

## THE OLDEST MS OF ST JUSTIN'S MARTYRDOM.

THE Cambridge University Library acquired last August from the daughters of the late Dr Scrivener some vellum fragments, certain of which have proved on examination to be of interest to hagiological students. It is not known from what source Dr Scrivener acquired them, but it is a reasonable conjecture that they may have been given him by the late Baroness Burdett-Coutts from her Janina collection.<sup>1</sup> The fragments consisted of (1) the remains of what must once have been a very handsome copy of Barlaam and Josaphat, of about the twelfth century, with miniatures, now sadly decayed; (2) a couple of leaves of a *Catena* or Commentary on St Matthew, containing the well-known quotation from 'Apollinarius' which gives the extract from Papias about the end of Judas Iscariot; and (3) the sixteen detached leaves, which form the subject of this Notice.

These sixteen leaves once formed part of a Martyrology for May, June and July, written in sloping uncials of not the latest style—say about 800 A.D.—in two columns of thirty-nine lines, the size of each leaf having once been about 16 × 10 inches (or a little more). It was turned into a palimpsest of half the size in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the later writing being a Gospel Lectionary. Unfortunately by this process the conjugate leaves were cut apart, and the remains of the older MS could only be reconstituted by the slow process of reading and identifying the texts themselves. The remaining contents are as follows:—

*fol.*

1	Christopher (May 9)	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> i pp. 125-128
2	"	" " pp. 131-134
3	"	" " pp. 134-136
4	"	" " pp. 140-143
5	Christopher <i>ends</i>	" " pp. 147-end
	Isidore <i>begins</i> (May 14)	Vat.Gr. 2033 <sup>19</sup> (in <i>Cat. Codd. Hagiogr. Boll.</i> )
6	Isidore <i>ends</i>	" "
	Constantine and Helena ( <i>Note for May 21</i> )	
	Hermias <i>begins</i>	<i>Bibl. Hagiogr. Gr.</i> p. 53
7	Constantine and Helena <i>ends</i>	" " " p. 29 (= B 2)

<sup>1</sup> See Scrivener's *Intr.* (ed. 4) i 253; *Adversaria Critica Sacra* xxi.

*End of May*

- 8 *June begins*  
Justin, Hypothesis (June 1) [? new]  
" Martyrdom *begins* *Bibl. Hagiogr. Gr.* p. 68
- 9 Justin *ends* " " " "  
Marcianus, Nicander (Ten  
Egyptians) *begins* (June 2) " " " p. 86
- 10 Marcianus, Nicander *ends* " " " "  
Theophanes and Pansemne *complete* (June 5) [? new]  
Nicander and Marcianus  
*begins* (June 8) *Bibl. Hagiogr. Gr.* p. 95
- 11 Barnabas ([June 11]) *Bonnet* 296-299
- 12 Peter and Paul *ends* ([June  
29]) *Lipsius* 218-222  
St John Chrysostom's Encomium *begins*
- 13 Hyacinthus Cubicularius  
([July 1]) (cf. *Acta SS.* Jul. i 633)
- 14 Cosmas and Damianus in  
Pherma (*sic*) (cf. *Acta SS.* Sep. vii 477)
- 15 Procopius Dux ([July 8]) *Bibl. Hagiogr. Gr.* p. 115 (= B 1)
- 16 " " " " " "

Of these leaves 7 v is blank, as is also the second column of 7 r. It might be supposed that this was the last leaf of the whole volume; but I venture to think it more likely to have been the last leaf appropriated to the May commemorations, as there is no colophon. This also is suggested by the Note on 6 v, which runs (I insert accents, &c., where illegible):—

Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κ̄α· εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἐλένης· ζή(τει) εἰς τέ(λοσ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός·

The leaf numbered 14 is only a half-leaf. I have assigned it conjecturally to July 1, but perhaps it belongs to Sept. 27 or Nov. 1. It contained the story of the man who swallowed a serpent, followed by that of Malchus and his wife. The name of the burial-place of Cosmas and Damianus is said to be Pherma (ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ φερμά).

The full text of *Hyacinthus* appears to be otherwise unknown. It tells the same story as is indicated in the *Acta SS.* for July 1, p. 633, viz. that Hyacinthus, a chamberlain of Trajan, on becoming a Christian refused to eat meats offered to idols; whereupon he was starved to death in prison by Trajan after thirty-eight days' fast.

The story of Theophanes and Pansemne (June 5), here preserved in an epitome, differs from the colourless account that survives in the Greek printed *Menaea* for June 10. It may be a relic of the

Christianization of some pagan cult at Antioch, and has some interest from its points of contact with the story of Pelagia (*see Usener's Pelagia*, p. xv; also *Acta SS.* for June 10, p. 275).

The text runs as follows:—

Μηγὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔ· ὑπόθεσις σύντομος τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐγκώμιον τῶν ἀγίων Θεοφάνου καὶ Πανσέμνου·

Τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας παλαιστραν πολλοὶ μὲν ἠσπάσαντο καὶ ἐπαλειφόμενοι<sup>1</sup> τῷ πνὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ, τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας κατέκβαλλον· ἐν ἧ καὶ Θεοφάνης διέλαμψεν· πόλεωσ Ἀντιοχείας ὀρμώμενος· καὶ ἐξ ἑλλήνων<sup>2</sup> γονέων φύσ· ᾧ μία ἦν καὶ γυνή<sup>3</sup>, καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ χρόνῳ ταύτην ἀποβαλλόμενος ἀμφιέννυται τὸν μοιήρη βίου ἐν κελλίῳ<sup>4</sup> ἠσυχάζων· τοσόνδε ἔπρεψεν, ὥστε καὶ ἰάσεις δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. Πανσέμνη δέ τις ὀνόματι ἑταιρῖς<sup>5</sup> καὶ τῷ ἦθει καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ<sup>6</sup> ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει· περὶ<sup>7</sup> ἧσ ἀκούσας καὶ μνησθεῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου Ἰακώβου· ὁ ἐπιστρέψας ἀμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν ἐκ θανάτου καὶ καλύψει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν, ἐξέπητη τῆς κέλλης καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς ἀπεληλυθὼς<sup>8</sup> ἀμφιέννυται ἐνδύματα σηρικά<sup>9</sup>, λαβῶν καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ θέλων τὴν πόρνην σώσαι, ἀπέρχεται<sup>10</sup> πρὸς αὐτήν· αὕτη τοῦτον δέχεται ὡς τοὺς πολλοὺς, μάλιστα<sup>11</sup> ὅτι καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐπὶ χεῖρας εἶχεν, καὶ βουλομένη<sup>12</sup> πορνικῶς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πείθεται παρ' αὐτοῦ νομίμως αὐτῷ ζευχθῆναι· βαπτίζεται οὖν θείᾳ δυνάμει<sup>13</sup> αὐτίκα· μεταφέρει αὐτὴν πλῆσιον τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ· πείθει αὐτὴν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πτωχοῖς διαδοῦναι· κατακλείει αὐτὴν ἐν σεμνείῳ<sup>14</sup>· οὕτως σεμνύνεται<sup>15</sup> τοῦ βίου· καὶ μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ ἄμφω πρὸς κν̄ ἐπεδημησαν<sup>16</sup>· καὶ περιάγοντες δὲ τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ζωὴν ἀπεληλυθόντες<sup>17</sup> ἰάσεις διαφόρους ἐργάζονται<sup>18</sup>· χάριτι τοῦ κν̄ ἡμῶν ὡ χν̄· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν·

By a fortunate chance the Acts of St Justin's Martyrdom are preserved entire in the Cambridge fragments. They are preceded by an epitome, which, so far as I know, is unprinted, and is certainly of some value as shewing what points in these ancient Christian Acts were found interesting in the early Byzantine period. It is noteworthy that the epitome distinctly attests ἐκπληρώσεως in § 5, in agreement with the actual text of the Acts in these fragments and with the Vatican MS from Grotta Ferrata, while the true reading (*viz.* ἐκπυρώσεως) is preserved in the Jerusalem MS as well as in the more eccentric Paris MS.

<sup>1</sup> -φάμενοι C.

<sup>4</sup> κελίω C.

<sup>7</sup> περ C.

<sup>11</sup> μαλλιστα C.

<sup>18</sup> -ερε C.

<sup>2</sup> ελλινον C.

<sup>5</sup> ετερισ C.

<sup>9</sup> ἀπελλιλυθωσ C.

<sup>12</sup> βουλομενι C.

<sup>16</sup> -μσαν C.

<sup>3</sup> ὡ μία ἦσεν καὶ γυνεκι· C (*sic*).

<sup>6</sup> το ἦθος καὶ το τρόπω C.

<sup>9</sup> σιρηκα C.

<sup>13</sup> δυναμι C.

<sup>17</sup> ἀπελληλυθωντες C.

<sup>10</sup> ἀπέρχετε C.

<sup>14</sup> σεμνιω C.

<sup>18</sup> -ζωνται C.

The epitome runs as follows :—

[Ornament]

ΜΗΝ ἸΟΥΝΙΟΣ.

Μηνὶ ἰουνίῳ ἅ. ὑπόθεσις σύντομος τοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ ἐγκώμιον Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου.

Ἰουστίνος ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐφάμιλλος χώρας ἀμείβων<sup>1</sup> ἐκήρυττεν τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν λόγον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Εὐσέβιος· λέγει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκ Συρίας ὀρμηθέντα<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἔλθειν. ὅστις ζήλω θείῳ κινήσει κηρύττων τὴν ἡμῶν πίστιν ἐλέγχων δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τότε κρατοῦντος παρέστη, ἀντιμαχῶν μὲν τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων θρησκείας ὑπερμαχῶν δὲ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως. φθονηθεὶς οὖν ὑπό τινος Ἑλληνοῦ<sup>3</sup> τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λόγῳ λεσχοῦντος παρὰ Ῥουστικοῦ<sup>4</sup> ἐπάρχου ἀρπάζεται, καὶ κατὰ πῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισις συμβάλλοντες<sup>5</sup> ἀλλήλοις διελέγοντο. καὶ ὁ ἔπαρχος εἶπεν· ἐὰν μαστιγωθείς ἢ ἀποκεφαλισθεὶς πέπεισαι<sup>6</sup> ὅτι μέλλεις ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; Ἰουστίνος εἶπεν· ἐλπίζω, οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσιν τοῖς οὕτω βιοῦσιν παραμένει τὸ θεῖον χάρισμα μέχρι τῆς ἐκπληρώσεως τοῦ κόσμου. αὐθις<sup>7</sup> ὁ ἔπαρχος εἶπεν· ὑπονοεῖς οὖν ὅτι ἀναβήσεις εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἀμοιβὰς τῶν πόνων ἀποληψόμενος<sup>8</sup>; Ἰουστίνος εἶπεν· οὐχ ὑπονοῶ, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς πιστεύω καὶ πεπληροφόρημα<sup>9</sup>. οὕτως σὺν ἑτέροις μάρτυσιν, Χαρίτωνι<sup>10</sup>, Εὐέλπιστῳ<sup>11</sup>, Ἰέρακι, Παίονι<sup>12</sup>, καὶ Λιβεριανῷ, παρεδόθη<sup>13</sup> τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπομηθῆναι.

The Acts of Martyrdom follow: I give a collation with the text as edited by Dr Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri in *Studi e Testi* 8 (Rome, 1902), this being the only edition of the Acts based on a collation of MSS, i. e.

H(ierosolymitanus) S. Sepulcri 6, *saec.* ix-x,

P(arisinus) 1470, *anno* 890,

V(aticanus) 1667, *saec.* x;

to which we can now add

C(antabrigiensis), *saec.* viii-ix.

Τῆς μαρτύρων] om. C παίωνος C (= V) ad fin.] + κ̅ε εὖ C

§ I. 4 ὑπερμαχῶν C 5 κατα πόλιν καὶ χῶραν C (*sic*)<sup>14</sup> 6 σπέν-  
δειν] σπενδειν C 7 οἱ μ. ἅ.] ἄγιοι ἄνδρες C (= H V\*) 8 ρουστικόν  
C (= H V).

§ II. 9 τῶν] om. C (= H) ρουστικὸς ἔπαρχος C (= H)  
9, 10 εἶπεν πρὸς ἰουστίνον C (= H V) 10 πείθητι C 13 μετα-  
χειρίζει C 14 ἐπιραθεν C 15 ψευδοδοξοῖς C (= H V) ἔπαρχος]

<sup>1</sup> ἀμβων C.

<sup>2</sup> ὀρμηθέντα C.

<sup>3</sup> ἑλλινος C.

<sup>4</sup> ρουστικὸς, ρουστικοῦ, &c., C *semper* (non ρούστικος).

<sup>5</sup> συμβαλοντες C.

<sup>6</sup> πεπεισε C.

<sup>7</sup> αὐθις C.

<sup>8</sup> -ψόμενος C.

<sup>9</sup> -φόρημα C.

<sup>10</sup> χριτωνι C.

<sup>11</sup> C *sic*, hoc accentu.

<sup>12</sup> παιωνι C.

<sup>13</sup> παρεδόθη C.

<sup>14</sup> The MSS are surely right here: translate 'in town and country'.

*om.* C 16 οὖν] *om.* C = H V σοι] συ C 17 αὐτοσ C  
 (= V) εστιν C (= H) δωγμα C p. 34, 1 πασεισ C  
 2 αὐράτου C κύριον] *om.* C (= H) 3 προκεκρηρρηται C  
 μελλον C 4 μαθημάτων] C (*sic* = P) 5 μηκρα C 6 ὅτι]  
 C (= H P) ἔφη νῦν C 7 ἴσθι] C (= P) 8 γεναμένησ  
 C (= H).

§ III. 15 ἐγὼ ἐπανω μενο (*sic*) τινοσ μαρτίνου τοῦ τιμωτινου C  
 (= H V) 16 βαλανίου C (= H V) παρὰ] *φρ.* καὶ C (= H V)  
 ὄν] τοῦτον C (= H V) 16, 17 ἐπεδήμησα δὲ τῇ Ῥω. πόλει τοῦτο  
 δεῦτερον καὶ οὐ γινώσκω ἄλλην C (= H V *ferē*) 17 ἐκέ] ἐκείνου C  
 (= H V) καὶ εἶ] καει C 18 αὐτῶ] αὐτο C 19 λοιπὸν]  
*om.* C (= H P).

§ IV. 21 Χαρίτωνι] *φρ.* τῷ C (= H V) 23 δὲ] *om.* C (= H V)  
 Χαριτοῖ] Χαριτῶ C (= H V) p. 35, 1 ἔπαρχοσ] *om.* C (= H V)  
 εἶπεν τῷ εὐελπίστῳ C (= H V) 2 Εὐέλπιστε] *om.* C (= P V) ἀπε-  
 κρίνατο] ἀποκριθεὶσ λέγει C 3 μετέχω C (= H V) 4 χάριτι C  
 τῷ ἱέρακι C (= H V) 5 σέβω τε] C (= H) 7 ἔκπαλαι] *om.*  
 C (= H V) παίων δὲ ἐστῶσ C 10 τὸν λόγον C 11 παρε-  
 λιφα C 13 ἔπαρχοσ] τῷ C (= H V) 15 ἐπιγιοι C 18 εὐσεβῶσ  
 C (cf. P) 19 ἀλιθιον C.

§ V. 20 λέγει προσ ἰουστίνου C (= H V) 21 αποκεφαλισθεῖσ C  
 23 δώματα] δώματα C (= δόγματα H V) οἶδα ὅτι καὶ C (*om.* δὲ)  
 ὀρθῶσ] οὕτω C (= H V) p. 36, 1 ἐκπυρώσεωσ (H P)] ἐκπληρώσεωσ C  
 (= V) 3 χριστὰσ C (= H) ἀπολυόμενοσ C 5 τὸ αναγκαίων καὶ  
 κατεπίγειωσ C 6 συνελθόντεσ C ὁμοθυμαδὸν C 8 πείθεσθαι C  
 τιμωριθῆσεσθαι C 6 διὰ χῶν τὸν κῶ ἡμῶν C (= H); *om.* P 10 τι-  
 μωριθ- C 12 ὡσαντοσ C ἡμῖσ C 13 καὶ] *om.* C θύωμεν C  
 15 μαστιγωθέντεσ C (= H V).

§ VI. 17 ἐξελθόντεσ C 18 αὐτῶν τὴν μαρτυρίαν C (= H V)  
 19 λαθρέωσ C 19, 20 τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν C 20 λαβόντεσ  
 κατέθειτω C ἐπιτηδῖω C συνεργησάσεισ C 21 ψ ἡ δόξα] *add.*  
 καὶ τὸ κράτοσ τῷ πρι καὶ τῷ ὑῶ καὶ τῷ ἀγίω πνι νῦν καὶ C.

It is quite clear that our four MSS divide themselves into two families, P on the one hand and C H V on the other. Consequently an agreement of either C or H or V with P must represent the oldest transmitted text. The obvious example is ἐκπυρώσεωσ in § 5, supported as it is by Justin *Apol.* i § 60 and other passages. Here C V have ἐκπληρώσεωσ, shewing that V is akin to C. On the other hand C agrees with P in § 2 in having μαθημάτων, where H V have μαθητῶν. C has a few mistakes of its own, notably σπεύδειν in § 1 for σπένδειν.

The real difficulty arises when the two families are divided. P is not unfrequently right against CHV, especially in the omission of one or two theological phrases. For instance, it is no doubt right in beginning the dialogue between Rusticus and St Justin by 'What sort of life do you lead?' 'One that is blameless and not to be found fault with by any one.' Then Rusticus goes on to ask about the Christians' doctrines, and here again P gives a better text. To Rusticus's question 'What sort of notions (δόγμα) do you hold?', Justin replies according to P: 'The pious veneration we have for the Christians' God whom we hold to be from the beginning the One Demiurge of these things, of the making (I mean) of the whole world, and God's Son Jesus Christ who also was heralded by the prophets as about to come to the race of men to be a herald of salvation and a teacher of excellent doctrines.' The latter part of this agrees with the common text, but the first part in the other MSS (including C) has been altered in the direction of the stereotyped formulae of the Creeds.<sup>1</sup>

To return to C, our new MS leaves us where we were before as to the place of Justin's School or Meeting-house, reading like H and V Ἐγὼ ἐπάνω μένω [i. e. μένω] τινοσ Μαρτίνου τοῦ τιμοσίνου, where P has Μυρτίνου for the last four words. In § 5 C reads δώγματα, i. e. it virtually supports the δόγματα of H V and the older editions. Otto suggested δόματα and von Gebhardt δώματα, while P omits the clause. I venture to suggest that the obscurity of Justin's answer may be due to the form of the judge's question. Rusticus asks whether Justin, if he has his head cut off, expects to go up to heaven. Now this Justin could not answer with a simple 'yes', for we see from *Τρυφή* 80 that he was definitely opposed to those who thought they would go to heaven as soon as they died (ἄμα τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν). Such an opinion, in fact, was one of those δόγματα which the True Word did not manifest as right (*Apol.* ii § 9). Consequently he tells the judge that he *hopes* for something (δόγματα, δόματα, δώματα, or whatever the true text may be), but he *knows* that for those who endure there remains the divine *charisma*. The slight obscurity in Justin's reply is one of those 'undesigned coincidences' that illustrate, rather than demonstrate, the historical character of these famous Acts, to the vulgate text of which the newly discovered fragments bear such ancient testimony.

F. C. BURKITT.

<sup>1</sup> I quote the Greek of P, extracting it from the notes in Dr Franchi de' Cavalieri's excellent apparatus. 'Ιουστίνος εἶπεν ὅπερ εὐσεβοῦμεν εἰς τὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεόν, ὃν ἠγοῦμεθα ἓνα τούτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς δημιουργόν, τῆσ τοῦ παντὸσ κόσμου ποιήσεωσ, καὶ θεοῦ παῖδα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, δσ κτλ. The common text has in the second clause 'whom we hold to be from the beginning this One Maker and Demiurge of all the creation, visible and invisible'.