

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 ἐπαλειφόμενοι¹ τῷ πνὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ, τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας κατέκβαλλον· ἐν ἧ καὶ Θεοφάνης διέλαμψεν· πόλεωσ Ἀντιοχείας ὀρμώμενος· καὶ ἐξ ἑλλήνων² γονέων φύσ· ᾧ μία ἦν καὶ γυνή³, καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ χρόνῳ ταύτην ἀποβαλλόμενος ἀμφιέννυται τὸν μοιήρη βίου ἐν κελλίῳ⁴ ἠσυχάζων· τοσόνδε ἔπρεψεν, ὥστε καὶ ἰάσεις δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. Πανσέμνη δέ τις ὀνόματι ἑταιρίσ⁵ καὶ τῷ ἦθει καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ⁶ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει· περὶ⁷ ἧσ ἀκούσας καὶ μνησθεῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου Ἰακώβου· ὁ ἐπιστρέψας ἀμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν ἐκ θανάτου καὶ καλύψει πληθὺσ ἀμαρτιῶν, ἐξέπητῆ τῆσ κέλλησ καὶ πρὸς τοὺσ γονείσ ἀπεληλυθῶσ⁸ ἀμφιέννυται ἐνδύματα σηρικά⁹, λαβῶν καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ θέλων τὴν πόρνην σώσαι, ἀπέρχεται¹⁰ πρὸς αὐτήν· αὐτῆ τοῦτον δέχεται ὡσ τοὺσ πολλούσ, μάλιστα¹¹ ὅτι καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐπὶ χεῖρας εἶχεν, καὶ βουλομένη¹² πορνικῶσ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πείθεται παρ' αὐτοῦ νομίμως αὐτῷ ζευχθῆναι· βαπτίζεται οὖν θείᾳ δυνάμει¹³ αὐτίκα· μεταφέρει αὐτὴν πλῆσιον τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ· πείθει αὐτὴν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πτωχοῖσ διαδοῦναι· κατακλείει αὐτὴν ἐν σεμνείῳ¹⁴· οὕτωσ σεμνύνεται¹⁵ τοῦ βίου· καὶ μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ ἄμφω πρὸς κν ἐπεδήμησαν¹⁶· καὶ περιάγοντες δὲ τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ζωὴν ἀπεληλυθόντες¹⁷ ἰάσεις διαφόρουσ ἐργάζονται¹⁸· χάριτι τοῦ κν ἡμῶν ὡ χν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰσ τοὺσ αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων 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.

¹ -φάμενοι C.

⁴ κελίω C.

⁷ περ C.

¹¹ μαλλιστα C.

¹⁸ -ερε C.

² ελλινον C.

⁵ ετερισ C.

⁹ ἀπελλιλυθωσ C.

¹² βουλομενι C.

¹⁶ -μσαν C.

³ ὡ μία ἦσεν καὶ γυνεκι· C (*sic*).

⁶ το ἦθος καὶ το τρόπω C.

⁹ σιρηκα C.

¹³ δυναμι C.

¹⁷ ἀπελληλυθωντες C.

¹⁰ ἀπέρχετε C.

¹⁴ σεμνιω C.

¹⁸ -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 χῶρα ἀμείβων¹ ἐκήρυττεν τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν λόγον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Εὐσέβιος· λέγει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκ Συρίας ὀρμηθέντα² ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἔλθειν. ὅστις ζήλω θείῳ κινήσει κηρύττων τὴν ἡμῶν πίστιν ἐλέγχων δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἀντωνίνω τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τότε κρατοῦντος παρέστη, ἀντιμαχῶν μὲν τῆσ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θρησκείας ὑπερμαχῶν δὲ τῆσ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεωσ. φθονηθεὶς οὖν ὑπό τινος Ἑλληνοσ³ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λόγῳ λεσχοῦντοσ παρὰ Ῥουστικοῦ⁴ ἐπάρχου ἀρπάζεται, καὶ κατὰ πῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν συμβάλλοντοσ⁵ ἀλλήλοισ διελέγοντο. καὶ ὁ ἔπαρχοσ εἶπεν· ἐὰν μαστιγῶθεὶσ ἢ ἀποκεφαλισθεὶσ πέπεισαι⁶ ὅτι μέλλεισ ἀναβαίνειν εἰσ τὸν οὐνῶν; Ἰουστίνοσ εἶπεν· ἐλπίζω, οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσιν τοῖσ οὕτω βιοῦσιν παραμένει τὸ θεῖον χάρισμα μέχρι τῆσ ἐκπληρώσεωσ τοῦ κόσμου. αὐθοσ⁷ ὁ ἔπαρχοσ εἶπεν· ὑπονοεῖσ οὖν ὅτι ἀναβήσεισ εἰσ τοὺσ οὐνοῦσ, ἀμοιβὰσ τῶν πόνων ἀποληψόμενοσ⁸; Ἰουστίνοσ εἶπεν· οὐχ ὑπονοῶ, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶσ πιστεύω καὶ πεπληροφόρημαι⁹. οὕτωσ σὺν ἑτέροισ μάρτυσιν, Χαρίτωνι¹⁰, Εὐέλπιστω¹¹, Ἰέρακι, Παίονι¹², καὶ Λιβεριανῷ, παρεδόθη¹³ 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.] + κἔ εὖ C

§ I. 4 ὑπερμαχῶν C 5 κατὰ πόλιν καὶ χῶρα C (sic)¹⁴ 6 σπέν-
δειν] σπευδειν C 7 οἱ μ. ἅ.] ἄγιοι ἄνδοσ C (= H V*) 8 ρουστικόν
C (= H V).

§ II. 9 τῶ] om. C (= H) ρουστικὸσ ἔπαρχοσ C (= H)
9, 10 εἶπεν πρὸσ ἰουστίνον C (= H V) 10 πείθητι C 13 μετα-
χειριζει C 14 ἐπιραθεν C 15 ψευδοδοξοισ C (= H V) ἔπαρχοσ]

¹ ἀμβων C.

² ὀρμηθέντα C.

³ ἑλλινοσ C.

⁴ ρουστικὸσ, ρουστικοῦ, &c., C *semper* (non ρούστικοσ).

⁵ συμβαλοντοσ C.

⁶ πεπεισε C.

⁷ αὐθοσ C.

⁸ -ψόμενοσ C.

⁹ -φόρημαι C.

¹⁰ χριτωνι C.

¹¹ C *sic*, hoc accentu.

¹² παιωνι C.

¹³ παρεδόθη C.

¹⁴ 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 χάρητι 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] δώγματα 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 χν τὸν κν 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 ὑω 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.¹

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.

¹ 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'.