; then, when besieged by fire, he and his household sing matins[94] — usually sung at the darkest hour before dawn, which is somewhat symbolic for the narrative which unfurls in the season of Lent which is traditionally seen as the darkest period before the light of Resurrection:

> Þá mælti Hrafn við prest sinn, þann er Valdi hét, ok klerka þá, er með honum váru, at þeir skyldu ganga í stofu ok syngja óttusǫng, ok Hrafn sǫng með þeim óttusǫnginn, en menn hans, þeir er ólærðir váru, vǫrðu húsin með vatni ok sýru, slíkt er máttu at gøra.[95]
>
> Then Hrafn said to his priest, who was called Valdi, and those clerks who were there with him, that they must go in one of the rooms and sing matins, and Hrafn sang the matins with them but his men, those who were unlearned, guarded the house with water and whey as best as they could.

Finally, having received his death sentence from Þorvaldr, Hrafn asks to attend the service where he makes a confession and takes communion. After it, he prays and is prompted to tears of repentance, or contrition. According to Margaret Cormack, this is a 'unique occurrence in *samtíðarsögur*'.[96]

> Þá lýsti Þorvaldr því, at Hrafn skyldi taka af lífi. Ok er Hrafn heyrði þann dóm, þá beiddisk hann at ganga til skriptar ok taka þjónustu, ok hann gekk til þjónustu við Valda prest ok mælti skriptagang ok tók *corpus domini* ok **fell til bœnar** ok **felldi tár með mikilli iðran**.[97]
>
> Then Þórvaldr declared that Hrafn must be put to death. And when Hrafn heard that judgement, then he asked to go to confesion and to take sacraments, and he went to mass with Valdi the priest and said his confession and took communion and fell to prayer and shed tears with great repentance.

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[92] *Hrafns saga*, p. 42 n. 34 (f).

[93] *Thómas saga erkibyskups*: A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket in Icelandic, vol. 1, ed. Eiríkr Magnússon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 538.

[94] This is yet another parallel with *Thómas saga erkibiskups*, in which the killing of the archbishop is preceded by vespers, see *Thómas saga erkibyskups*, pp. 534–536.

[95] *Hrafns saga*, p. 42.

[96] Cormack, 'Saints and Sinners', p. 212.

[97] *Hrafns saga*, p. 43.

On the one hand, it is a common trope in the hagiographic literature that tears mark both supplication and strong pious feeling: to this end, for instance, in *Andreas saga postola* I 'mælti/bað með tarum' (said/begged with tears) commonly occurs to indicate both, with regard to both common men and the apostle himself.[98] But, Hrafn might also remind the attentive reader specifically of St Andrew in Mirmidon, where 'gret hann beiskliga' (he wept bitterly) and 'bað til guðs' (prayed to God).[99] As has been discussed in chapter two of this thesis, bitter weeping often indicates repentance; in both cases, it is juxtaposed with prayer. Although much more semantically ambiguous in the apostle Andrew's case, Hrafn mirrors the apostle in the form of his actions if not in their function. Repentance expressed by Hrafn's tears is later shown in his penitential pose:

> Þá lagðisk Hrafn niðr á kné ok ǫlboga ok lagði hálsinn á eitt rekatré, ok Bárðr hjó af honum hǫfuðit þar við trénu. Hrafn hrœrði hvárki hǫnd né fót, er hann sœfðisk, heldr lá hann á knjánum ok ǫlbogunum, sem hann var vanr at liggja til bœnar.[100]
>
> Then Hrafn laid himself down on his knees and elbows and put his neck on a drift-tree, and Bárðr cut his head off against that tree. Hrafn moved neither hands nor feet as he was slaughtered but rather he laid on his knees and elbows as he used to lie in prayer.

The gesture can be reminiscent of *knéboðföll* which, as Haki Antonsson has noted, involved 'the sinner falling to his or her knees with the palms striking the ground' and was part of a common form of penance in medieval Iceland, according to 'Þorlákr's Penitential'. It was also seen as 'a penance for specific sins confessed to a priest' and was a way of showing repentance in the absence of clergy.[101] However, the narratorial voice states that this is Hrafn's usual way of praying. And in this way, it might be the echo of *Thómas saga erkibiskups*, which — if intentional — 'provides a fitting conclusion to a career which began on pilgrimage to Canterbury':[102] both Hrafn and St Thomas are killed while at prayer.[103] At the same time, St Andrew also dies after long hours of preaching and prayer. As has been discussed in chapter three of this thesis, the final time the apostle's voice is heard, he is praying to the Lord and asks to be received in heaven.[104] The other potential, and indeed very subtle, link to the apostle Andrew is the tool/place of Hrafn's execution: his head is resting on a *rekatré*, which translates a 'piece of driftwood'. The reference to the jetsam, things that drifted ashore, harkens back to the structuring device of the saga and all the beached whales, and an odd walrus: even more so since *rekahvalr* is an attested compound, found in the medieval Icelandic law-code *Grágás*.[105] On the one hand, the very first occurrence of it is closely linked to St Thomas who, when promised the tusks, ensures that Hrafn captures the sea-creature. This, in turn, starts a series of Hrafn's pilgrimages, starting at Canterbury. On the other hand, the structuring device resembles the one employed in *Andreas saga postola I* and bears similar connotations of liminality and transition. This final echo of the whales, and other things, cast ashore points towards Hrafn's imminent salvation: after all it was on the seastrand that Andrew resurrected forty drowned men. However, the parallel between the sagas of the apostle and of Hrafn is not limited to the immediate meaning of the *rekatré*: the morphology, inner structure, of the word points toward the tree-imagery surrounding the cross which — as has been already discussed in chapter three[106] — is often called *krosstré*, or sometimes *píslartré*, and on which Andrew died following the example set by Christ. Although the *reka-* element, the genitive of *reki*, here refers to jetsam, it can also mean 'persecution' which when brought together with *tré* is a plausible — albeit not attested in the surviving literary corpus — circumlocution for the cross.[107]

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[98] For St Andrew praying with tears see 332:8, 334:19; for other people begging the apostle with tears, see *API*, pp. 330:11, 331:18, 334:6–7, 353:1, where the verb *gráta,* 'to weep', is used 332:8, 334:19.
[99] *API*, p. 320.
[100] *Hrafns saga*, p. 43.
[101] Haki Antonsson, *Damnation and Salvation in Old Norse Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2018), pp. 26–27.
[102] Cormack, 'Saints and Sinners', p. 212.
[103] The visions and dreams experienced by some of Hrafn's men also point towards the martyrdom of St Thomas Becket. For instance, Þorbjörn's vision of the four armed men riding the horses can be linked to the four knights who killed the archbishop: in *Thómas saga erkibiskups,* pp. 532–534*,* they seem to be armed with a similar set of weapons to the ones described by Þorbjörn in *Hrafns saga.*
[104] See chapter 3, pp. 127–128.

Moreover, when dying, Hrafn is said to have moved neither hands nor feet, staying still in his praying pose (and, one might deduce, on the *rekatré*) and thus meeting his death with fortitude and resolution. In *Andreas saga postola I*, St Andrew is in turn described as unwilling to be moved from the cross: when his executioners attempted to remove him from the cross, they could not move him for their hands were miraculously shaking. A similar equanimity is attributed to Christ himself, who is said by St Andrew not to make any sounds when executed: „[…] þa er hann var pindr, eigi þrætti hann ne kallaði, ok eigi var kall hans heyrt a strætum; […]“ [when he was tortured, he did not wrangle, neither did he cry out, and no cry of his was heard in the streets].[108] Although these three cases are not identical, the sentiment is similar and worth taking into account: all three stress Christian patience and endurance to be emulated. Hrafn's 'intrepid humility in the face of death' is further emphasised by the saga-author's use of the verb *sæfa*, often used in the context of 'ritual slaughter and the blood of the Lamb': the saga-narrative makes sure to signpost that in his self-sacrifice Hrafn is Christ-like.[109]

The final point to be addressed is the temporal marker used in the saga to locate the slaying of Hrafn within the liturgical calendar. As Hrafn's death is clearly distinguished by the presence of Andrew the apostle, the fact that his death takes place 'átta nóttum eptir Matthiasmessu' (eight night after the feast of St Mattias) might be more than just a narrative detail. In the earlier tradition of the Acts of Andrew and Matthias, it is the apostle Matthias, and not better-known Matthew the Evangelist, whom St Andrew rescues from the prison in Mirmidon.[110] This proximity might further substantiate the previously explored link between the night of Hrafn's death, the Harrowing of Hell, and its imitation in *Andreas saga postola I* (when narrating Andrew's exploits in Mirmidon). The tradition of St Matthew was already well-established by the sixth century, and there is no evidence that the saga author knew about St Matthias being the original apostle in the Acts; however, it would not be all too unreasonable to suppose that the connection between the two apostles was known in the learned circles of medieval Iceland.

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[105] *Grágas*, pp. 358, 366, 381.
[106] See chapter 3, pp. 120–123.
[107] 'reki, a, m.', II, in Cleasby-Vigfússon.
[108] *API*, p. 339.
[109] Guðrún P. Helgadóttir, 'Introduction', p. xxii.
[110] See the introduction, pp. 36–37.

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To function as a successful hagiographical narrative, *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar* does not necessarily need to conform to any particular saint's life, presenting a mixture of topoi from different saints' lives instead: the artful hagiography aims to make the likeness between all the saints visible, and in this respect *Hrafns saga* can be seen as a masterpiece.[111] At the same time, among the multitude of referenced feasts, saints, and holy places, the saga does not only distinctly put the 'drama in the long line of the Cain and Abel tradition',[112] but also displays a few distinctive and what seems to be deliberate strands which gesture towards a few recognizable saints. Both St Magnús and St Thomas Becket 'stirred the Icelandic imagination most potently in the decades around 1200', and the reminiscences of their martyrdoms, St Thomas's in particular, undoubtedly colour Hrafn's death.[113] However, as this coda demonstrates, the combination of motifs manifested throughout the text also suggests some close allusions to St Andrew's life and martyrdom, the presence of which is not at all surprising in the light of St Andrew being mentioned on the eve of Hrafn's death. There might be not enough verbal echoes to establish the direct influence of *Andreas saga postola I* on *Hrafns saga,* but the similarities are numerous and invite comparison.[114]

If the deaths of St Magnús of Orkney and St Thomas of Canterbury, both contemporary and local saints, tangibly dominate the saga narrative, the figure of St Andrew links it to the universal saints and the New Testament's apostles. This complexity and the multitude of layers of interpretation seem to be premediated and Hrafn's reading of *Andréasdrápa* suggests a mode in which the audience was to engage with *Hrafns saga* itself: it yields to both literal (or carnal) and spiritual reading, revealing in the process extensive influences of both feud narratives and the hagiographic genre.[115] Moreover, as a 'patron saint of sailors and fishermen would have been welcome' in medieval Iceland, which was primarily the island of fishermen and farmers,[116] Hrafn could have been portrayed to be such a saint and his connection with St Andrew, a fisherman and a fisher of men, would only support this claim.

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[111] Siân Grønlie, *The Saint and the Saga Hero* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017), p. 8 fn. 45: Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 20, 86–7, 115.
[112] Guðrún P. Helgadóttir, 'Introduction', pp. xxi–xxii.
[113] Guðrún P. Helgadóttir, 'Introduction', pp. xxi–xxii.
[114] For the discussion of the ideal criteria for establishing the connection between the two works of hagiography, see Haki Antonsson, 'Two Twelfth-Century Martyrs: St Thomas of Canterbury and St Magnús of Orkney', in *Sagas, Saints, and Settlements*, ed. Gareth Williams and Paul Bibire (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 41–64 (p. 47). Also, more conclusive evidence would require a much more thorough investigation which is outside of the scope of this thesis. I want to express my gratitude to Margaret Cormack who, after listening to my paper on the subject delivered at the 11th *Háskoli Íslands Studnet Conference on the Medieval North*, has very kindly suggested many helpful directions in which to look for further evidence and which I am hoping to pursue in due course.
[115] Frank Kermode, *The Genesis of Secerecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 1–21.
[116] Ásdís Egilsdóttir, 'Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson, Pilgrim and Martyr', p. 39.

Finally, since the overarching theme of any saint's death is, of course, *imitatio Christi*, it would be more than fair to say that both St Andrew and Hrafn are worthy imitators of Christ and that in their *emulation* they are alike: both are healers, seafarers, sometime fishermen, both are patient and humble, both sacrifice themselves to save others.

CONCLUSIONS

JUST as Saint Andrew lived up to his name, so this doctoral thesis has lived up to its title. It looked at the earliest extant Old Norse-Icelandic life of the apostle with the eye of both a surgeon and an aestheticist: disassembling the 'body' of the text, marking the beauty and complexity of its separate parts, all in order to appreciate the whole of *Andreas saga postola I* as both a work of art and a tool for devotional practices. According to St Paul, 'the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life' (II Corinthians 3:6): in a similar manner, the saga's artistic craft springs fully alive only when it is related to the Christian faith and seen as a text oriented towards Christ. This acknowledgement might sound disturbing to some, and yet to deny it would be to look at *Andreas saga postola I* with both eyes blind and to ignore its core element, as well as that of many other hagiographical works.

This thesis, therefore, occupies a niche at the intersection of theology and literary studies and aspired to — and, hopefully, did — show how in translation the universal Christian narrative acquired local meanings, recognizable to the audience and evocative of the broader cultural landscape of medieval Iceland. Its methodological approach can be described as a combination of philology and intellectual history: close reading was applied to the selected passages, then the lexical and stylistic choices were evaluated and contextualized within the intellectual culture of the time, with a particular emphasis on the religious writings known in Iceland. Since *Andreas saga postola I* is a devotional text, produced and read for instruction and edification in faith, this thesis explored the possibility of the free associative reading, key to *lectio divina,* in which lexical and structural details encourage the reader to think about the wider theological landscape, such as passages from the Scriptures and vernacular homilies. This approach to the Old Norse-Icelandic saints' lives is an innovation in the field. Contrary to the usual practice, where these texts are studied by codicologists and historians, in this study it is the saga itself which is at the centre of attention and is elucidated within its historical context rather than being used as a historical source to shed light on the cult. It is my hope that this doctoral project is a valuable contribution to the growing scholarship around Old Norse-Icelandic religious literature, suggesting new and useful ways of engaging with these texts as well as gauging their dialogic relationship with the more secular genres such as the *Íslendingasögur*, *riddarasögur*, and *samtíðasögur*. The final chapter of this work is an example of its practical application to one of the latter sagas, *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar,* which demonstrates that the study of *Andreas saga postola I* is not only valuable for its own sake but also enriches our analysis of other more widely-studied texts.

Structurally, this thesis revolved around multiple journeys. First, the introduction outlined the metaphorical journey of the apostle from the sea of Galilee, across Europe, and all the way to medieval Iceland. It showed how, in the process and across centuries, St Andrew acquired a range of distinguishing traits and attributes which had become part of his image by the time he reached Iceland. This opening part of the thesis demonstrated the interconnectedness of the medieval world, with its penchant for both universal and local, and defined the place of medieval Iceland within European Christian tradition. Then, the three central chapters of this thesis followed the journey of the apostle from a simple fisherman to a fisher of men and a worthy imitator of Christ, inviting the reader to join Andrew on his way of *imitatio Christi*. Each of the three chapters corresponded to a stage of Andrew's way and a part of the saga. The first chapter focused on the beginning of the saga, finding St Andrew on the shores of the sea of Galilee, as a fisherman at the beginning of his discipleship; the chapter explored what it meant to be 'Andrew' and the importance of the maritime imagery. The second chapter transitioned to the Mirmidon episode, in which Andrew rescues his fellow apostle Matthew from prison and is tortured for the first time. This part of the thesis examined what it meant to suffer in the name of Christ and the connection of suffering to teaching doctrine; blood, tears, and eloquence are at the core of the chapter. In this chapter a number of parallels to the Biblical narrative of the Harrowing of Hell were suggested and some parallels with *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* were brought to light: as Andrew undergoes the initiation by blood, he grows into the role of an apostle and acquires some features of a *skáld*. The third chapter contemplated Andrew at the end of his earthly journey and at the beginning of his eternal life; this chapter outlined the religious imagery and the rhetorical strategies employed by the translator-compiler, as well as the role they played in shaping the image of St Andrew as a worthy imitator of Christ. Not only did Andrew emulate his Teacher in his death on the cross, but so too did his words, both in form and content, as he spread the Word to the crowds of Patras. Just as Andrew found — through suffering and grace — the 'correct' way to speak to God in the course of this apostleship, so this thesis suggested that the readers of *Andreas saga postola I* were invited to do the same. Instead of suffering in the flesh, however, they move towards salvation through dismembering the 'body' of the saga and the suffering 'in the narrative'. While within the text the path to salvation shown to the Mirmidonians was marked by Andrew's blood, for the external audience it is the 'body' of the text which — through careful reading, or *lectio divina* — is meant to act as such a path.

The thesis concludes with a fourth chapter which is dedicated to the thirteenth-century contemporary *Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarssonar* and offers an example of how saints' lives might have been read by medieval Icelanders. The chapter acts as an afterword to the study of *Andreas saga postola I* and an homage to Andrew's afterlife in Iceland by examining similar rhetorical strategies, religious patterning and their role in the attempted *hagiogenesis* in secular *Hrafns saga*. This chapter can be seen as an epilogue addressing the issue of the reception of *Andreas saga postola I* in thirteenth-century Iceland and within the modern field of Old Norse-Icelandic literature.

This study, therefore, not only shows what the medieval Icelanders thought about suffering and grace, and how they said it, but it also suggests how modern-day scholars might think about Old Norse-Icelandic religious writings and what they might say about their relationship with more secular genres: this is a dialogue which goes beyond lexical parallels and is also based on shared structure and themes.

It took me four years to complete this work which is done now. It has been written, dear reader,
for your enlightenment and entertainment. As wise men said before me, to everything
which is incorrectly said in these writings, it is your duty to prefer a more
accurate account should you come across such. For the sake of
everything said well and truthfully in these writings,
pray for me. And joining a medieval
scribe, I say — *ora pro nobis*
beate andrea.
AMEN

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