

New Questions on Old Answers: Towards a Critical Edition of the *Answers to the Orthodox* of Pseudo-Justin

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Abstract

The collection of some 150 chapters originally entitled *Answers to the Orthodox faithful concerning some necessary questions* (*Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*) and attributed to Justin the Martyr is one of the earliest Christian representatives of the late antique genre of question-and-answer literature. The importance of the work consists in that it is the first known example of a new patristic type of *erotapokriseis* which constitutes an encyclopedic collection of all available secular and religious knowledge of the time. The article presents the first results obtained during the preparation of the new critical edition of this text. Surveying the surprisingly rich manuscript tradition of the *Quaestiones*, previously known only from four manuscripts, the essay contains a critical assessment not only of the transmission but also of the 500-year-long tradition of scholarship on the text. Contrasting the previous hypotheses on the date, origin, and authorship of the *Quaestiones* with the evidence of the newly identified manuscripts and the observations made in the course of the textual analysis of the work, it formulates new arguments concerning the problem of the date and authorship of this text.

The collection of some 150 chapters (146 in one and 161 in the other recension) originally entitled *Answers to the Orthodox faithful concerning some necessary questions* (henceforward QRO), attributed to Justin the Martyr, is one of the earliest Christian representatives of the literary genre of the *erotapokriseis*.¹ The importance of this text consists in that it departs from the traditional exegetical approach manifested in earlier collections, such as the *Biblical Problemata* by Philo of Alexandria, Origen, or Eusebius, and includes many questions and problems that are only loosely, or absolutely not, related to the interpretation of the Bible. Pseudo-Justin, in addition to the ever-present exegetical matters, treats a large number of questions which relate to

¹ The work is usually known under the Latin title (*Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*) it was given in the first printed edition of 1551 by Stephanus, although in the Greek original it is called only *Answers to the Orthodox faithful concerning some necessary questions* (*Αποκρίσεις πρὸς τοὺς ὀρθόδοξους περὶ τινῶν ἀναγκαίων ζητημάτων*). In the CPG the work, for reasons to be discussed below, is not included in the Pseudo-Justinian corpus, but as a spurious work of Theodoret of Cyrrhus as CPG 6285. References to the text in the following are according to the more widespread numbering in Otto's 1881 edition of the text (*Iustini philosophi et martyris opera quae feruntur omnia*, 3/2 [Jena: Mauke, 1881], pp. 2–247), which is identical to the sequence of the questions in Migne (PG 6, cols. 1249–1400), who reproduces Prudent Maran's 1742 edition of the work (cf. below, n. 61).

cosmology,² liturgy,³ family life,⁴ or politics.⁵ So the QRO, which, according to the present consensus, derives from the mid-fifth or early sixth century, is the first known piece of a new type of patristic *erotapokriseis*.⁶ This new type, which includes such pieces as the collection of Pseudo-Kaisarios of the sixth century, Anastasius of Sinai from the seventh, or the unbeatably popular Pseudo-Athanasian *Ad Antiochum*, also of the seventh century, is an encyclopedic collection of secular and religious knowledge.⁷ Although the ‘very mixed bag’ of its content, as it was recently described, has much in common with these later collections,⁸ some features of the QRO clearly set it apart

² See, for example, Questions 11, 59, 62, 63, 94, 95, 113, 114, and 130 and their discussion by José Pablo Martín, ‘El Pseudo-Justino en la Historia del Aristotelismo’, *Patristica et Mediaevalia* 10 (1989), pp. 3–19.

³ See, for example, Questions 118 (on liturgical chant) and its discussion by Robin A. Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), pp. 338–9, and Question 137 (on baptismal unction) discussed by Sever Voicu, ‘Textes peu connus concernant l’onction prébaptismale’, *Irénikon* 64 (1991), pp. 468–82, at 475–6. Or Question 115 (on genuflexion on Sundays), discussed in detail by Panayiotis Tzamalikos, *The Real Cassian Revisited: Monastic Life, Greek Paideia, and Origenism in the Sixth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 37–40.

⁴ See Questions 30 (on guardian angels), 53 (genitalia of the resurrected couples), and 56 (on the death of unbaptized children).

⁵ See Questions 16 (on persistence of heretics) and most importantly 143 (on the empire), with an interesting discussion by Yannis Papadoyannakis, ‘Defining Orthodoxy in Pseudo-Justin’s *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*’, in Eduard Iricinschi and Holger M. Zellentin (eds.), *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), pp. 115–27, at 119–21.

⁶ On the date and importance of Pseudo-Justin’s work, see Yannis Papadoyannakis, ‘Instructions by Questions and Answers: The Case of Late Antique and Byzantine Erotapokriseis’, in S. Fitzgerald Johnson (ed.), *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 91–106. He defines the *erotapokrisis* as ‘a case in point’ which is ‘concerned not with the continuous exposition of a single text, but with relatively short and self-contained sections of argument’.

⁷ For the question-and-answer-genre as a form of encyclopedism, see Yannis Papadogiannakis, ‘“Encyclopedism” in the Byzantine Question-and-Answer Literature: The Case of Pseudo-Kaisarios’, in Peter Van Deun and Caroline Macé (eds.), *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), pp. 29–41.

⁸ A thorough analysis of the content of the QRO, compared to the other collections, is provided by Wilhem Gass (‘Ueber Justins des Märtyres Schriften befindlichen Fragen an die Rechtgläubigen’, *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* 12 [1843], pp. 33–154) and also by Gustave Bardy (‘La Littérature patristique des “quaestiones et responsiones” sur l’Écriture Sainte’, *Revue Biblique* 41 [1932], pp. 210–36, at 211–19); the most recent analysis

from the large and more or less homogenous group of later *erotapokriseis*. Unlike these compilations, which have continuously been copied, augmented, and excerpted in the later centuries,⁹ Pseudo-Justin's questions and answers give the impression of an organic composition by one and the same author with a very characteristic style and scope.¹⁰ Compared to the clear and simple wording of the later patristic and especially the Byzantine collections, the style of the QRO seems to be a more sophisticated, philosophical prose that shows a particularly close affinity to Aristotelian philosophical terminology. Not only does the special technique of reasoning with hypothetical syllogisms occur very frequently in the text,¹¹ but also there are some peculiarly Aristotelian technical terms and turns of phrase that come up throughout Pseudo-Justin's work.¹² This philosophical flavour of the text might possibly be one of the reasons why the QRO has proved much less popular than any of the later collections listed above. Unlike the *erotapokriseis* of Pseudo-Kaisarios, Anastasius, or especially Pseudo-Athanasius, the QRO has apparently not been translated into any other languages and, as Harnack claims in his monograph on the work, it was never used and

is by Papadoyannakis ('Defining Orthodoxy in Pseudo-Justin'), from whom the designation of the text as a 'very mixed bag' actually derives (p. 118).

⁹ See, among many others, Marcel Richard's contribution to the study of the afterlife of Anastasius's collection ('Les Véritables "Questions et Réponses" d'Anastase le Sinaïte', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 14 [1967–9], pp. 39–56), Rudolf Riedinger's book on the afterlife of Pseudo-Kaisarios (*Pseudo-Kaisarios: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage* [Munich: Beck, 1969]), and Caroline Macé's important article on the reuse of Pseudo-Athanasius in iconophile florilegia ('Les Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem d'un Pseudo-Athanase (CPG 2257): Un état de la question', in Marie-Pierre Bussières [ed.], *La Littérature des questions et réponses dans l'Antiquité profane et chrétienne: De l'enseignement à l'exégèse* [Turnhout: Brepols, 2013], pp. 121–50).

¹⁰ The particular integrity of the QRO as a composition by one single author was already emphasized by Gass ('Ueber Justins des Märtyres Schriften befindlichen Fragen an die Rechtgläubigen', pp. 143–6) and also by Adolf Harnack (*Diodor von Tarsus: Vier pseudojustinische Schriften als Eigentum Diodors nachgewiesen* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901], pp. 15–18).

¹¹ See the much-recurring device of phrasing a question as an Aristotelian hypothetical syllogism, such as 'If this and this is so, why is that and that (not) possible/true?'. For this type of argumentation, see the detailed introduction by Paul Slomkowski, *Aristotle's Topics* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 69–94.

¹² Such as the paradigm of 'praiseworthy (ἐπαινετόν)–blameworthy (ψεκτόν)' (Q46) from the Nicomachean Ethics (EN 1109^b30–4) or the axiom quoted in Q11 ('the containing body is always larger than the one contained') which Simplicius explicitly attributes to Aristotle in his commentary on *De coelo* (cf. J. L. Heiberg, *Simplicii in Aristotelis de caelo commentaria* [Berlin: Reimer, 1894], p. 471: ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, μείζον δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ περιέχον τοῦ περιεχομένου).

quoted by any later patristic or Byzantine author.¹³ Moreover, as an even more convincing proof of this curious ‘unpopularity’, the QRO has long been known from only one fourteenth-century manuscript which, together with some original and spurious works, explicitly attributed the collection to Justin the Martyr.

The Manuscript Tradition

The Paris Manuscript

The manuscript *Parisinus Graecus 450*,¹⁴ which, according to its colophon, was completed by an unnamed scribe on 11 September 1364, is an especially precious volume. It is the only hitherto known copy of three original works of the second-century Justin the Martyr: his two *Apologies* and the long *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. These three original works, however, are surrounded by a number of other non-Justinianic writings in the manuscript, including three sets of questions and answers of which the QRO is the second.¹⁵ Due to its special importance for patristic scholarship, there has been a considerable interest in this manuscript in the past four centuries, and scholars like Archambault in 1909 and Bobichon in 2003 have made considerable efforts to reconstruct its history. Their archival research brought to light that the manuscript was purchased in Venice by Guillaume Pellicier, the ambassador of Francis I, King of France, who sent it to the Royal Library in Fontainebleau in 1540, from whence it came later to the Bibliothèque nationale.¹⁶

¹³ Adolf Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus*, p. 2: ‘ist bisher kein Citat aus unseren Quaestionen, ja nicht einmal die Kentnis derselben nachgewiesen’.

¹⁴ For the relationships between the manuscripts and other witnesses to the QRO to be discussed throughout the remainder of this article, see the stemma presented in the appendix.

¹⁵ The manuscript, after some introductory notes about Justin and his works borrowed from Photius and Eusebius (fos. 1^r–5^v), opens with a pseudonymous piece, the *Epistula ad Zenam et Serenum* (CPG 1085) on fos. 6^v–16^v, followed by another, the *Cohortatio ad Graecos* (CPG 1083) on fos. 17^r–50^r. Then come the three original pieces, the *Dialogue* on fos. 50^r–193^r and the two *Apologies* on fos. 193^r–241^r. These are followed by the *De monarchia* (CPG 1084) on fos. 241^r–247^r, the *Expositio rectae fidei* (CPG 6218) on fos. 247^r–261^r, the *Confutatio dogmatum Aristotelicorum* (CPG 1086) on fos. 261^r–302^v, the *Quaestiones Christianorum ad Graecos* (CPG 1087) on fos. 302^v–334^v, the QRO (CPG 6285) on fos. 334^v–416^r, and the *Quaestiones Graecorum ad Christianos* (CPG 1088) on fos. 418^v–433^r. The manuscript closes with another early apologetic work, the *De resurrectione* of Athenagoras (CPG 1071), on fos. 433^v–461^r.

¹⁶ Georges Archambault, *Justin: Dialogue avec Tryphon. Texte grec, traduction française*, vol. 1 (Paris: Picard, 1909), pp. xix–xxiv. Philippe Bobichon, ‘Oeuvres de Justin Martyr: Le manuscrit Loan 36/13 de la British Library, un apographe du manuscrit de Paris (Parisinus Graecus 450)’, *Scriptorium* 57 (2003), pp. 157–72, at 158–60. For the missions of Pellicier to acquire manuscripts for the Royal Library, see Annaclara Cataldi Palau,

Despite this very clear information concerning its way to Paris, however, the earlier history of *Parisinus 450*, except for the fact that in the mid-sixteenth century it suddenly turned up in Venice, is rather obscure. Apart from the meticulously recorded date in its colophon, there is no other information in the manuscript either about its provenance or on the scribe who copied it. But, as early as the eighteenth century, an unnamed librarian of the Royal Collection in Paris had already observed that the script of the Paris manuscript stands very close to another mid-fourteenth-century volume of the same library.¹⁷ This other piece, fortunately, is not only dated (to ad 1368), but the anonymous scribe who copied it also tells us in the colophon that the volume, which contains the works of the ninth-century Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, was commissioned by Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus himself, after he had resigned and become a monk with the name Joasaph in 1354.¹⁸

Curiously, all later attempts to find parallels to the script of *Parisinus 450* have pointed out manuscripts which have some, direct or indirect, ties to the ex-emperor John. Another manuscript from 1363, containing the Greek translation of Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*, now at the Marciana in Venice, which Riedweg identified as the closest palaeographic parallel to *Parisinus 450*,¹⁹ for example, was also copied for Emperor John. Moreover, a large part of this manuscript was written by his personal scribe and secretary, Manuel Tzykandyles himself.²⁰ Another large codex, now at the Laurenziana

'Les Vicissitudes de la collection de manuscrits grecs de Guillaume Pellicier', *Scriptorium* 40 (1986), pp. 32–51.

¹⁷ This librarian, presumably the renowned Hellenist Jean Boivin (d. 1726) himself, noted on the first flyleaf of the volume that 'Codex scriptus anno 1364 manu illius qui scripsit codicem 1828'; cf. Archimbault, *Justin*, pp. xxxii–xxxiii for the identification of Boivin.

¹⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), grec 909, fo. 341^r: 'the present copy of [the works] by St Theodorus Graptos has been unknown for a long time but, due to the pious interest and love for the sacred Scriptures of our monarch and sovereign the Lord John Cantacuzenus, it has now been found and, as being the one and only copy available and because—due to its great age—it was much damaged and—thanks to the scribe's incompetence—also of a rather poor quality, we have transcribed it because of the great use of what it contains.' See the edition of this note by Brigitte Mondrain, 'L'Ancien Empereur Jean VI Cantacuzène et ses copistes', in A. Rigo (ed.), *Gregorio Palamas e oltre: Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino* (Orientalia Venetiana, 16; Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2004), pp. 249–95, at 265.

¹⁹ Christoph Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?), Ad Graecos De vera religione* (bisher 'Cohortatio ad graecos') (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1994), p. 184.

²⁰ This is Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 146 (coll. 1043), where it is fos. 352^v–482^r which are said to have been written by the same scribe as *Parisinus 450*; see the catalogue of the collection by E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Diui Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello Stato, 1981), pp. 206–7. See Mondrain, 'L'Ancien Empereur Jean', 263–4 for the identification of the scribe, and for Tzykandyles see E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen*

in Florence, which Bobichon has conjectured to be the product of the same hand as the Paris manuscript, is also closely connected to the emperor.²¹ It contains his historical work, which was not very widespread in Byzantium, and the manuscripts preserving it are all closely associated with the emperor himself. So the Florence copy of the *Historiae*, executed by the same hand as *Parisinus* 450, may also derive from John's circles, or even from his own library.²²

These palaeographic parallels to the Paris manuscript of Justin's works, all pointing towards the Emperor John-Joasaph, have recently been supplemented with a new item by Brigitte Mondrain, who has discovered the hand of the same scribe in another manuscript of the Marciana. This copy of Origen's homilies on the gospels of Matthew and John, completed in 1374, also has very clear links to the emperor since, according to Mondrain's observations, it contains autograph notes by Cantacuzenus himself.²³

All these parallels, therefore, seem to suggest that the unique collection of Justin's works from the mid-fourteenth century may also have been written for the emperor by the same, still unknown, scribe who was responsible for some other manuscripts of the emperor's collection. This assumption is further supported by the hitherto unnoticed fact that, in his polemical works against Prochorus, an opponent of Palamas's theology, and Paul, the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, John Cantacuzenus quotes portions of some of the Pseudo-Justinianic *erotapokriseis* preserved in *Parisinus* 450, including the QRO.²⁴ Given the fact that the QRO and also the *Quaestiones Christianorum ad Graecos*, which he also quotes, had a rather limited diffusion in the Byzantine Middle Ages, it seems highly probable that the ex-Emperor's references to Justin's works and the execution of a complete copy of the Martyr's writings in the form of the *Parisinus* 450 may have a close relationship, and that the unique collection of Justin's original and

Kopisten 800–1600, vol. 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), no. 255; vol. 2 (1989), no. 351; and vol. 3 (1997), no. 419.

²¹ Bobichon, 'Oeuvres de Justin martyr', p. 159, n. 7.

²² Cf. Mondrain, 'L'Ancien Empereur Jean', pp. 268–9.

²³ The manuscript in question is Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 43, with the emperor's autograph notes on fos. 37^v–38^r. Cf. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Diui Marci*, p. 79 and Mondrain, 'L'Ancien Empereur Jean', pp. 264 and 272.

²⁴ QA 144 from the QRO and QA 3 from the *Quaestiones Christianorum ad Graecos* (PG 6, col. 1429C) are quoted, but these citations come up, almost as an integral textual unit, many times in Cantacuzenus's polemical works; see the list of occurrences in Franz Tinnefeld and Edmond Voordeckers, *Iohannis Cantacuzeni Refutationes Duae Prochori Cydonii et Disputatio cum Paulo Patriarcha Latino Epistulis Septem Tradita* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), p. 270.

spurious works was made for and perhaps even in the library of John/Joasaph Cantacuzenus.²⁵

As recent research on Cantacuzenus's scribes has brought to light, a special characteristic which many of these manuscripts seem to share is that they are often copied from old and reliable exemplars from which the scribes are trying to build up complete collections of texts of the highest philological quality. This almost academic endeavour to establish a correct and reliable text which could be used as a decisive proof during the theological polemics of the period is especially true for those copies with which the scribe of the Paris manuscript is accredited. The Venice copy of Origen's gospel-commentaries, for example, has been identified as a very faithful copy of an early, twelfth-century manuscript of very poor condition, preserved now at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.²⁶ But the best example of the scholarly pretensions of Cantacuzenus's librarians and the scribe of *Parisinus* 450 in particular is provided by the emperor's copy of Nicephorus's iconophile works. The manuscript preserving these treatises (the present *Parisinus* 909) is obviously copied from the oldest surviving manuscript of the Patriarch's works (the present *Parisinus* 910), which, as stated in the colophon of its fourteenth-century copy, was the only available exemplar of Nicephorus's works the emperor could find.²⁷ So it was from this hardly legible and sometimes very incomplete early tenth-century volume that the scribe has produced his copy, reproducing even the lacunae and damage of his Vorlage by leaving blank lines in the transcript to indicate that his exemplar was defective at those places.²⁸

This particularly careful approach to representing the original text can also be detected in the Paris manuscript of Justin's works. There are many places in this manuscript where the scribe leaves large blocks in blank in his copy which are sometimes

²⁵ A more thorough philological analysis of these quotations and their impact on the textual tradition of the *Quaestiones* in particular and also of Justin's texts in general will be carried out in a separate article.

²⁶ This is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 191, which is basically the only surviving copy of Origen's commentaries. See the detailed presentation of the dependence of the *Venetus* 43 on the Munich manuscript by A. E. Brooke, *The Commentary of Origen on St John's Gospel*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), pp. xiii–xix, and also Erwin Preuschen, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 4: *Der Johanneskommentar* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903), pp. xxxiv–xl.

²⁷ See the text of the colophon in n. 18 above.

²⁸ For the dependence of Cantacuzenus's manuscript on the tenth-century volume, see Mondrain, 'L'Ancien Empereur Jean', pp. 266–8 and the detailed argumentation by Alexis Chrystostalis, 'La Reconstitution d'un vaste traité iconophile écrit par Nicéphore de Constantinople', *Semitica et Classica* 2 (2009), pp. 203–15, at 208–9, and her *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite du Contra Eusebium de Nicéphore de Constantinople* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2012), pp. 71–101.

supplemented or corrected by notes and remarks on the margins or above the lines.²⁹ These blank spaces of the manuscript have traditionally been considered as examples of a very low-quality text and a particularly careless scribe.³⁰ However, in the light of these parallels, they should rather be interpreted as evidence of the scribe's peculiar diligence to produce a faithful copy of an exemplar in very poor condition.³¹

On the basis of this comparative analysis of the various manuscripts copied by this scribe, therefore, we may assume that the Paris corpus of Justin's works, similarly to that of Origen's homilies and Nicephorus's iconophile texts, has also been modelled on one or more early collections of the martyr's works. This model, similarly to the Vorlage of the above mentioned apographs, might have been a copy of respectable age but heavily damaged and showing many lacunae, which the scribe was trying to reproduce either by leaving those places blank in his copy or placing his suggestions on the margins.³² One of the early sources of Cantacuzenus's scribe for producing the collection of Justin's works may have been a collection of early Christian apologists executed for Bishop Arethas in 914,³³ with which *Parisinus* 450 shares two of Justin's works and a work by Athenagoras which seem to have been copied from this manuscript.³⁴ The rest

²⁹ As, for example, in the text of the QRO, where there are considerable lacunae on fos. 347^v, 353^r, 359^{r-v}, 367^v, 369^r, 373^v, 376^v, 380^v, 415^r, 416^r. For a comprehensive list of lacunae and problems in the text of the *Dialogue*, see Philippe Bobichon, *Dialogue avec Tryphon* (Fribourg: Département de Patristique et d'Histoire de l'Église de l'Université de Fribourg, Academic Press Fribourg, 2003), pp. 49–72.

³⁰ See, for example, the very harsh judgement of Harnack (*Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des 2. Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter* [Leipzig: Hinrich's, 1882], pp. 135–7) and Archambault (*Dialogue avec Tryphon*, pp. xxxv–xxxvii).

³¹ As argued by Bobichon, 'Oeuvres de Justin martyr', p. 163, n. 28: 'Il y a là le signe d'une très grande vigilance du copiste.'

³² As, for example, on fo. 5^v, where he put a note saying: 'here there is one leaf missing'.

³³ This is Paris, BnF, gr. 451 which, being an important witness not only to Justin's, but also to Tatian's and Athenagoras's works, and also for the glosses of its possessor, Arethas, Archbishop of Caesarea, has been studied extensively. See the lengthy analysis by Harnack in his *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten*, pp. 24–89 and the monograph by Oscar von Gebhardt with the edition of Arethas's glosses: *Der Arethascodex Paris. Gr. 451: Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883).

³⁴ Pseudo-Justin's *Epistle to Zena* (CPG 1085) and his *Cohortatio* (CPG 1083) are contained in both manuscripts, in the same sequence (*Parisinus* 451, fos. 155^r–187^v and *Parisinus* 450, fos. 6^v–50^r), and Athenagoras's *On the Resurrection* (CPG 1071) stands at the end of the apologetic block in both *Parisinus* 451 (fos. 348^r–367^v) and *Parisinus* 450 (fos. 433^v–461^r). The possible dependence of *Parisinus* 450 on *Parisinus* 451 was first mentioned by Harnack (*Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten*, pp. 76–7) and then by Bernard Pouderon, 'Le Pseudo-Justin, ou la constitution d'un corpus apologétique

of *Parisinus 450*, including its most important part, that is Justin's original works (the *Apologies* and the *Dialogue*), and also the QRO, derives from another, presumably also very early, source which has not yet been identified.

A Copy of Photius's Manuscript?

The existence of this other source, however, can be assumed, relying on Photius's description of one of his manuscripts. Describing the immense library of Constantinople in his *Bibliothèque*, the patriarch speaks of a volume which contained, similarly to *Parisinus 450*, a selection of Justin's original and spurious works, described as follows:

[I have read in a volume] Justin Martyr's Apology for the Christians, both against the Pagans and against the Jews; and also a treatise against the First and Second Books of the Physics, that is against form, matter, and privation, a collection of dialectical, vigorous, and useful arguments; also against the Fifth Essence and Eternal Motion, which Aristotle has created by the aid of his clever reasoning; and, finally, a Summary Solutions of Doubts raised against the true faith.³⁵

The first item of this description, 'Justin Martyr's Apology for the Christians, both against the Pagans and against the Jews', may probably mean the two *Apologies* and their appendix (CPG 1073–5) and the *Dialogue with Trypho* (CPG 1076), which stand (though not in this sequence) in *Parisinus 450* and are followed by a group of minor texts. Of this latter set Photius notes only two, mentioning a treatise 'against the first and second books of [Aristotle's] *Physics*', which he further specifies as 'against form and matter and privation' and 'against the fifth essence and eternal motion'; and another one which he defines as 'summary solutions of doubts raised against the true faith'. The first of these works is usually identified as the *Confutatio dogmatum Aristotelicorum* (CPG 1086) which, after the *De monarchia* and the *Expositio rectae fidei*, stands at the beginning of a series of question-and-answer texts in *Parisinus 450*.³⁶ The identity of the latter, described as 'solutions to *aporiae*', is much less evident.

pseudépigraphe', in Sylvie Crogiez (ed.), *Dieux et hommes: Histoire et iconographie des sociétés païennes et chrétiennes de l'Antiquité à nos jours. Mélanges en l'honneur de Françoise Thélamon* (Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2005), pp. 49–67, at 66–7, who already takes it for granted.

³⁵ Photius, *The Library*, cxxv: Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰουστίνου τοῦ μάρτυρος ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν καὶ κατὰ Ἑλλήνων καὶ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἔτι ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ πραγματεία κατὰ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἥτοι κατὰ εἶδους καὶ ὕλης καὶ στερήσεως, ἐπιχειρηματικοὶ καὶ βίαιοι καὶ χρειώδεις λόγοι, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος ὁμοίως καὶ κατὰ τῆς αἰδίου κινήσεως, ἣν Ἀριστοτέλης δεινότητι λογισμῶν ἐναπέτεκεν, ἔτι τε ἀποριῶν κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας κεφαλαιώδεις ἐπιλύσεις. English translation by John Henry Freese, *The Library of Photius* (London and New York: MacMillan, 1920), p. 212, with slight modifications.

³⁶ See above, n. 15.

Although previous scholars traditionally took Photius's note as a reference to the various questions, including the QRO, that follow the *Confutatio* in the Paris manuscript,³⁷ Bernard Pouderon has recently challenged this hypothesis. He has suggested that what Photius describes as 'solutions to *aporiae*' is either the Pseudo-Justinianic *Expositio rectae fidei* or the last portion of the *Confutation of Aristotle*, preserved under an individual title as "To the Pagans".³⁸ Unfortunately, Pouderon does not provide any particular reasons why he decided to break with the earlier approach, so—as neither the *Expositio*, which is a purely dogmatic treatise, nor the so-called appendix to the *Confutation* complies better with what Photius describes as 'solutions to *aporiae*' than the QRO—it seems more reasonable to keep the traditional view and identify the last item of Photius's description with the various Pseudo-Justinianic questions.

According to this hypothesis, therefore, we may assume that the QRO, together with the accompanying sets of *erotapokriseis*, might already have formed part of the corpus of Justin's writings which Photius read. The presence of the QRO and the related pieces in Photius's manuscript, then, would readily explain the origin of Cantacuzenus's quotations from these works,³⁹ as the emperor may have borrowed these texts either from Photius's copy of Justin's writings or an apograph of it which he commissioned to be transcribed as the main part of the present-day *Parisinus* 450. The Paris manuscript of Justin's works, therefore, similarly to the emperor's other manuscripts, could also have been copied from early manuscripts of reliable quality. One of these might have been similar to or perhaps even identical with Arethas's codex from ad 914 (*Parisinus* 451), while the other was probably an apograph of Photius's copy or the very piece itself. It is probably this latter, hitherto unidentified early witness, that, together with the many gaps and damage it might have suffered, was faithfully reproduced in *Parisinus* 450. So this manuscript bears witness to a considerably earlier tradition which, in or perhaps even before the ninth century when Photius recorded it, had already attributed the QRO to Justin and transmitted it as a part of a corpus of his, original and spurious, writings.

Whatever the exact origin and source of Cantacuzenus's collection of Justin's writings may be, the original writings of the martyr, together with the majority of the spurious questions and answers under his name, including the QRO, seem to be a discovery made in the mid-fourteenth century. So it was the emperor's systematic research for

³⁷ See, for example, Harnack, *Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten*, pp. 167–9, repeated in his *Diodor von Tarsus*, p. 2. Compare the more careful approach in Jacques Schamp, *Photius historien des lettres* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1987), pp. 295–6, where he is a bit reluctant to accept this view.

³⁸ Pouderon, 'Le Pseudo-Justin', p. 65, where he suggests the *Expositio* or the 'Adversus Gentiles, an appendix to the *Confutatio*' as a possible candidate for the 'summary solutions', whereas in his edition of the apologetic corpus of Pseudo-Justin he explicitly argues against such an identification: *Pseudo-Justin: Ouvrages apologétiques* (Sources chrétiennes, 528; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2009), pp. 35–6.

³⁹ See above, n. 24.

reliable patristic witnesses for his theological polemics that, although only for a short time, restored Pseudo-Justin's questions in the horizon of Byzantine theology and, what is even more important, saved the whole corpus of Justin's writings, including the QRO, in the unique Paris manuscript executed for John VI.⁴⁰

Apographs of Parisinus 450

The extraordinary importance of *Parisinus 450* in reconstructing the early theology of Justin was recognized very early. Already in 1540, Guillaume Pellicier, the ambassador of King Francis I to Venice, recorded the acquisition of the manuscript for the Royal Library as a sensational find in an enthusiastic letter he wrote to the Bishop of Tulle.⁴¹ Before despatching the manuscript for the king to Fontainebleau, however, as was his habit with many other manuscripts he acquired, he ordered a copy of it for his own library. This manuscript, a very faithful copy of *Parisinus 450*, containing all the works of Justin, including the QRO, in the very same sequence as *Parisinus 450*, after a long journey from Pellicier's private library through the collection of the Jesuit College in Clermont and the library of Sir Thomas Phillips in Cheltenham, ended up in the British Library as Add. 82951.⁴²

Beside Pellicier's personal exemplar, however, there was another copy of the QRO made in Venice which also seems to derive from Pellicier's circles in the city. This manuscript, *Canonici 61* of the Bodleian Library in Oxford,⁴³ is a mid-sixteenth-century selection of various Greek *erotapokriseis* which, as a part of the collection of Matteo Luigi Canonici,

⁴⁰ The quotation from the *Quaestiones Christianorum ad Graecos* (PG 6, col. 1429C), analysing the difference between the will and the essence of God, which Cantacuzenus found so useful for his pro-hesychast polemics that he quoted it several times in his own works, is found in other pro-Palamite writings. So the same passage, probably from a Palamite florilegium, turns up in the writings of Philotheus Coccinus (ed. D. V. Kaimakes, *Φιλοθέου Κοκκίνου δογματικά ἔργα Μέρος Α'* [Thessalonica: Centre for Byzantine Research, 1983], Or 2.247) and Joseph Calothetes (Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου συγγράμματα, ed. D. G. Tsames [Thessalonica: Centre for Byzantine Research, 1980], Or 4.628) from the fourteenth century and Theodor Agallianos (S. P. Lampros, Ἀργυροπούλεια [Athens: P. D. Sakellarios, 1910], p. 253) from the fifteenth.

⁴¹ See the edition of the letter by Henri Omont, 'Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Guillaume Pelicier', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* 46 (1885), pp. 594–624, at 621, where Pellicier writes that 'j'ay recouvert ce bon monument d'antiquité de Justinus philosophus et martir'.

⁴² For a reconstruction of the history of this manuscript, see Archambault, *Dialogue*, pp. xvi–xxxi and more recently Bobichon, *Oeuvres de Justin*, with a thorough analysis of the textual interdependence of the two manuscripts.

⁴³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Greek 61, described in H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. 3 (Oxford: e Typographeo Academico, 1854), pp. 67–8, and more recently by Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios*, pp. 70–2.

came from Venice to Oxford in 1817.⁴⁴ The first piece of the volume is Pseudo-Kaisarios's collection, which Pellicier, on the basis of a hitherto unidentified model, had also copied for his own library, and his personal copy shows remarkable textual similarities to the text in *Canonici 61*.⁴⁵ The second half of the *Canonici* manuscript, right after Pseudo-Kaisarios, preserves two large portions from the QRO, the first of which (*O*¹), written presumably by the same sixteenth-century hand as Pseudo-Kaisarios, contains a selection of 83 questions and answers,⁴⁶ while the second (*O*²), written by an eighteenth-century hand, is a later collection of 42 Pseudo-Justinian questions, mixed up with 19 other quotations, borrowed from the works of Philagathus Cerameus, a twelfth-century Sicilian homilist,⁴⁷ Basil, and Chrysostom.⁴⁸ Whereas the title of *O*² explicitly attributes the questions to Justin,⁴⁹ *O*¹ seems to be a random selection, often with repetitions, which lacks any proper title, beginning, or ending.⁵⁰ But, even despite

⁴⁴ For the Venetian origin and the vicissitudes of the *Canonici* collection, see Irma Merolle, 'L'abate Matteo Luigi Canonici e la sua biblioteca: I manoscritti Canonici e Canonici-Soranzo delle biblioteche fiorentine', *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 27 (1958), pp. 5–58 and J. B. Mitchell, 'Trevisan and Soranzo: Some Canonici Manuscripts from two Eighteenth-Century Venetian Collections', *Bodleian Library Record* 8/3 (1969), pp. 125–35.

⁴⁵ Pellicier's own copy of Pseudo-Kaisarios's *erotapokriseis* is preserved today at New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 264. A detailed description of the codex is provided in B. A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, vol. 2: MSS 251–500 (Binghamton, NY, 1987). For the textual connections between this manuscript and *Canonici 61*, see the analysis by Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios*, pp. 167–9.

⁴⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Canonici 61*, fos. 195^r–245^r.

⁴⁷ Philagathus's homilies are usually transmitted under the name of Theopanes Kerameus, as in *O*² (cf. below, n. 49). After a meticulous analysis of the texts by A. Ehrhard (*Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, vol. 3 [Leipzig, 1952], pp. 631–81) and later by G. Rossi Taibì (*Sulla tradizione manoscritta dell'Omiliario di Filagato da Cerami* [Palermo, 1965]), however, they are now unanimously regarded as works by Philagathus, who is also credited with an allegorical commentary on Heliodorus's *Aithiopika*.

⁴⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Canonici 61*, fos. 246^r–261^r, where, besides the 42 QAs borrowed from Pseudo-Justin's collection, pieces like Basil's *Epistle* 236, 3–4 (fo. 247^{r-v}) or Chrysostom's *Commentary on Matthew* (PG 57, col. 28 on fo. 248^{r-v}) may be identified.

⁴⁹ Cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Canonici 61*, fo. 246^r. Ἐκ τῶν ζητημάτων καὶ ἐπιλύσεων Θεοφάνους Κεραμέως καὶ Ιουστίνου φιλοσόφου.

⁵⁰ QA 79; 99; 101 are obviously repeated by the scribe, who does not provide his text with any particular title or author.

its ad hoc character, *O'*, the earlier and larger selection from the QRO, exhibits some very peculiar textual features that clearly betray its origin. Just like Pellicier's private copy of Pseudo-Justin's QRO, *O'* also reproduces some marginal notes and—most characteristically—all the lacunae of *Parisinus 450* by repeating the same blank lines and empty spaces that *Parisinus 450* shows.⁵¹ So, although Rudolf Riedinger, in his critical edition of Pseudo-Kaisarios, has already located the provenance of *Canonici 61* to mid-sixteenth century Italy,⁵² in view of the close relationship between its texts and Pellicier's manuscripts, and especially of its intimate relationship to *Parisinus 450*, which between 1540 and 1541 was at Pellicier's house in Venice, we might go slightly further than that. *Canonici 61* should probably be considered as an independent selection from Greek patristic *erotapokriseis* excerpted from manuscripts that the unknown scribe found and presumably even copied in Pellicier's library during the latter's stay in Venice between 1539 and 1542. So the first part of the Oxford copy of the QRO, that is *O'*, just like the one by Pellicier's own scribe now at the British Library, is a mid-sixteenth century apograph of *Parisinus 450* which later, presumably in the course of the eighteenth century, was supplemented by another selection of 42 Pseudo-Justinian questions and other patristic quotations, *O''*, which will be discussed below.

Printed Editions and their Apographs

This strange hegemony of *Parisinus 450* in the textual history of the QRO, which is attested by its two mid-sixteenth-century copies, has received a large impetus from several printed editions of Justin's literary corpus, which were all based on this manuscript. The first publication of the collection was made, not much after the manuscript arrived in the Royal Library in Fontainebleau, by Robert Estienne (Stephanus) in 1551.⁵³ Stephanus printed a copy of the entire *Parisinus 450* with a few critical notes at the end, sometimes accepting the marginal notes of the manuscript

⁵¹ See, for example, fo. 198^v or 203^v, which reproduce the lacunae of *Parisinus 450*, fos. 376^v and 373^v respectively, possibly resulting from damage or holes in its ancient exemplar.

⁵² Cf. Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios*, p. 187, where he argues that an alleged copy of a thirteenth-century witness to Pseudo-Kaisarios's text might have arrived in Italy between 1540 and 1546 and served as a basis of several Renaissance copies of the text, including Pellicier's copy and *Canonici 61*.

⁵³ Τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰουστίνου Φιλοσόφου καὶ Μαρτύρου ... (Paris, 1551). For the edition and its historical context, see Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer: An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 138.

into his main text,⁵⁴ and—very characteristically—marking the blank lines of the manuscript with asterisks in his edition.⁵⁵

Stephanus's 1551 edition of Justin became immensely popular in post-Reformation Europe and the texts he published were frequently quoted and referred to during the various interreligious debates of the period.⁵⁶ No wonder, then, that the *editio princeps* was soon followed by a complete French translation in 1554,⁵⁷ and not much later three independent Latin versions were published.⁵⁸ Due to the importance of Justin's early theology, and also because of the many inconsistencies in Stephanus's edition, his Greek text was also soon replaced by a whole series of new editions of the corpus by scholars like Friedrich Sylburg in 1593,⁵⁹ Frederic Morel in 1615,⁶⁰ and the first quasi-critical edition by Prudent Maran in 1742.⁶¹

⁵⁴ See, for example, Q58, where the more original ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιήσεως written by the first hand in *Parisinus 450* (fo. 360^r) was later corrected in the margin as ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκπτώσεως, which Stephanus printed in the main text with a very short remark at the end of the volume (cf. Τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰουστίνου, p. 257 and the note at the fourth flyleaf of the book).

⁵⁵ See, for example, Τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰουστίνου, pp. 263–4 or 268–70, and *passim*.

⁵⁶ See, for example, the fierce Protestant discussion on church music, continuously referring to QA 107 of the QRO. Cf. the detailed discussion in Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music* (see above, n. 3), pp. 286, 338–9, 451, with a list of works quoting Pseudo-Justin. For the use of Stephanus's 1551 edition of Justin in Calvin's works, see Roland H. Bainton, *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Michael Servetus 1511–1553* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1960), pp. 187–8.

⁵⁷ Jan de Maumont, *Les Œuvres de Saint Justin Philosophe et Martyr mises de Grec en François* (Paris: Vascosan, 1554).

⁵⁸ One by Joachim Perion in 1554 (*Beati Iustini Martyris et Philosophi Opera Omnia* [Paris: Dupuys, 1554], reprinted in 1574, 1581, and 1618), another by Sigismund Gelenius in 1555 (*Divi Iustini Philosophi ac Martyris* [Basel: Frobenius, 1555], reprinted in 1565 and 1575), and a third, perhaps the most accurate one, by Johannes Lange in 1565 (*Divi Iustini, Philosophi et Martyris Christi Opera quae exstant Omnia*, vols. 1–3 [Basel: Frobenius, 1565], reprinted six times up to 1686).

⁵⁹ Friedrich Sylburg, Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουστίνου Φιλοσόφου καὶ Μαρτύρου τὰ εὕρισκόμενα πάντα (Heidelberg: Comelinus, 1593), pp. 306–81 (for the QRO) and extensive critical apparatus at the back of the volume (pp. 425–32).

⁶⁰ *Sancti Iustini Opera Omnia ... necnon Tatiani ...* (Paris: Morellus, 1615), pp. 391–493 (for the QRO) and the apparatus at the back.

⁶¹ *Sancti Patris nostri Iustini Philosophi et Martyris opera quae exstant omnia* (Paris: Osmont, 1742), pp. 441–506 (for the QRO). Maran was the first who, in establishing the text of Justin's works, compared the text of *Parisinus 450* (which he called *Regius*) to Pellicier's copy (called, after the library of Clairmont that originally possessed it,

These subsequent printings of the QRO have two important features in common. They are all based on the problematic text of *Parisinus 450*, with all its characteristic lacunae and inconsistencies, on the one hand, and they all contain a large number of scholarly emendations proposed by generations of distinguished philologists to correct the ambiguous text of the manuscript, on the other.

This immense production of almost three centuries of textual criticism culminated in 1848 in the complete critical edition of Justin's literary corpus by Johann Karl Otto,⁶² who not only consulted all his predecessors' works, but also tried to collect and collate all the available manuscripts of Justin's original or spurious writings. Otto was the first who, establishing the critical text of the QRO in 1848, discovered a new manuscript of the QRO and integrated its variants into the critical apparatus of his edition.⁶³ Almost forty years after the first edition had appeared, Otto revised his work and, adding another new manuscript to the critical discussion of the text, published a new edition of Justin's writings, including the QRO, in 1881.⁶⁴ This manuscript was the Oxford *Canonici 61*, whose variants, although without distinguishing between the two different recensions of the QRO (*O*¹ and *O*²) in the manuscript, he included in the new critical apparatus.⁶⁵ His revised publication of the martyr's works has long been regarded as the best edition achievable on the very limited basis of the sole, but severely damaged text of *Parisinus 450* and its later apographs.⁶⁶

This special, unilateral transmission of the QRO, deriving from various reinterpretations of the very same witness, *Parisinus 450*, has been further reinforced by the continuous reproduction of its text in the many printed editions and has had an important effect on the later transmission of Justin's works, too. The popularity of Stephanus's 1551 edition, which, according to contemporary critics, was a best-seller of the sixteenth century disseminated all over Europe,⁶⁷ together with the recognition of

Claromontanus) and included his results in the critical apparatus of his edition; cf. his remarks on the manuscripts in the introduction, p. ix. It was his edition of Justin's literary corpus that Migne reprinted in *Patrologia Graeca* 6 in 1847.

⁶² *S. Iustini philosophi et martyris opera omnia*, vol. 3/2 (Jena: Mauke, 1848).

⁶³ This was a sixteenth-century selection of some questions from the QRO now in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 136, pp. 135–40, which he called *Monacensis*. Cf. the description of the volume in *S. Iustini ... opera omnia*, vol. 3/1 (Jena: Mauke, 1848), pp. xvi–xvii.

⁶⁴ *Iustini philosophi et martyris opera quae feruntur omnia*, vol. 3/2 (Jena: Mauke, 1881).

⁶⁵ See the discussion in *Iustini philosophi* (1881), pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.

⁶⁶ See Funk's detailed discussion of Otto's work in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 63 (1881), pp. 644–6, the other very favourable reviews in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 6 (1881), cols. 5–6 and 519 (by Harnack), and the French discussion in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* 13 (1881), p. 41.

⁶⁷ Cf. Henri Stephanus's 1592 edition of the *Epistula ad Diognetum* (Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου καὶ μάρτυρος Ἐπιστόλη πρὸς Διόγνητον [Paris: Stephanus, 1592], p. ii),

the importance of Justin's theology and the lack of available Greek manuscripts of his works, resulted in the tendency for the Greek text of the various printed editions to be copied and reproduced in many early modern manuscripts. Strangely enough, the philologically established text of the various critical editions, with all the conjectures and emendations of the various scholars, found its way back to the manuscripts. So from the sixteenth century onwards, there starts a second, early modern stage in the transmission of Justin's works which, due to the presence of some characteristic features (philological emendations, conjectures, and especially the brackets which appear first in Stephanus's edition) deriving from the printed copies, seems to originate from the various printed editions, especially from Stephanus's 1551 publication.⁶⁸

This renewed interest in Justin's writings, including the QRO, resulted in the appearance of various early modern selections from one or another edition of the questions, usually made according to the particular demands of the scribe or the context. A very early, sixteenth-century collection, preserving nine questions related to trinitarian theology, for example, has been preserved in a manuscript now held at Munich.⁶⁹ This volume, which Harnack already regarded as an apograph of *Parisinus* 450, although it does stand very close to the Paris copy,⁷⁰ exhibits some characteristic features that can only derive from the printed edition of Stephanus.⁷¹ Other,

where he writes about the utmost success of the 1551 edition as 'Iustini philosophi et martyris scripta, quamprimum in lucem e patris mei officina prodierunt, quanta letitia quantoque applausu excepta fuerint, supersunt quamplurimi qui testari possint'. Cf. also Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer*, p. 138.

⁶⁸ The early modern transmission of the *Dialogue with Trypho* shows exactly the same characteristics. The only surviving manuscript of the work, apart from *Parisinus* 450, from ad 1709, is nothing but a faulty copy of Stephanus's text. Cf. Walther Eltester, 'Bericht über eine neue Justinhandschrift auf dem Athos', in *Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), pp. 161–76.

⁶⁹ This is Otto's *Monacensis*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 136, pp. 135–40, preserving QA 36, 51, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 36, 39, 144. Cf. Kerstin Hajdu, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, vol. 3: *Codices graeci Monacenses 110–180* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), pp. 156–9.

⁷⁰ Cf. Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus*, p. 2, n. 1. In addition to many of the mistakes it shares with *Parisinus* 450, recorded already by Otto in the critical apparatus to the nine questions, an even more telling point is the text of QA 144 (ὥσπερ ... ἀλλ' ὥσπερ) where the Munich copy (p. 140) reproduces the characteristic lacunae of *Parisinus* 450, fo. 413^v.

⁷¹ Such as the use of brackets in QA 11 which are not present either in *Parisinus* 450 (fo. 340^r) or in the later editions, except for Stephanus's (p. 111), which Otto describes as a 'perverse' practice of Stephanus (*S. Iustini ... opera omnia*, p. 17: 'Stephanus verba ista perverse uncinis inclusit'). But the very structuring of the lacuna in QA 144 in the Munich manuscript (as ὥσπερ ... ἀλλ' ὥσπερ on p. 140) also mirrors Stephanus's edition (p. 297), where the line ends exactly as in the Munich copy with ἀλλ' ὥσπερ, whereas in *Parisinus* 450 (fo. 413^v) it is much longer.

presumably random selections are still preserved in many eighteenth-century manuscripts, such as the one now in the Monê Prousou in Eurutania, preserving even the asterisks of Stephanus's edition,⁷² or another manuscript in Rome containing only one question from a seventeenth-century edition.⁷³ There is, moreover, a tradition of excerpting Question 21, on the renunciation of the world by ascetics, in various eighteenth-century monastic anthologies, where even the characteristic numbering of the question in the printed editions is faithfully reproduced.⁷⁴

Beside these random selections, however, parallel to the wide circulation of the printed copies of Justin's works, there have been several independent later collections created which contain various selections of passages from the QRO embedded in a more or less fixed context to form a new combination of texts. A very characteristic type of these later collections, which is preserved in a number of eighteenth-century manuscripts,⁷⁵ contains a standard combination of questions from the QRO, together with some excerpts from Anastasius's *erotapokriseis*,⁷⁶ surrounded by liturgical commentaries of the fourteenth-century Nikephoros Kallistos and the *Physiologus* attributed to

⁷² Eurutania, Monê Prousou, MS 1, fos. 1^r-9^v, which contains QA 14, 26, 32, 33, 48, 50, 57, 76, 77, 80, 94, 95, 109, 145, 67, 85, 90, 53, 106, 21, 58. Its dependence on Stephanus's edition is especially obvious in QA 85 (fo. 6^{r-v}), where it reproduces dozens of dots Stephanus uses (p. 268) to mark the lacunae in *Parisinus* 450, fo. 374^v.

⁷³ Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS Sⁱ 20, fo. 51^v, with Question 4 reflecting the carefully applied iota subscriptum of Stephanus (p. 239) and the other editors, whereas *Parisinus* 450 (fo. 337^r) often omits them.

⁷⁴ Athens, Morphotiko Idryma tês Ethnikês Trapezas, MS 14, fos. 140^r-141^v and Skiathos, Monê Euangelismou, MS 10, fo. 628^{r-v}, which all assign number 21 to this question, which it has in *Parisinus* 450 and in the editions. See also the manuscript at the Skêtê Timiou Prodromou (Monês Ibêrôn), MS 03, pp. 127-41, which also contains QA 21 and 22 according to this numbering; cf. Eltester, 'Bericht über eine neue Justinhandschrift auf dem Athos', p. 169.

⁷⁵ I have managed to identify five manuscripts containing what will hereafter be termed the *NiQuEp* compilation: Paris, BnF, suppl. Gr. 1366, fos. 61^r-63^v; Athens, Library of the Hellenic Parliament, MS 47, fos. 172^r-176^r (with some additional extracts following under the separate heading as ἑτέρα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου ἐκ τῶν ἐρωταποκρισέων); Athos, Ibêrôn Monastery, MS 679, item 3; Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, MS 538, fos. 84^v-96^r; Siatista, Manouseios Dêmosia Bibliothêkê, MS 17, fos. 67^v-71^r. All these manuscripts, except for the additions in the Athens copy, are from the eighteenth century and contain the same selection of QA 8, 9, 21, 46, 50, 56, 58, 60, 73, 80, 106.

⁷⁶ It is always QA 10, 18, 95, 114, 100, 120, which directly follow Pseudo-Justin in *NiQuEp*.

Epiphanius of Salamis.⁷⁷ The textual form of the QRO in this compilation, although it sometimes differs from the text of *Parisinus 450* and its editions,⁷⁸ still seems to derive from the tradition of the printed copies. It contains several elements characteristic of Stephanus's edition, such as the marginal notes of *Parisinus 450* accepted into the main text,⁷⁹ the numeration of the questions according to the sequence in *Parisinus 450* and Stephanus⁸⁰ and, most importantly, the repeated application of brackets, which, as mentioned before, was Stephanus's innovation.⁸¹ So, even if the origin of this late reuse of the QRO is still obscure, and I cannot account for many of the characteristic features which distinguish it from the tradition of *Parisinus 450*, on the basis of the links between the *NiQuEp* compilation and the printed editions, I would rather regard it as a selection made from a printed edition, most likely from Stephanus.

Another late collection (independent of any others we have surveyed so far) in which selections from the QRO occur is the curious *erotapokrisis* (*QuPh*) preserved in the third part of *Canonici 61* which I have labelled as *O*² and described as a compilation from passages borrowed from QRO, the homilies of Philagathus Cerameus, and various works by Basil and Chrysostom.⁸² As a proof of its independent and non-random nature, this relatively large selection of some 40 questions from the QRO, written by the most recent, presumably eighteenth-century, hand in *Canonici 61*, has a parallel in another eighteenth-century manuscript now in Kozane.⁸³ Here the portions from the QRO, as in the *NiQuEp* compilation, follow the liturgical commentaries of Nikephoros Kallistos, but, similarly to *Canonici 61*, they are intermingled with texts by Philagathus and other Church Fathers and stand under the same title as in *Canonici 61*.⁸⁴ The

⁷⁷ Cf. the detailed description of the content of *NiQuEp* on the basis of Paris, suppl. Grec. 1366 in Charles Astruc and Marie-Louise Concasty, *Catalogue des manuscrites grecs*, vol. 3 (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1960), pp. 686–7.

⁷⁸ These differences mainly consist of some omissions and modernizations of vocabulary and spelling.

⁷⁹ For example, the instance cited above, n. 54, from Q58, where a marginal note in *Parisinus 450* is unanimously accepted into the main text by Stephanus and subsequent editors.

⁸⁰ The selection of the questions obviously follows the numeration in the tradition of *Parisinus 450*, as the numbers of the single questions are always recorded in the manuscripts and these numbers always agree with the system in *Parisinus 450*; moreover, they seem to follow each other in ascending order.

⁸¹ Cf. Q 21, where *Parisinus 450* has some dots which Stephanus has transcribed as brackets (p. 244), which were copied by Paris, BnF, suppl. grec. 1366 (fo. 61^v) too.

⁸² See above, n. 48.

⁸³ Kozane, Kobentareios Dêmotikê Bibliothêkê, MS 67, fos. 175^r–221^v.

⁸⁴ The first 30 leaves of the manuscripts are now missing but on the basis of what is preserved it is clear that it contained the commentary of Nikephoros on the Octoechos followed by the prologue of the work, exactly as it stands in the Paris, BnF, suppl. grec.

existence of the same collection in another manuscript, besides *Canonici 61*, makes it obvious that the *O*² version of the QRO should be treated as a self-standing textual unit, which is different from the preceeding selection (*O'*) and is to be considered as a new recension of the QRO. The status of this new recension in the transmission of the text, however, is still obscure and more comparative work remains to be done to discover its exact relation to *Parisinus 450* and its later editions. Nevertheless, at the present stage of research, it also appears to be a late compilation which, similarly to the *NiQuEp* compilation, may also have been based on a modern printed copy of the work.⁸⁵

All this rich early modern afterlife and reception of the QRO, in the West as well as in the Orthodox East, notwithstanding the relatively large number of later manuscripts preserving it, confirms the basic impression, already outlined, that the QRO had a very unbalanced transmission deriving from the unique witness of *Parisinus 450*. Despite the many later copies of the text, in manuscript and, more importantly, in printed form, it was always the textual version in *Parisinus 450*, with its ascription to Justin, questions numbered 1–146, and a heavily defective text with many lacunae and incertitudes deriving from the archetype, that was known and studied all over Europe for more than three centuries. Due to the sudden discovery of Justin's importance in the mid-sixteenth century and also because of the philological challenges presented by the problematic text of the unique manuscript, from quite an early date there has been an intense scholarly interest in the QRO in early modern Europe.

Five Hundred Years of Scholarship on the QRO

The Rediscovery of the Text and its Effects

Soon after the first publication of the QRO by Stephanus in 1551, the text rapidly entered into the religious polemics of the sixteenth century and was quoted and referred to by Luther, Calvin, and their Catholic opponents alike.⁸⁶ At this early stage, the QRO was always treated and cited as an authentic writing of Justin, from the second

1366; then followed a short piece on the errors of the Latins and then the collection entitled, just as in *Canonici 61*, fo. 246^r, Ἐκ τῶν ζητημάτων καὶ ἐπιλύσεων Θεοφάνους Κεραμέως καὶ Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου. Θεοφάνους ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ταυρομενεῖας Σικελίας τοῦ Κεραμέως ἀπορίαι καὶ λύσεις. Cf. the details in the catalogue by Antonios Sigalas, Ἀπὸ τὴν πνευματικὴν ζωὴν τῶν ἐλληνικῶν κοινοτήτων, vol. 1: Ἀρχαία καὶ Βιβλιοθήκαι Δυτικῆς Μακεδονίας (Thessaloniki, 1939), 66, pp. 35–6.

⁸⁵ A detailed textual analysis of the *O*² form of the text is being prepared in the course of the new critical edition of the QRO.

⁸⁶ See above, n. 56.

century.⁸⁷ Less than fifteen years after the publication of the first edition, however, the first doubts already started to appear. In 1566, one of the most important biblical scholars of the sixteenth century, Sixtus of Siena, a converted Jew with an extremely sharp eye for anything spurious or false, addressed the problem of the authenticity of the QRO in his monumental work, the *Bibliotheca Sancta*.⁸⁸ Sixtus did not spill much ink on discussing the QRO, but his remarkable instinct immediately recognized almost all the important problems of the text that future scholarship was about to deal with. Having only Perion's Latin translation in hand, Sixtus immediately noticed some obvious anachronisms in the text, as it quotes Irenaeus and Origen, who wrote much later than Justin, the alleged author of the QRO. Sixtus, therefore, immediately labelled the QRO as a spurious work of the martyr and suggested Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. 457) as its possible author, whose style in his own *Questions on the Octateuch*, he argues, is not 'dissimilar' from that of the QRO.⁸⁹

Sixtus's objections against the authenticity of the text as Justin's work immediately found their way into early modern critical scholarship and the points he raised started to be discussed by the most eminent critics of the period. Some 30 years later, Friedrich Sylburg, in his 1593 edition of the QRO, already took Sixtus's objections into consideration and added further critical observations to them. He found the presence of the Manichaeans (QA 122, 127), a sect of the late third century, the mention of complicated baptismal rites (QA 14, 137), and the problem of the Christian empire discussed in QA 83 very problematic in a text by the second-century Justin.⁹⁰ So Sylburg also regarded the QRO as a pseudonymous collection, compiled by an author who shows close stylistic similarities to Theodoret's questions and answers.⁹¹

These arguments, observed by Sixtus, revised and reconsidered by Sylburg, have become standard elements of the various critical discussions of the QRO from the seventeenth century onward. Later scholars pointed out even more inconsistencies in the text, such as the mention of monastic institutions (QA 21, 110), the use of an elaborate christological terminology (QA 144), and some obvious discrepancies

⁸⁷ See, for example, the ample discussion by Pierre Halloix (*Vita et documenta S. Iustini philosophi et martyris* [Douai: Beller, 1622], pp. 214–16), where he argues for the originality of the work, as a piece later expanded and rewritten.

⁸⁸ For Sixtus and his critical scholarship in the *Bibliotheca Sancta* see Irena Dorothea Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 212–18.

⁸⁹ Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca Sancta* (Venice: F. Senensis, 1566), p. 478: 'alterius authoris oportet esse opus. Stylus non est assimilis a quaestionibus Theodoret in Octateuchum.'

⁹⁰ Sylburg, Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουστίνου Φιλοσόφου καὶ Μαρτύρου τὰ εὑρισκόμενα πάντα, p. 425.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 425: 'sunt quaestiones non paucae, quae magis ad Theodoret et recentiorum, quam ad Iustini tempora congruent' (without any detailed evidence for the parallelism to Theodoret).

between the theology of Justin and the text (QA 30, 142).⁹² As early as the mid-seventeenth century, there was even a *post quem* formulated by David Blondel who, without any detailed reasoning, argued that the QRO could only have been written after ad 406.⁹³ So from this period onwards scholars tried to solve these problems by proposing new candidates for the authorship of the work, whose names would neatly explain the presence of these later features in the text.

The first suggestion, as mentioned above, had been made already in 1566 by Sixtus himself, who referred to Theodoret, to his time and style, as a possible key for the identification of the author of the collection. In this he was followed by Sylburg, who in his 1593 edition also emphasized the stylistic similarity between the questions of Theodoret and Pseudo-Justin, and the same was observed by John Raynold in his 1611 discussion of Christian pseudonymous literature, where he also attributed the QRO to Theodoret.⁹⁴ So, in 1686, when Louis Ellies Du Pin completed his voluminous history of Christian literature, summarizing the results of more than a century of scholarship on the QRO, he also argued for the spurious character of the work and placed it under Theodoret's name or at least under the influence of his doctrinal legacy in the late fifth or early sixth century.⁹⁵

Du Pin's view about the date and authorship of the QRO seems to have been widely accepted in early modern scholarship,⁹⁶ but there were some further attempts to identify the author of the QRO with theologians other than Theodoret. An interesting early suggestion came from Henry Dodwell, who, in his 1689 monograph on Irenaeus, argued that the QRO should be attributed not to Theodoret, but to another Justin, a certain Justin of Sicily from the late fifth century, whose name was later corrupted into

⁹² An extensive list of all these problematic elements and the scholars identifying them is to be found in the analysis by Wilhelm Ernest Tzentsel, *Exercitationes selectae* (Leipzig and Frankfurt: Gleditsch, 1692), pp. 187–9.

⁹³ David Blondel, *Des Sibylles célèbres* (Paris: Perier, 1649), p. 90.

⁹⁴ John Rainold, *Censura librorum apocryphorum*, vol. 1 (Oppenheim: L. Hulus & H. Laurentius, 1611), col. 1071: 'Autor Quaestionum apud Iustinum ... sive fuerit Theodoretus, sive quicunque alius, non fuerit inferior Theodoreto.'

⁹⁵ Louis Ellies Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques*, vol. 1 (Utrecht: Broedelet, 1731), p. 58: 'Quelques-uns attribuent ces questions à Théodoret, tant à cause de la conformité du stile, qu'à cause de certains termes, dont cet Auteur se sert, qui se rencontrent aussi fort souvent dans Théodoret. Quoi qu'il en soit, cet ouvrage est d'un Auteur qui vivoit vers le cinquième, ou le sixième siècle de l'Église.'

⁹⁶ See, for example, such major reference works as François Tillemont's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, vol. 2/2 (Brussels: Fricx, 1695), pp. 592–3 and Remy Ceillier's *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, vol. 2 (Paris: Le Mercier, 1730), p. 45, who all repeat Du Pin's arguments.

that of Justin the Martyr.⁹⁷ Dodwell's hypothesis, however, which has frequently been quoted in later scholarship, has never received any detailed examination and, being neither confirmed nor refuted, has never been taken into serious consideration.⁹⁸ Another, even more neglected hypothesis was put forward in 1721 by the Benedictine historian Maturin La Croze, who, on the basis of some peculiarities of the dogmatic vocabulary in the QRO, regarded the collection as a work by the late fourth-century Diodore of Tarsus.⁹⁹ Notwithstanding these more or less isolated ideas, the common opinion of early eighteenth-century scholarship on the origin and authorship of the work was that it could not be an authentic work of Justin, dates from the late fifth or even the early sixth century, and is probably a work by Theodoret of Cyrrhus or his circle, with whom it seems to share some, still undefined, stylistic features.¹⁰⁰

It was this general view against which Prudent Maran argued in the preface of his 1742 edition of the QRO in his publication of Justin's *opera omnia*. After reviewing the traditional arguments against the authorship of Justin the Martyr, Maran marshalled some new evidence to prove that the QRO originates from a fifth-century Syrian environment—which might further confirm, the theory that it was the work of Theodoret of Cyrrhus.¹⁰¹ Considering this possibility in detail, however, he pointed out two characteristic points where Theodoret's interpretation of some Old Testament passages differs considerably from the explication provided by Pseudo-Justin in the

⁹⁷ Henry Dodwell, *Dissertationes in Irenaeum* (Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1689), pp. 263–4.

⁹⁸ Cf. Johann Moller, *Homonymoscopia historico-philologico-critica ... de scriptoribus homonymis* (Hamburg: Liebezeit, 1698), p. 497 and Antonino Mongitore, *Bibliotheca Sicula sive De scriptoribus Siculis*, vol. 1 (Palermo: Didaci, 1707), pp. 418–19, who are some of the very few who seem to accept Dodwell's opinion.

⁹⁹ La Croze formulated his views in a letter addressed to a German scholar, Johann Lorenz Mosheim, which was published as *De scriptore quaestionum ad orthodoxos in Bibliotheca Bremensis nova historico-philologico-theologica, Classis Quinta* (Bremen, 1723), pp. 655–69. The main argument of La Croze in support of Diodore's authorship was the QRO's constant use of the term ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός which, according to La Croze, is a wording especially favoured by Diodore. See below, nn. 187–9.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the works listed above, nn. 94–6, and also Nicolas Le Nourry, *Apparatus ad Bibliothecam maximam veterum patrum*, vol. 1 (Paris: Anisson, 1703), p. 46, or Gottfried Lumper, *Historia theologico-critica*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Rieger, 1784), pp. 113–16.

¹⁰¹ Maran, *Sancti Patris nostri Iustini Philosophi et Martyris opera quae exstant omnia*, p. 434. Maran's argument for the Syrian background of the work was the author's alleged use of the Syriac New Testament in QA 20 (Luke 5:10) and QA 63 (when, discussing Ps. 18:5, the author makes an explicit mention of the Syriac translation), together with a reference to a practice of starting the day with the evening instead of midnight in QA 65, which Maran takes as a custom of Syrian origin.

QRO.¹⁰² On the basis of these exegetical divergences, he concluded that the QRO could not be a work by Theodoret, but a collection compiled by an anonymous theologian of late fifth-century Syria,¹⁰³ who seems to have had a Pelagian background.¹⁰⁴

Although his thesis about a Pelagian author of the collection has never met general approval, Maran's objections against the attribution of the QRO to Theodoret found their way into later scholarship and resulted in a general uncertainty as to the identity of the author. So later scholars like Wilhelm Münscher,¹⁰⁵ Johann Möhler,¹⁰⁶ or Wilhelm Gass, who devoted a monograph-sized study to the QRO,¹⁰⁷ and also Johann Karl Otto, the later editor of the work,¹⁰⁸ under the influence of Maran's 1742 remarks, regarded the QRO as a compilation more or less contemporary with Theodoret, but not his own work.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 435, referring to QA 90 (on the gentile wife of Moses) and QA 26 (on Moses's miracle of turning the waters of Egypt into blood).

¹⁰³ Maran, *ibid.*, p. 434, was the first to call attention to an important point in the text (QA 71) where the author, speaking about the conjectural date of the world's creation, argues that it was about 6,000 years before his time. As the traditional dating of the creation, says Maran, was set according to the Septuagint to 5500 bc, the date of the QRO, placing itself in the sixth millennium, cannot be later than ad 500.

¹⁰⁴ Maran argues for the Pelagian origin of the QRO in *Sancti Patris nostri Iustini Philosophi et Martyris opera quae exstant omnia*, pp. 435–7.

¹⁰⁵ Wilhelm Münscher, *An dialogus cum Tryphone Justino Martyro recte adscribitur* (Marburg: Krieger, 1799), p. 4, where he argues that the author was not Theodoret but another fellow-student of his with Theodore of Mopsuestia.

¹⁰⁶ Johann Adam Möhler, *Patrologie, oder christliche Literärsgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Regensburg: Manz, 1840), pp. 230–2, who places the QRO in a slightly earlier period than that of Theodoret.

¹⁰⁷ Gass, 'Ueber Justins des Märtyres Schriften befindlichen Fragen an die Rechtgläubigen' (see above, n. 8), pp. 143–4, who, discussing Maran's exegetical argument against Theodoret's authorship, remarks that in addition to the observations already listed by Maran, he finds a basic stylistic difference between the two, in that Pseudo-Justin constantly appears to use the same form of questions in the QRO, whereas Theodoret employs many different ways of formulating his questions in his *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*. At the end of his reasoning he proposes that, although he would normally place the QRO in the fifth century, because of the lack of Nestorian influence on the theology of the text he suggests a late fourth or early fifth-century date.

¹⁰⁸ See the summary of his views in his *De Iustini martyris scriptis et doctrina commentatio* (Jena: Mauke, 1841), pp. 66–8.

A New Witness

In 1895, however, this traditional view of the ‘Maranists’ had to face an unexpected challenge presented by the discovery of a new manuscript of the QRO by Papadopoulos Kerameus. The manuscript, which he found when cataloguing the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople, is a tenth-century compilation containing various *erotapokriseis* and other works by Anastasius of Sinai and Anastasius of Antioch, whom the manuscript takes as one and the same person.¹⁰⁹ The volume was once in the possession of a monastery of St Dionysius (possibly the one on Mount Athos) and in 1716 it was sent to Patriarch Chrysanthus of Jerusalem as an important ‘book to read’,¹¹⁰ where a certain monk Gabriel of Plisis copied it in 1717. Gabriel’s eighteenth-century transcript, which still survives at the National Library in Athens,¹¹¹ however, has never been recorded among the witnesses of the QRO, although, being a very carefully executed piece, it serves as a ‘photocopy’ of the eighteenth-century state of Papadopoulos’s nowadays hardly legible manuscript.

The opening piece in both Constantinople manuscripts, the tenth-century and the eighteenth-century alike, is the *erotapokriseis* by Anastasius of Sinai (CPG 7746), who is identified here as Anastasius of Antioch. This is followed by another text of the same genre, that is the QRO, which, most noteworthy, is entitled *The Answers of Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus, one of the 630 fathers of the Council of Chalcedon, to the questions he was asked by one of the Egyptian bishops*.¹¹² These *erotapokriseis*, attributed to Theodoret of Cyrrhus, are doubtlessly the QRO, but the text differs considerably from that known from and transmitted by the unique witness of *Parisinus* 450. It contains 15 questions and answers, mainly of theological content, which are not present in

¹⁰⁹ The manuscript is now held at the Athens, National Library, Metochion tou Panagίου Taphou 273; see the description by Papadopoulos Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων, vol. 4 (St Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1899), pp. 251–2.

¹¹⁰ See the eighteenth-century remark recording the sending of the book from the monastery of St Dionysius to the patriarch, ‘πρὸς ἀνάγνωσιν’, which is preserved on the last flyleaf of the manuscript and was published by Papadopoulos, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, p. 251.

¹¹¹ This is today the manuscript Metochion tou Panagίου Taphou 405, which is described (Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, pp. 362–3) but was never discussed by Papadopoulos. As to its relationship to the Metochion 273, see the discussions by Karl-Heinz Uthemann, *Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), pp. xlii–xliii and the more recent analysis by Christian Boudignon, *Maximi Confessoris Mystagogia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. xvi–xviii.

¹¹² Metochion 273, fo. 98^v: Θεοδωρήτου ἐπίσκοπου πολέως Κύρου, ἐνὸς τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι χλ’ πατέρων, πρὸς τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ ἐπερωτήσεις παρὰ τινος τῶν Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκόπων ἀποκρίσεις.

Parisinus 450 and the sequence of its chapters is also much different.¹¹³ The text of the QRO which the Constantinople manuscript preserves is much better than the one in *Parisinus 450*, as it obviously lacks all the latter's characteristic lacunae and uncertainties which generations of scholars were striving to amend.

Having recognized all these important features of his new find, Papadopoulos immediately published a new critical edition of the QRO from the new manuscript.¹¹⁴ While preparing this edition, however, he did not rely on a direct reading of the manuscript itself, but used a handwritten copy of the codex by a certain Elias Raptopoulos.¹¹⁵ So his readings might well be affected by Raptopoulos's deciphering of the tenth-century script. Moreover, his comparisons to the other witnesses, like *Parisinus 450* and its apographs, derive from Otto's and Maran's editions and not from the manuscripts themselves, and he had apparently not seen any of the further manuscripts of the work which Otto and his predecessors had listed but not consulted.¹¹⁶ Papadopoulos's edition, therefore, cannot be regarded as a decisive critical text, especially because his main aim for the new edition, as he himself states in the introduction, was not so much to provide a critically established text of the QRO, as to prove the superiority of the new manuscript over *Parisinus 450* and thereby to restore the QRO as a work by Theodoret of Cyrrhus.¹¹⁷ In order to achieve this, instead of listing and evaluating all the variant readings offered by the manuscripts, he conceived his critical apparatus as a collection of references to doctrinal, terminological, and exegetical parallels to the text of the QRO.¹¹⁸ Relying on his own comparative analyses, therefore, and also on the attribution of the text in the new manuscript and the observations of many of the seventeenth-century scholars who had already ascribed the QRO to Theodoret, he confidently claimed that the QRO was a work by Theodoret of Cyrrhus. The misattribution of the text to Justin in *Parisinus 450*, according to Papadopoulos, may have occurred as a result of an incomplete archetype containing the QRO among apologetic texts where, due to some missing folios, it lacked the correct ascription to Theodoret. So the scribe, having been left without any clue as to the

¹¹³ The divergences are shown in a concordance by Papadopoulos, Феодорита, епископа Киррского, ответы на вопросы, обращенные к нему некоторыми египетскими епископами (St Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1895), p. 173 and discussed in detail by Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus*, pp. 4–8.

¹¹⁴ Феодорита, епископа Киррского.

¹¹⁵ Cf. his remarks and acknowledgements, *ibid.*, p. vii.

¹¹⁶ Cf. his introduction, *ibid.*, p. xiii, where he explicitly claims to have been using the printed editions, stating 'the variants of the Paris manuscripts are listed as shown by Maran, Otto, and Nolte'.

¹¹⁷ See the opening remarks of his introduction, Феодорита, епископа Киррского, p. iii: 'the first aim of this work is to prove convincingly that the pseudonymous work under Justin's name actually belongs to Theodoret of Cyrrhus'.

¹¹⁸ See esp. Феодорита, епископа Киррского, pp. 67, 91, 114.

author of the QRO, may have come to the conclusion that it was a work by the same author as the rest of the manuscript, that is Justin the Martyr. Hence the invention of a simple scribe gave way to a long-lived error which, by the discovery of the new manuscript, Papadopoulos claimed to have finally dissolved, restoring the work to its real author, Theodoret of Cyrrhus.¹¹⁹

The Reaction

However convincing the new thesis by Papadopoulos, supported by the evidence of a very early manuscript and of his textual comparisons, may have seemed, it curiously met with the general disapproval or at least deep scepticism of contemporary scholars. In a review of Papadopoulos's edition in 1898, Albert Ehrhard, one of the most eminent experts on Theodoret, who discovered and restored many works to the Antiochian exegete,¹²⁰ considered the evidence of the early manuscript and the scanty comparative material marshalled by Papadopoulos as unsatisfactory and disputed Theodoret's authorship.¹²¹ Although he maintained the possibility of discovering some more convincing, especially christological, material to prove Theodoret's authorship, his final conclusion was that, until a detailed textual comparison was carried out, hopefully by a young philologist, the QRO should still be ascribed to the anonymous Antiochian theologian from fifth-century Syria to whom Maran had attributed it.¹²²

The disregard of Papadopoulos's arguments is best illustrated by the monograph Harnack devoted to the QRO in 1901, in which he does not even consider the new evidence in support of Theodoret's authorship.¹²³ After a short reference to Maran's 1742 remarks on the exegetical differences between Theodoret's works and the QRO,¹²⁴ Harnack proceeds to put forward his own theory by revisiting La Croze's 1721 hypothesis

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. xi–xiii.

¹²⁰ See, for example, his 'Die Cyril v. Alexandrien zugeschriebene Schrift, Peri tes tou K. enanthropeseos, ein Werk des Theodoret', *Theologische Quartalschrift* 70 (1888), pp. 179–243; 406–450; 623–53, where he restored to Theodoret's authorship a piece preserved under Cyril's name (CPG 6216).

¹²¹ Cf. his review in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 7 (1898), pp. 609–11. After declaring that Papadopoulos 'may have read too much into his alleged parallels', Ehrhard reviewed the exegetical differences between Theodoret and the QRO. After reconsidering the passages already listed by Maran (see above, n. 102), adding just a little new material to them, he concluded that the QRO does not show 'any striking similarities to Theodoret's works' ('keine auffallende Übereinstimmung').

¹²² *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 7 (1898), p. 611.

¹²³ Adolf Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus*.

¹²⁴ In addition to Maran's 1742 observations, he only refers to some vague suggestions by Möhler and Gass (see above, nn. 106–7), without any exact reference to their works, as 'the most powerful argument' ('das schlagendste Gegenargument') that the QRO cannot be later than ad 400 (Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus*, p. 9).

and ascribing the work to the mid-fourth century Diodore of Tarsus. After lengthy discussions of the perceived doctrinal and terminological similarities between the fragments of Diodore and the QRO, discarding all the evidence of the manuscripts, which attribute the work either to Justin or to Theodoret, as well as the chronological observations of earlier scholars who unanimously dated the piece to the fifth century, Harnack finally identified the QRO, together with the three other Pseudo-Justinian *erotapokriseis* accompanying it in *Parisinus 450*, as a work of Diodore.

This audacious conjecture evoked an immediate response from contemporary scholarship and Harnack's thesis was very soon refuted, first in a short review by Adolf Jülicher¹²⁵ and later in a lengthy article by Franz Xaver Funk.¹²⁶ Both reviewers were much intrigued by Harnack's very early dating of the text to the mid-fourth century, but whereas Jülicher only referred to the much developed trinitarian terminology in the text, Funk provided a deeper analysis of the doctrinal vocabulary of the QRO. However, both arrived at the conclusion that the Pseudo-Justinian *erotapokriseis* could hardly be a fourth-century text, as they reflect later doctrinal questions and show a more elaborate theological language. Funk found the trinitarian and christological terminology of the QRO extremely suspicious, echoing the theological developments of the fifth century, and, after a comparison with Diodore's fragments, he identified many peculiarities of the QRO which seem to be different from Diodore's theological vocabulary. Moreover, as in many of his analyses he found the closest stylistic and doctrinal analogies to the QRO in Theodoret's works, at the end of his long review he repeatedly reminds his readers that, despite the exegetical differences observed by Maran and confirmed by Ehrhard, the ascription of the QRO to Theodoret in the newly discovered manuscript and the parallels he himself had identified should call for a more profound comparative examination of the two.¹²⁷ As this detailed analysis has not yet been carried out, the doubts concerning Theodoret's authorship presented by Ehrhard, together with Funk's suggestion to take the ascription of the text to Theodoret more seriously, have resulted in an even more vague appreciation of the QRO.

The Latest Views

Later scholars, possibly under the influence of Funk's articles, have been slightly more open to giving credit to the attribution of the QRO to Theodoret in Papadopoulos's manuscript, so the work has been listed under his name, though as a dubious piece, in

¹²⁵ *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 27 (1902), cols. 82–6.

¹²⁶ The first reaction of Funk to Harnack's book was published in a French article as 'Le Pseudo-Justin et Diodore de Tarse', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 3 (1902), pp. 947–71, which he later expanded and published in German under the title 'Pseudo Justinus und Diodor von Tarsus', *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen* 3 (1907), pp. 323–50.

¹²⁷ See his 'Le Pseudo-Justin', 971: 'je crois pouvoir dire qu'ils [Maran and Ehrhard] n'ont pas encore résolu complètement la question, et que l'attribution éventuelle à Théodoret attend un examen plus profondi'.

the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*¹²⁸ and in Quasten's *Patrology*.¹²⁹ The most recent survey on Justin's literary corpus by Christoph Riedweg also seems to be inclined to accept Theodoret's authorship of the QRO rather than any of the previous suggestions.¹³⁰ The same hypothesis was put forward by José Pablo Martín, who approached the problem from a completely different angle. Analysing the philosophical concepts discussed and refuted in the Pseudo-Justinianic *Confutatio dogmatum Aristotelicorum*, Martín detected that the treatise appears to argue against the philosophy of Porphyry (d. 485). As such, together with the three other *erotapokriseis* accompanying it—which he found to have much in common with the *Confutatio*—it should probably be (re-)attributed to Theodoret or at least another, anonymous, theologian of the late fifth century.¹³¹ On the basis of these arguments, therefore, in his 2007 monograph on Theodoret, Paul Clayton took Theodoret's authorship for granted and discussed the QRO as a document of the early, pre-Chalcedonian stage of the development of his Christology.¹³²

More recent scholarship, however, has taken completely different directions and started to look for parallels to the authors of the QRO elsewhere. Benjamin Gleede, for example, in his latest article on John Philoponus and his anti-Aristotelian polemics

¹²⁸ Cf. CPG 6285 among the *dubia* of Theodoret, with a mention of Papadopoulos's arguments, Ehrhard's critique, Harnack's hypothesis, and Funk's remarks, and a mistaken reference to Bardy's article (see above, n. 8) quoted under Devreesse's name.

¹²⁹ Johannes Quasten, *Patrology III: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature* (Westminster, MD, 1986), pp. 548–9, where, due to a typing error (the 1 is missing from 161), he erroneously claims that the QRO contains 61 questions.

¹³⁰ Christoph Riedweg, 'Iustinus Martyr II (Pseudo-justinische Schriften)', *RAC* 19 (2001), cols. 848–73, at 868–9.

¹³¹ Martín, 'El Pseudo-Justino en la historia del Aristotelismo' (above, n. 2), p. 8, where he argues for Theodoret as the possible author of the collection. Ten years later, in another article ('Los Questiones del Pseudo Justino: Un lector Cristiano de Aristoteles en tiempos de Proclo', *Topicos* 18 [2000], pp. 115–41, at 137), Martín revisited the problem and withdrew his earlier opinion, saying that it would be better to keep the anonymity of the author, who most probably worked in the second half of the fifth century. Cf. also M. D. Boeri, 'Pseudo-Justin on Aristotelian Cosmology: A Byzantine Philosopher Searching for a New Picture of the World', *Byzantion* 79 (2009), pp. 98–135, at 103, who claims to have 'no arguments to improve the discussion regarding the identity of the author'.

¹³² Paul B. Clayton, *The Christology of Theodoret of Cyrrhus: Antiochene Christology from the Council of Ephesus (431) to the Council of Chalcedon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 104, where, borrowing Quasten's mistake (see above, n. 129), he speaks about 61 questions in the QRO instead of the actual 161 of the Constantinople manuscript.

explicitly links the QRO, together with the other three Pseudo-Justinian *erotapokriseis*, to Philoponos's circles and dates it to the mid- or late sixth century.¹³³

Gleede's sixth-century dating of the text has unexpectedly been backed by another argument by Panayiotis Tzamalikos, whose discovery of a 'new Church Father' in the person of the sixth-century Cassian the Sabaite, and the subsequent discarding of the whole dossier of John Cassian of Marseille, is one of the most striking suggestions proposed by patristic scholarship in the last decades.¹³⁴ Being an expert on sixth-century theology and mysticism, Tzamalikos usually relies on a close examination of the theological terminology, individual style, and language of the single texts he analyses, and it is always on the basis of these terminological observations that he claims to detect internal relationships between the QRO and a particular author in the background of the various texts. How reliable this approach may be in dealing with early sixth-century Greek literature and in suggesting new attributions for the many pseudonymous texts of this period is still unclear. There has so far been no detailed evaluation of Tzamalikos's sometimes convincing arguments.¹³⁵ Some of his hypotheses, however, as for example his complete rejection of the whole Latin tradition regarding John Cassian of Marseille as 'a figment fabricated by means of extensive blatant Medieval forgery',¹³⁶ may appear to be rather audacious. Be that as it may, in his quest to reconstruct the oeuvre of Cassian the Sabaite, Tzamalikos has obviously spotted many interesting stylistic and terminological phenomena which do seem to link the QRO to the period and the corpus he is working on.¹³⁷ Even without a detailed

¹³³ Benjamin Gleede, 'Johannes Philoponos und die christliche Apologetik: Die Widerlegungen des Proklos und Aristoteles und die Debatte des Schöpfungsproblems in der Schule von Gaza und bei Ps-Justin', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 54 (2011), pp. 73–97.

¹³⁴ See the summary in Panayiotis Tzamalikos, *The Real Cassian Revisited: Monastic Life, Greek Paideia, and Origenism in the Sixth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. xi–xii.

¹³⁵ See, for example, Thomas Humphries, *Ascetic Pneumatology from John Cassian to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 2, where he writes that he could not discuss the new hypothesis in detail, so he will still continue 'to presume the existence of John Cassian'. For a new discussion of Tzamalikos's reconstruction of Cassian's identity, see István Perczel, 'Apocatastasis panton in the Pseudo-Caesarius', in Hagit Amirav, Emmanouella Grypeou, and Guy Stroumsa (eds.), *Apocalypticism and Eschatology in the Abrahamic Religions (6th–8th cent. C.E.)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), where he surveys the patristic evidence concerning Cassian the Sabaite, discrediting Tzamalikos's claims to show him as a 'moderate Origenist' and the author of the monastic writings under the name of John Cassian. I owe special thanks to István Perczel, who has kindly shared his findings and views about Cassian with me.

¹³⁶ Tzamalikos, *The Real Cassian*, p. xii.

¹³⁷ See, for example, Panayiotis Tzamalikos, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father: Cassian the Sabaite Eclipsed by John Cassian of Marseilles* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 472 (in connection with the term ἀναβεηκοτός), 487 (on the trinitarian adjective ὁμότιμος), and 596 (on the metaphysical term μετουσία which Proclus, Dionysius, and the QRO

discussion of these finds, and relying only on the short observations scattered in the rich footnotes of his two books, he feels confident enough to claim that ‘the work that has been attributed either to Pseudo-Justin or Theodoret ... is in all probability Cassian’s’ and should, therefore, be dated to the mid-sixth century.¹³⁸

Although these two latter conjectures, the one by Gleede and the other by Tzamalikos, to date the QRO to the mid- or late sixth century would appear to go against the statement of the author that he was writing inside the sixth millennium, that is no later than ad 500,¹³⁹ no one has yet set out to consider the arguments by Gleede or Tzamalikos. So the prevailing view in current scholarship is still either to ascribe the QRO, always with the necessary scepticism, to Theodoret,¹⁴⁰ or to take a less definite position and, adopting Maran’s eighteenth-century opinion, attribute it to an unnamed fifth-century Antiochian theologian from Syria.¹⁴¹

This all means, therefore, that during almost three hundred years since Maran’s edition of the QRO in 1742, despite the new manuscript discovered by Papadopoulos and the rich scholarly discussion it generated, our knowledge about the origin, date, and author of the text has not progressed very much. The much hoped-for breakthrough in the dating and attribution of the QRO, however, has always been one of the expectations of the thoroughly established critical discussion of the text which the present project is aiming at.¹⁴² The research hitherto conducted, in addition to bringing to light many new manuscripts representing the intense early modern afterlife of the QRO in the

appear to share). Cf. also his other book, *The Real Cassian*, p. 376 on the characteristic phrase κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ὅρον, which is originally Aristotelian and comes to Christian texts, such as the QRO, through Galen, Proclus, and Damascius.

¹³⁸ Tzamalikos, *The Real Cassian*, p. 38

¹³⁹ See above, n. 103.

¹⁴⁰ As is the case with Riedweg, ‘Iustinus Martyr II (Pseudo-justinische Schriften)’, cols. 868–9, where he seems to favour the idea of Theodoret’s authorship, arguing that ‘sprechen heute äussere Gründe zugunsten von Theodoret v. Cyrillus als Verfasser’.

¹⁴¹ This is the most common opinion in scholarship nowadays, represented by Papadoyannakis, ‘Defining Orthodoxy in Pseudo-Justin’, p. 115, and his ‘Instructions by Questions and Answers’, p. 94, where he calls the attribution to Theodoret ‘false’. See also the article by Giancarlo Rinaldi, ‘Tracce di controversie tra pagani e cristiani nella letteratura patristica delle “quaestiones et responsiones”’, *Annali di storia di esegesi* 6 (1989), pp. 99–124, at 116–17, where he repeats Maran’s arguments, or more recently Claudio Zamagni, ‘Is the Question-and-Answer Literary Genre in Early Christian Literature a Homogeneous Group?’, in Bussi eres (ed.), *La Litt erature des questions et r ponses dans l’Antiquit * (above, n. 9), pp. 241–68, at 259–60, where he keeps the anonymity of the work and dates it to the middle of the fifth century.

¹⁴² See the programmatic remarks by Papadoyannakis, ‘Defining Orthodoxy in Pseudo-Justin’, p. 115, and also E. Zueva’s long entry in *Православная Энциклопедия* 28 (2012), cols. 618–27, at 625.

sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, has already tackled some important points that were not or not fully considered in previous studies. In the last part of the present essay, therefore, a short survey of these finds will be presented which may hopefully lead to a more satisfactory evaluation of the QRO.

The 'New Questions'

The Indirect Tradition

The most important of the new factors I have managed to point out is the existence of some further witnesses to the QRO which are earlier than and independent of the dominating tradition of *Parisinus 450*. Given the relatively limited transmission of the QRO and the very small number of manuscripts preserving the complete text, in order to reconstruct the earlier stages of its transmission it was very important to find excerpts and quotations of the QRO in other works. Some early quotations from the QRO have already been identified in the polemical writings of John VI Cantacuzenus and his circle from the mid-fourteenth century, but, as demonstrated above, they may go back to *Parisinus 450* itself or the tradition it represents. So this testimony does not seem to go beyond the textual tradition that we know in its entirety from *Parisinus 450*.

For an earlier layer, therefore, we should turn to another, very rich source of patristic quotations, the large gospel-catena of the eleventh-century Niketas of Herakleia. Being a scholar with an exceptional erudition and library, Niketas compiled extensive scholia on the homilies of Gregory Nazianzen and edited commentaries on various biblical books of which the most important is his catena on the Gospel of Luke.¹⁴³ Niketas's commentary on Luke's text, as usual with the genre of the catenae, consists entirely of excerpts and quotations from different Church Fathers, whose names are usually rubricated at the beginning of each passage. This vast collection of patristic citations has long been exploited to detect exegetical fragments from various lost or unknown writings, but it has proven especially useful to recover the works of Theodoret of Cyrrhus.¹⁴⁴

Niketas seems to have possessed an extremely rich collection or a wide knowledge of Theodoret's exegetical works, as he included a very large number of excerpts from his writings in the catena, which scholars have been collecting since the late seventeenth century.¹⁴⁵ But it was only in 1934 that they reached the last sections of the commentary,

¹⁴³ For Niketas and his work, see Joseph Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia untersucht* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902), pp. 1–29, and more recently Bram Roosen, 'The Works of Nicetas Heracleensis (ὁ τοῦ Σεργῶν)', *Byzantion* 69 (1999), pp. 119–44.

¹⁴⁴ For a discussion, see Eduard Schwartz, 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* (1922), pp. 30–40.

¹⁴⁵ Jean Combefis was the first to collect Theodoret's fragments from the catenae (*Bibliotheca Patrum Concionatoria*, vol. 1 [Paris: Bertier, 1692], pp. 602–4) and he was

where Marcel Richard found a passage, explicitly attributed to Theodoret, which reproduces QA 58 of the QRO in a wording very close to Papadopoulos's manuscript.¹⁴⁶ That the ascription of the QRO to Theodoret is not a mere coincidence in the eleventh-century manuscript Richard was using is confirmed by the fact that the quotation comes up in other witnesses of Niketas's commentary, too.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, with one single exception, it is always attributed to Theodoret.¹⁴⁸ So Niketas, whose references to Theodoret's works usually appear to be reliable,¹⁴⁹ when he compiled his commentary around 1110, already possessed and used a copy of the QRO under Theodoret's name, in a version very similar to Papadopoulos's text. Although the force of Niketas's evidence is somewhat diminished by the fact that his catena on Luke's Gospel, in many of its manuscripts, contains another excerpt (QA 20) from the QRO, which is unanimously ascribed to Justin,¹⁵⁰ the presence of the Theodoretan ascription still shows that the two

followed by Jean Garnier (*Auctuarium Theodoretii* [Paris: Martin, Boudot, 1684], pp. 115–30) and Joseph Sickenberger (*Die Lukaskatene*, p. 96). But it was Eduard Schwartz who recognized that the seventeenth-century scholars were all using Niketas's commentaries for their research, and he made a systematic quest to tackle Theodoret's works in Niketas (see esp. 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', pp. 32–3).

¹⁴⁶ Marcel Richard, 'Les Citations de Théodoret conservés dans la chaîne de Nicéas sur l'évangile selon Saint Luc', *Revue biblique* 43 (1934), pp. 88–96, at 92–3.

¹⁴⁷ The manuscript used by Richard is the most important eleventh-century manuscript of Niketas's commentary, *Vaticanus graecus* 1611, fo. 294^v. I have checked also *Vaticanus graecus* 794, fos. 216^v–217^r, Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, MS 457, fos. 477^v–478^r, Athos, Ibêrôn Monastery, MS 371, fo. 294^v, and Athens, National Library, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou 466, fo. 592 (analysed by Christos Krikones, *Συναγωγή πατέρων εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λούκᾱν Εὐαγγέλιον*, [Thessalonike: Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἑρευνῶν, 1973], p. 488, no. 3111), which all give the same text, and also the reworked version in the fourteenth-century *Venetus Marcianus* 494 (published by Balthasar Cordier, *Catena sexaginta quinque Graecorum partum in S. Lucam* [Antwerp: Plantin, 1628], p. 157).

¹⁴⁸ The exception is *Marcianus* 494 (ed. Cordier, *Catena*, p. 157) which, very characteristically, attributes the QRO-fragment to Athanasius.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Sickenberger, *Handschriften*, p. 75: 'Kurz bei weitaus den meisten Scholien, namentlich bei solchen Autoren, die häufiger verwertet wurden, ging Niketas auf die Originaltexte zurück.'

¹⁵⁰ The fragment has often been reproduced in the editions of Justin's works, first by Johann Ernest Grabe, *Spicilegium SS Patrum*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1689), pp. 201–2. Later it was also published by John Anthony Cramer (*Catena Graecae in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 1 [Oxford: e Typographeo Academico, 1840], pp. 264–5), who took it from a work by Macarius Chrysocephalus (d. 1382), who used Niketas's catena. That Niketas did include it in his original commentary is clearly proved by Richard's eleventh-century manuscript, *Vaticanus graecus* 1611, fo. 83^v, which contains it and attributes it to Justin (see the edition by Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, vol. 9 [Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1837], p. 665). Moreover, it is also preserved by another manuscript of Niketas's catena (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,

main traditions of the text existed and were used in parallel in eleventh-century Byzantium.

Another witness, hitherto unconsidered in patristic scholarship, is preserved in an interesting thirteenth-century manuscript held at the Narodni Muzej in Ohrid. This small-format paper manuscript contains a selection from the works by Theodoros Abukara, followed by a large collection of patristic excerpts, including an especially important florilegium in 25 chapters.¹⁵¹ It is between Theodoros's works and the florilegium that the manuscript, among some heresiological and synodical pieces, preserves QA 140 from the QRO, which is rubricated as a quotation from 'The blessed Theodoret', although without naming the work itself.¹⁵²

In addition to this thirteenth-century manuscript, another passage (QA 21) of the QRO is preserved as a part of a large collection of patristic excerpts transformed into questions and answers. This vast collection of *erotapokriseis*, which has already been described and used as an important source to reconstruct the lost works of Maximus the Confessor, is known only from two manuscripts.¹⁵³ One is a late eleventh-century copy held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich,¹⁵⁴ while the other is its direct copy from the late twelfth century, now at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.¹⁵⁵ The long portion of the QRO included in this eleventh-century compilation is, again, explicitly

theol. graec. 71, fo. 349^v), as mentioned by Harnack (*Diodor von Tarsus*, pp. 2–3). However, its value must still be checked in the other manuscripts.

¹⁵¹ The manuscript is Ohrid, Narodni Muzej, MS 86 (Mošin 84), described by Vladimir Mošin, 'Les Manuscrits du Musée National d'Ochrida', in *Musée National d'Ohrid: Recueil de travaux. Édition spéciale publiée à l'occasion du Xe anniversaire de la fondation du Musée ...* (Ohrid, 1961), pp. 234–5, and also by Marcel Richard, 'Le Florilège eucharistique du cod. Ohrid, Musée national 86', in *Χαριστήριον εις Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὁρλάνδου* (Athens, 1966), pp. 47–55.

¹⁵² Ohrid, Narodni Muzej, MS 86 (Mošin 84), p. 111: Τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοδώριτου; cf. also Marcel Richard, 'Le Traité de Georges Hiéromoine sur les heresies', *Revue des études byzantines* 28 (1970), pp. 239–69, at 241.

¹⁵³ For the collection, see the edition of Maximus the Confessor, *Disputatio Bizyae* by Pauline Allen and Neil Bronwen (*Scripta saeculi VII Vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia* [Turnhout: Brepols, 1999], pp. 55–6) and its discussion by Bram Roosen, 'On the Recent Edition of the Disputatio Bizyae. With an Analysis of Chapter XXIV De providentia of the Florilegium Achridense and an Index manuscriptorum in Appendix', *Jarhbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51 (2001), pp. 113–31.

¹⁵⁴ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 270, described by Ignaz Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, vol. 3 (Munich: Seidel, 1806), pp. 124–8. Hence the title *Florilegium Monacense* (*FloM*) for this collection.

¹⁵⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 7, described in H. O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogus*, vol. 1 (Oxford: e Typographeo Academico, 1853), pp. 425–7.

attributed to Theodoret of Cyrrhus by a remark before the answer to the question recording that what follows is ‘from Theodoret’.¹⁵⁶ The text of QA 21 in the *erotapokriseis*-florilegium, although it is sometimes abbreviated and contains some peculiar variants,¹⁵⁷ at all important places agrees with the text of Papadopoulos’s manuscript against all the characteristic readings of *Parisinus* 450.¹⁵⁸

Another, even earlier florilegium which contains a passage from the QRO (QA 117) has recently been identified and analysed by Jean-Noel Guinot.¹⁵⁹ In quest of further fragments of Theodoret’s treatise *On the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of the Lord*, which is preserved today in only one Greek manuscript under the name of Cyril of Alexandria,¹⁶⁰ Guinot discovered a short text in more than fifteen early manuscripts.¹⁶¹ The treatise, which in all manuscripts is entitled *On the Holy Trinity by Theodoret*, is a composite text. It is made up of excerpts from various works by Theodoret of Cyrrhus and some other pieces Guinot could not identify,¹⁶² and in its christological section, as

¹⁵⁶ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 270, fo. 164^{r-v} and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 7, fos. 618^v–619^r, both bearing the rubric Θεοδωρήτου.

¹⁵⁷ The Greek of the florilegium is very faulty, especially in the Munich manuscript, which the Oxford one sometimes tries to amend, but even the latter has kept many of the former’s grammatical errors (for example, τῶν ... ὑφ’ ἡμῶν πραττομένον) and omissions (see, for example, Феодорита, епископа Киррского, p. 40, lines 19–20 and 27–8, which all derive from misread homoioteleuta). So many of the peculiarities of the florilegium are the result of a negligent copying of the text, but there certainly are some noteworthy variants, as, for example, the addition παρὰ τῶν εὐλαβεστέρων καὶ λογικωτέρων instead of παρὰ τῶν λογικωτέρων in Papadopoulos’s manuscript and παρ’ αὐτῶν in *Parisinus* 450.

¹⁵⁸ There is only one place in the whole question where *FloM* agrees with *Parisinus* 450 against Papadopoulos’s manuscript (Феодорита, епископа Киррского, p. 40, line 24, where τῶν ἡμῶν is missing as in *Parisinus* 450); at all other places it agrees with Papadopoulos’s text and not with *Parisinus* 450.

¹⁵⁹ Jean-Noel Guinot, ‘Sur un prétendu De Trinitate attribué à Théodoret de Cyr’, in *Ad Contemplandam Sapientiam: Studi di filologia letteratura storia in memoria di Sandro Leanza* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2004), pp. 319–35.

¹⁶⁰ It was restored to Theodoret by Ehrhard in 1888; cf. above, n. 120.

¹⁶¹ See the list in Guinot, ‘Sur un prétendu De Trinitate’, p. 322, with the earliest three manuscripts from the tenth century; one manuscript (Patmos, Monê tou Hagiou Iôannou tou Theologou, MS 109), from the late ninth century, is not present in Guinot’s list.

¹⁶² It consists of selected chapters of Theodoret’s *Hereticarum fabularum compendium* (PG 83, cols. 441C, 448BC, 453D, 460A and 477B, 480BC–481BD) and some material of other origin, II.10–12; IV.20–2 and 28–30 in Guinot’s edition.

described by Guinot, it quotes QA 117 of the QRO almost in its entirety.¹⁶³ Due to the overwhelming presence of Theodoret in the collection and its unanimous ascription to him in the manuscripts, Guinot has conjectured that the inclusion of QA 117 in the text would possibly mean that the compiler, whom he placed between the seventh and tenth centuries, had already found the QRO, or this excerpt, as a work ascribed to Theodoret.¹⁶⁴ Although the passages which Guinot left unidentified have turned out to be quotations from Maximus the Confessor and John of Damascus,¹⁶⁵ making the collection a bit later in time and more composite in content, the presence of the QRO in a collection explicitly attributed to Theodoret still seems to support Guinot's claim about its original ascription to him in the eighth–tenth-century source-text of the compiler.

Theodoret's alleged *De Trinitate*, therefore, together with the excerpt in the *Florilegium Monacense*, the Ohrid manuscript, and Niketas of Herakleia, seems to prove that, before the fourteenth century, Papadopoulos's recension of the QRO, bearing its characteristic attribution to Theodoret, may have been more widespread than the tradition represented in *Parisinus* 450. The latter, apart from the reference to QA 20 in Niketas's eleventh-century catena as Justin's work and the assumption that Photius's early manuscript of Justin's work already contained the QRO, seems to have been almost unknown in early and middle Byzantine theology. This relatively strong indirect tradition of the QRO in the tenth–thirteenth centuries, almost exclusively ascribed to Theodoret of Cyrillus, should in any case give rather more support to Theodoret's authorship than it has previously been credited with.¹⁶⁶ This is especially so given a very similar case of a writing by Theodoret which had been hidden under Justin's name, which was uncovered by Joseph Lebon in 1930.

A Pseudo-Justinian Analogy

Editing the Syriac version of a polemical treatise against Theodoret by Severus, the sixth-century patriarch of Antioch, Lebon noticed that Severus employs large and very correct quotations from Theodoret to support his argumentation against him.¹⁶⁷ Beside many references to Theodoret's letters and his *Refutations of the Anathemata of Cyril of*

¹⁶³ This is section III.15–18 of the text.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Guinot, 'Sur un prétendu De Trinitate', p. 332.

¹⁶⁵ I have managed to identify II.10–12 as deriving from John of Damascus's *On theology* (CPG 8087.5) and IV.20–2 as an excerpt (3.1) from Maximus's *Quaestiones et dubia* (CPG 7689).

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, Gleede's treatment of the question; in referring back to the 1843 article by Gass, he denounces Riedweg's suggestion and calls Theodoret's authorship unbelievable and unfitting to such a 'poor and naïve' text as the QRO (Gleede, 'Johannes Philoponos', n. 13).

¹⁶⁷ The text is Severus's *Liber contra impium grammaticum*, 1–6 (Louvain: Durbecq, 1952).

Alexandria (CPG 6214),¹⁶⁸ Lebon also detected twelve references to a work on the Holy Trinity and another six to a piece Severus calls *The Exposition of the True Faith*. Both of these texts Severus explicitly attributes to Theodoret, quoting not only their exact titles but also their full incipits.¹⁶⁹ Relying on this very clear information, Lebon could easily identify the works Severus is referring to as two texts that are preserved in Greek under the names of other authors.¹⁷⁰ One is a work that its single surviving manuscript attributes to Cyril of Alexandria,¹⁷¹ and the other is the *Expositio rectae fidei* that the numerous Greek manuscripts preserving it, including *Parisinus 450*, unanimously ascribe to Justin the Martyr.¹⁷² The Pseudo-Justinian *Expositio*, therefore, which has always been known and quoted only under Justin's name in the Byzantine tradition, on the basis of Severus's references, and also of the meticulous theological and stylistic comparisons hitherto carried out, is now generally considered to be an early work by Theodoret of Cyrrhus.¹⁷³ The *Expositio* thus constitutes an interesting case of a work that, in order to escape the condemnation of Theodoret at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553,¹⁷⁴ was reattributed to Justin. So a tendency to remove texts from Theodoret's oeuvre and to ascribe them to other authors, including the second-century martyr, is not unknown in the later history of his writings.

The parallelism between the QRO and the *Expositio* is made even more manifest by the fact that the latter, often described as a text written in the manner of *erotapokriseis*,¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁸ See the index at the end of Lebon's edition in *Liber contra impium grammaticum*, 4, pp. 21*–22*.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *Liber contra impium grammaticum*, 2, p. 55 for the *Expositio*, which Severus calls an 'Exposition of faith', also giving the correct incipit; and *Liber contra impium grammaticum*, 2, p. 65 for *De Trinitate*, which he identifies as 'On the economy or the inhumanation', providing again its present incipit.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Joseph Lebon, 'Restitutions à Théodoret de Cyr', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 26 (1930), pp. 523–50.

¹⁷¹ Cf. above, nn. 120 and 160.

¹⁷² Cf. Otto, *Iustini philosophi*, pp. viii–xxii for the manuscripts.

¹⁷³ Cf. R. V. Sellers, 'Pseudo-Justin's *Expositio rectae fidei*, a Work of Theodoret', *JTS*, os 46 (1945), pp. 145–60; M. F. A. Brok, 'The Date of Theodoret's *Expositio rectae fidei*', *JTS*, ns 2 (1951), pp. 178–83, and, more recently, Jean-Noël Guinot, 'L'*Expositio rectae fidei* et le traité Sur la Trinité et l'Incarnation de Théodoret de Cyr: Deux types d'argumentation pour un même propos?', *Recherches augustiniennes* 32 (2001), pp. 39–74.

¹⁷⁴ The Council published an explicit anathema against 'the impious writings of Theodoret that he published against the orthodox faith and the first holy council at Ephesus and the sainted Cyril' (Canon 13). For the text and its background, see Richard Price, *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553*, vol. 1 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), pp. 146–7, 517, and the discussion at pp. 84–8.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Guinot, 'L'*Expositio*', p. 44 and n. 12.

directly precedes the sets of questions and answers in the corpus of Justin's works in *Parisinus* 450. This apparent generic similarity may account for the connection between these texts in the manuscript. It is even more important, however, that scholars have long observed that there was a very strong connection between the various sets of Pseudo-Justin's *erotapokriseis*, on the one hand, and the *Expositio*, on the other, in terms of both style and terminology. This intimate connection between the QRO and the *Expositio* was already emphasized by Adolf Harnack who, attributing the *Expositio* to Diodore of Tarsus, only on the basis of its close terminological similarity to the QRO, described their relationship as such a 'striking agreement' that—as he argues—the Christology of the *Expositio* should be taken as a simple commentary on QA 7 of the QRO.¹⁷⁶

Indeed, one of the distinguishing features of the trinitarian theology of the *Expositio*, which has been frequently emphasized in previous scholarship, that the only possible distinction between the persons of the Holy Trinity is that made according to their manner of existence (τρόπος τῆς ὑπαρξέως), has its closest doctrinal parallel in the QRO.¹⁷⁷ The author of the *Expositio* painstakingly argues that the divine persons are one and the same according to their essence (οὐσία), which is divinity itself, and it is only their manner of existence (τρόπος τῆς ὑπαρξέως) which can help us to distinguish the Father as unbegotten, the Son as begotten, and the Holy Spirit as proceeding.¹⁷⁸ This interesting expression, which seems to have an Aristotelian origin, was introduced into trinitarian vocabulary by the Cappadocians,¹⁷⁹ but it seems to be particularly common

¹⁷⁶ Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus*, pp. 245–6, where he speaks of a 'frappante Übereinstimmung' between the two and gives a detailed comparison of QA 1–7 and §2 of the *Expositio*, concluding that 'Der Christologische Abschnitt der *Expositio* is wie ein Commentar zu Qu 7 & 8, so genau stimmt er mit dessen Grundgedanken überein'.

¹⁷⁷ The use of this term was already observed by Funk ('Le Pseudo-Justin', pp. 951–4) and discussed by later scholars (Sellers, 'Pseudo-Justin's *Expositio*', pp. 148–9), too.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. *Expositio* §3, arguing that 'being unbegotten, begotten and proceeding do not denote their essence, but only their manner of existence ... so the difference between the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit stands in their manner of existence, while their identity is in their essence'. (Otto, *Iustini martyris opera*, vol. 4/3, p. 6: Ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀγέννητον καὶ γεννητὸν καὶ ἐκπορευτὸν οὐκ οὐσίας ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ τρόποι ὑπάρξεως ... ὥς εἶναι μὲν τὴν διαφορὰν τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόπον, τὸ δὲ ταῦτον κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον.)

¹⁷⁹ It is especially common in Aristotle's late antique commentators, such as Simplicius (H. Diels, *Simplicii in Aristotelis physicorum libros octo commentaria*, vol. 1 [Berlin: Reimers, 1882], p. 667); Philoponus (A. Busse, *Philoponi (olim Ammonii) in Aristotelis categorias commentarium* [Berlin: Reimer, 1898], p. 31); or Ammonius (A. Busse, *Ammonius in Aristotelis de interpretatione commentarius* [Berlin: Reimer, 1897], p. 218). There are quite a few occurrences of the term in Gregory of Nyssa (*Contra Eunomium* 1.1. 216; 497) and Basil the Great (Ep. 235.2).

in the *Expositio*, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret.¹⁸⁰ Beside the writings of Cyril and Theodoret, however, the expression τρόπος τῆς ὑπαρξέως turns up five times in the QRO and has exactly the same dogmatic function there as in the *Expositio* in that it serves as way of distinguishing between the divine persons of the Holy Trinity.¹⁸¹

Moreover, if one makes a deeper comparison of the *Expositio* and the QRO they turn out to share not only some other characteristic doctrinal features, such as the refutation of confessing two Sons,¹⁸² but also some peculiar wording and phrases.¹⁸³ In the light of these similarities, and the observations of Harnack and Bergjan¹⁸⁴ on the close conceptual relationship between the two works, it seems very likely that the author of the *Expositio* and the QRO could possibly be the same theologian writing in a similar doctrinal context. So, if the author of the *Expositio* would indeed be Theodoret,

¹⁸⁰ Besides Theodoret (*Curatio* 2.106 and *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, PG 83, col. 453), it comes up in Cyril of Alexandria, for example in his *Commentary on John* (ed. P. E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, vol. 1 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872], p. 653). It occurs 11 times in the *Expositio*, and also in its later quotations (especially in Byzantine authors like Gennadius Scholarius, Barlaam of Calabria, and others).

¹⁸¹ Cf. QA 129 and 139, where the author, similarly to the *Expositio* (διαφορὰν τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόπον), claims that the only possible distinction between the persons of the Trinity is the διαφορὰ τῶν τῆς ὑπαρξέως τρόπων. Silke Petra Bergjan, *Theodoret von Cyrrhus und der Neunizänismus* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993), pp. 113–14, speaking about the use of this term in the *Expositio*, writes that in the way it uses this phrase the *Expositio* stands especially close to the QRO.

¹⁸² Cf. QA 9 (present only in Papadopoulos's Athens manuscript, Феодорита, епископа Киррскога, p. 22), refuting the charge of 'venerating a dyad of sons' (δυάδι υἱῶν οὐ λατρεύουσι), which was a frequent accusation against Theodoret (cf. John M. Petruccione, 'The Audience of Theodoret's *Questions on the Octateuch*', in Bussièrès [ed.], *La Littérature des questions et réponses dans l'Antiquité* [above, n. 9], pp. 215–39, at 218–20). This curious phrase, 'dyad of sons', comes up very characteristically in Cyril's polemics against Theodoret (eight times in his *Commentary on John*) and in Theodoret's official condemnation in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus (six occurrences: Eduard Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, vol. 1/1 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1927], pp. 53, 69, 99 and 1. 1. 5, p. 33; 1. 1. 6, p. 95; 1. 1. 7, p. 99).

¹⁸³ Cf. the list of Theodoret's characteristic expressions in the *Expositio* compiled by Sellers ('Pseudo-Justin's *Expositio*', pp. 156–7), some items of which, such as ζητούμενον λύσαι or the frequent use of τοίνυν or εἰ τοίνυν, are paralleled by the QRO, as τὴν λύσιν τῶν ζητουμένων in QA 146, two cases of τοίνυν, and three of εἰ τοίνυν.

¹⁸⁴ See above, nn. 176 and 181.

although recently some doubts have been expressed about this attribution,¹⁸⁵ the QRO would consequently move yet another step closer to the Bishop of Cyrrhus.

Some Further Links

These similarities between the technical terms and the stylistic features of the *Expositio* and the QRO show that a more thorough textual analysis of the *erotapokriseis*, comparing it to other writings of Theodoret and the theologians of the mid-fifth century, could possibly be a rewarding *parergon* of the critical edition of the QRO. Although the research hitherto carried out is far from being complete, quite a few important observations may be made.

In preparing the critical text, for example, I have checked the stylistic features that Harnack identified in the QRO as proofs for the authorship of Diodore of Tarsus. Curiously, even his main argument, which he borrowed from the 1721 letter by La Croze,¹⁸⁶ that the constant reference of the QRO to Christ as δεσπότης Χριστός was a typical feature of Diodore's language, turned out to be an even more characteristic element of the writings of Theodoret, who may have inherited it from Diodore. Funk, in his 1902 review of Harnack's book, already noted that the first author he could think of to have made a constant use of this phrase was Theodoret,¹⁸⁷ and later scholars, like Ehrhard and Tzamalikos, have all confirmed this assumption.¹⁸⁸ But even a quick check of his main works, such as the *Curatio* or the *Eranistes*, reveals how often he makes use of this phrase in his authentic writings.¹⁸⁹

We get the same impression by checking another of Harnack's arguments for Diodore's authorship of the QRO. As early as 1742, Maran had already noted that there were

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Bergjan, *Theodoret von Cyrrhus*, p. 114: 'Eine Zuschreibung des Textes auf Theodoret geht über Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht hinaus'; cf. Guinot, 'L'*Expositio*', pp. 187–8, who expresses similar doubts.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. above, n. 99.

¹⁸⁷ Funk, 'Le Pseudo-Justin', p. 964: 'Le premier auteur qui me fournisse une expression analogue est Théodoret.'

¹⁸⁸ See Ehrhard, 'Die Cyril v. Alexandrien zugeschriebene Schrift', p. 640 on the formula δεσπότης Χρίστος, and Tzamalikos, *The Real Cassian*, p. 121 on the adjectival forms, where he explicitly writes that it was 'no author other than Theodoret, who championed the term δεσπότης for Christ'.

¹⁸⁹ I found more than 500 occurrences of the term in Theodoret's writings, not to speak about such very characteristic phrases as δεσποτικόν πάθος (QA 85), δεσποτικός τόκος (QA 66), or δεσποτική σάρξ (QA 44), which come up very frequently in Theodoret: cf. PG 82, cols. 240, 800, 865; PG 83, col. 512 for δεσποτικόν πάθος; PG 81, col. 1308 for δεσποτικός τόκος, and Epist. 83; 116; 123, and PG 82, col. 752 for δεσποτική σάρξ, which appears to be a term often applied by Nestorius (F. Loofs, *Nestoriana: Die Fragmente des Nestorius* [Halle: Niemeyer, 1905], pp. 240–1, where it comes up twice in one single paragraph).

explicit references in the QRO to the Syriac version of the Scriptures defined as ὁ Σύρος, which he took as an important proof for the Syrian origin of the text.¹⁹⁰ As Harnack discovered the same allusions to the Σύρος in some of Diodore's exegetical fragments, he considered this shared reference to the Syriac in Diodore and the QRO as further important evidence pointing towards the authorship of the Bishop of Tarsus.¹⁹¹ Later research on Theodoret's exegesis, however, has brought to light that in his Old Testament commentaries Theodoret frequently refers to and presumably even relies on the Syriac version, which he always quotes in the very same way, as ὁ Σύρος.¹⁹² So this feature of the QRO is at least equally or possibly even more characteristic of Theodoret's writings as of those of Diodore.

Checking Harnack's other observation on the sources of the author of the QRO has returned similar results. In two passages of the QRO, where the questioner enquires about the interpretation of some Hebrew biblical terms, toponyms, or personal names, the author quotes from or simply refers back to a work he calls the *Explanation of Hebrew Names* (Ἑρμηνεία τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν ὀνομάτων), which he once attributes to Origen.¹⁹³ Although an exact identification of this mysterious etymological work has not yet been made,¹⁹⁴ the search for its other occurrences has brought the interesting result that this particular form of the title is mentioned only in the exegetical works of

¹⁹⁰ Cf. QA 63 and its discussion by Maran, above, n. 101.

¹⁹¹ Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus*, pp. 44–5.

¹⁹² See the earlier discussion by Alfred Rahfls ('Quis sit ὁ Σύρος', *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* [1915], pp. 420–8), and more recently by Henning Lehmanns ('Evidence of the Syriac Bible Translation in Greek Fathers of the 4th and 5th Centuries', *Studia Patristica* 19 [1989], pp. 366–71), Jean-Noel Guinot ('Qui est le Syrien dans les commentaires de Théodoret de Cyr?', *Studia Patristica* 25 [1993], pp. 60–71), and Bas Ter Haar Romeny ('"Quis sit ὁ Σύρος" Revisited', in Alison Salvesen [ed.], *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998], pp. 360–98).

¹⁹³ Cf. QA 82 and 86 (present only in Papadopoulos's Athens manuscript, Феодорита, епископа Киррского, p. 88), where the *Hermeneia* is explicitly attributed to Origen (Ἐρμῆται δὲ τῷ Ὠριγένηι τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡ ἑρμηνεία ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ τῶν ἑβραϊκῶν ὀνομάτων); cf. the discussion of these passages in Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus*, p. 31.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. the wide-reaching study by Franz Wutz, *Onomastica sacra*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914), pp. 25–7 for Theodoret, pp. 51–2 for the QRO, and pp. 1061–6, where he emphasizes that the portions Theodoret quotes from this source do not overlap with the material of the lists normally known under this title in Origen or Jerome.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus.¹⁹⁵ Besides Josephus, who is also mentioned in the QRO,¹⁹⁶ this *Hermeneia* is the most important source of Theodoret's Hebrew etymologies.¹⁹⁷ So the presence of Origen's alleged dictionary, which Harnack interpreted as a feature of Diodore's exegesis, has also turned out to be a special characteristic of Theodoret's biblical interpretations.

The other area where the ongoing critical edition of the QRO could possibly shed new light on the question of authorship is in the comparative analysis of the rich exegetical material in the *erotapokriseis*. At the current stage of research I have been able to subject only a limited number of cases to a deeper examination, so—although some of the interpretations do seem to parallel Theodoret's exegesis¹⁹⁸—a full analysis should be postponed until the critical establishment of the text is completed. Even at this initial phase, however, I have been able to detect some remarkable similarities between the terminology of the QRO and the commentaries of Theodoret. When the QRO is compared with Theodoret's characteristic exegetical terminology, which Jean-Noël Guinot has recently surveyed,¹⁹⁹ the author appears to be familiar with many of the basic terms Theodoret makes use of. He frequently employs concepts like the typically

¹⁹⁵ The only reference to this title (in a slightly different form) outside Theodoret's works comes from Eusebius, who, speaking of the works by Philo of Alexandria, attributes the *Hermeneiai* to him (HE 2.18.7). Otherwise all the surviving references to the title Ἑρμηνεία Ἑβραϊκῶν ὀνομάτων come from Theodoret's exegetical writings, such as PG 80, cols. 516, 584, 716, 784, 797, 805, and PG 83, col. 40.

¹⁹⁶ For references to Josephus in Theodoret's works, see Jean-Noël Guinot, *L'Exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1995), pp. 415–16, and in the QRO see QA 108.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. n. 195 above and the extensive list of quotations from this work in Theodoret compiled by Guinot, *L'Exégèse*, pp. 192 and 859–61.

¹⁹⁸ As, for example, the interpretation of Saul's visit to the witch of Endor (1 Sam. 28:5–20) in QA 112, which was thoroughly analysed by Theodoret in his commentaries (PG 80, cols. 589–93 and PG 80, col. 808). Cf. Rowan Greer and Margaret Mitchell, *The 'Belly-Myther' of Endor: Interpretations of 1 Kingdoms 28 in the Early Church* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2007). For Theodoret, see Guinot, *L'Exégèse*, pp. 781–4 and 789–91. Another interesting topic which is explained in the same way by the QRO (QA 63) and Theodoret (PG 80, col. 932) is Ps. 18/19:4 ('He has established his house in the sun') which both take as 'He has prepared a house for the sun in them' (i.e. in the heavens).

¹⁹⁹ Guinot, *L'Exégèse*, pp. 847–70.

Antiochian terms for ‘intention’ (σκοπός),²⁰⁰ ‘meaning’ (διάνοια/έννοια),²⁰¹ ‘obscurity’ (ἀσάφεια),²⁰² and ‘typology’ (τυπικῶς) of the Scriptures. For this latter Theodoret has a very characteristic phrase. Speaking about the fulfilment of a typology he often writes that it ‘gets its completion’ (ἐκβάσιν ἔχει/δέχεται) in or with something,²⁰³ which appears to be a usage unique to his writings and occurs quite a few times in the QRO, too.²⁰⁴ Another peculiar wording of his is the proof of historical events which he often describes as ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων μαρτυρία, which in this form I could find only in his writings and in the QRO.²⁰⁵ Such phrases as the ‘darnel of heresies’ (ζιζάνια αἰρέσεων)²⁰⁶ or the frequently employed turn of phrase ‘to cut it short’ (ἵνα συντόμως εἶπω) also occur in both Theodoret and the QRO.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁰ Cf. QA 15 on the σκοπός of Job, or QA 104 the σκοπός of the Law. For the usage of the word in Theodoret see, for example, his interpretations of the Psalms, where he explicitly identifies his task as ‘tackling the intention of the psalms’ (PG 80, col. 861: Πρότερον δέ γε τῶν ψαλμῶν δηλώσαντες τὸν σκοπὸν, οὕτω τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀψόμεθα), and see also examples in practice in PG 80, cols. 1965, 1997, and *passim*, and also Guinot, *L’Exégèse*, p. 854.

²⁰¹ Cf. QA 36 on the έννοια of the ‘Noli me tangere’, QA 91 about the έννοια of the words of Genesis, and QA 108 on the έννοια of Luke 23:34; also QA 94 on the διάνοια of Apoc. 6:14 and Matt. 24:29. For these terms in Theodoret see Guinot, *L’Exégèse*, pp. 848, 850.

²⁰² Cf. QA 63, concerning Ps. 18/19:4, and QA 66, where Luke 3:23 is described as ‘obscure’. For the word in Theodoret cf. his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (PG 81, col. 180) where he speaks of the obscurity of Solomon’s words, and also his *Commentary on Ezekiel* (PG 81, cols. 808–9), where he complains about the ‘general obscurity of the prophets’; for further instances see Guinot, *L’Exégèse*, p. 848.

²⁰³ The phrase appears to be Aristotelian in origin (it is especially common in Ammonius’s commentaries [Busse, *Ammonius in Aristotelis de interpretatione commentarius*, pp. 134, 136, 140, 146]), but it is Theodoret who uses it for biblical typology (see Guinot, *L’Exégèse*, p. 850) and it is used five times in the QRO.

²⁰⁴ The form ἐκβάσιν δέχεται seems especially common in Theodoret (PG 81, cols. 656, 1892) and the QRO (three times in QA 2), whereas other writers do not appear to make use of it.

²⁰⁵ The peculiarity of this phrase, which comes up only in Theodoret (*Curatio* 1.54; 10.42, 89, 104) and the QRO (QA 1), consists in that it lacks the usual preposition (ἀπό, διά or ἐκ) before πραγμάτων, which other writers, such as Chrysostom (PG 50, col. 530; PG 57, col. 415; PG 59, col. 330) usually employ when using the phrase.

²⁰⁶ The interpretation of the darnel from Matt. 13:40 as the heresies dispersed by the devil appears to be an Antiochian feature which comes up only in Chrysostom (PG 51, col. 379), Theodoret (PG 83, col. 388), and the QRO (QA 2).

²⁰⁷ The phrase seems to be especially common in Theodoret. I found eight occurrences in his works: see, for example, his *Ecclesiastical History* (ed. L. Parmentier and F. Scheidweiler, *Theodoret: Kirchengeschichte* [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller,

Conclusions?

On the basis of the evidence hitherto collected and discussed we can formulate the following conclusions. The QRO, which, as our survey of the most recent hypotheses shows, has recently been placed in the sixth century, should perhaps be redated to the fifth. In the light of the arguments presented above it can hardly be earlier or later than the mid-fifth century, and it may possibly derive from the time between the Councils of Ephesus (ad 431) and Chalcedon (ad 451). This date seems to fit the situation suggested by the title in Papadopoulos's tenth-century manuscript, according to which the work is a response by Theodoret 'to the questions of an Egyptian bishop'.²⁰⁸ This scenario of Theodoret being interrogated by an Egyptian bishop about his theological views would cohere with the Christology of the text, which rejects the charge of venerating 'two sons' in Christ,²⁰⁹ which was one of the crucial problems of the Alexandrians with Antiochian theology and with Theodoret himself after the Council of Ephesus.²¹⁰ A possible proximity of the QRO to Ephesus could also account for the specific language of the text, which sometimes appears to echo Theodoret's words and some of his more general views but, at the same time—as already emphasized by Maran and Ehrhard—shows some striking differences from his 'mature' theological works. Moreover, a date closer to 431 would also explain the close theological and terminological similarities between the QRO and the *Expositio rectae fidei*, which is nowadays regarded as an early treatise of Theodoret.

However, it is not only the basic theological concepts and some peculiar stylistic features that the QRO seems to share with the *Expositio*, but also their transmission as a pseudonymous work later attributed to Justin the Martyr. These two interrelated texts, therefore, which—as a proof of their special connection—stand together in *Parisinus* 450, may also have a common origin. So, just as the *Expositio*, which all of its extant manuscripts unanimously ascribe to Justin, has now been restored to Theodoret of Cyrillus on the basis of Severus's sixth-century quotations, the QRO, which lacks such an early and reliable witness to its authorship but does have a considerable early Byzantine diffusion under Theodoret's name, may also be attributed to him. So, inasmuch as as the *Expositio*, with its terminological oddities and sometimes disputed

44; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954], p. 45) and biblical commentaries (PG 80, col. 1613 and PG 82, col. 536; also Guinot, *L'Exégèse*, p. 855). It occurs also in John Philoponus (12 occurrences) and in the QRO (QA 69).

²⁰⁸ Cf. above, n. 112.

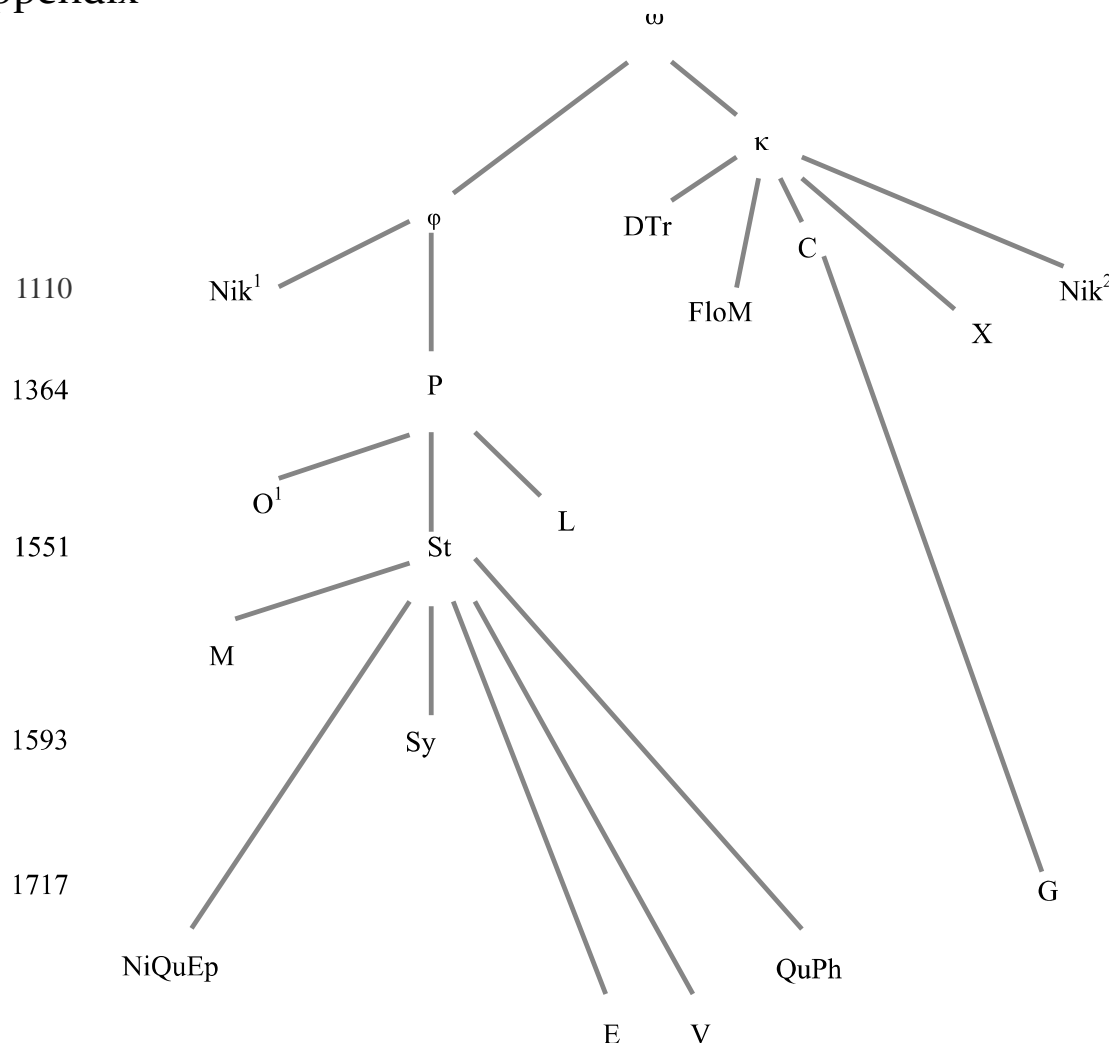
²⁰⁹ Cf. above, n. 182.

²¹⁰ The first record of this charge, which is said to be formulated by Dioscorus of Alexandria, appears, according to Guinot, in the *Eranistes* around 447 and in the letters from about 448 (cf. Epp. 21, 82, 83, 84, 85 (SC 98), 99, 101, 104, 105, 109, 116, 126, 144, 146); cf. Jean-Noël Guinot, 'Doit-on glorifier le Christ ou le Fils Monogène?', *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques* 51 (2005), pp. 327–56, at 340, n. 45.

authorship, is Theodoret's, the QRO, even if it exhibits some features that distinguish it from Theodoret's other writings, may also be his.

A more satisfactory assessment of the question of authorship, however, will only be possible after the ongoing critical edition of the work is completed. The critical establishment of the text would certainly allow for deeper comparisons between the QRO and Theodoret's authentic writings, and would enhance the investigation of Byzantine florilegia and Syriac anti-Chalcedonian collections and treatises, which may preserve further references to or quotations from the text which could eventually prove decisive for its dating and authorship. So a meticulous reconstruction of the textual tradition and the critical text resulting therefrom will possibly provide us with a tool which will help not only to raise, but also to solve, the new questions on the old answers of Pseudo-Justin to the Orthodox.

Appendix



Tentative Stemma of Pseudo-Justin's Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos

Manuscripts

- C Athens, National Library, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou 273 (10th c.), fos. 98^r–170^r
- P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 450 (1364), fos. 334^v–418^v
- X Ohrid, Narodni Muzej, MS 86 (Mošin 84) (13th c.), p. 111 (QA 140 only)
- L London, British Library, Add. 82951 (1539), pp. 535–654
- O¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici 61 (16th c.), fos. 195^r–245^r
- M Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 136 (16th c.), pp. 135–40 (QA 36, 51, 11, 12, 16–18, 136, 139)
- E Eurutania, Monê Prousou, MS 1 (18th c.), fos. 1^r–9^v (QA 14, 26, 32, 33, 48, 50, 57, 76, 77, 80, 94, 95, 109, 145, 67, 85, 90, 53, 106, 21, 58)
- G Athens, National Library, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou, 405 (1717), fos. 50^v–93^r
- V Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS S¹ 20, fo. 51^v

Florilegia

NiQuEp (QA 8, 9, 21, 46, 50, 56, 58, 60, 73, 80, 106)

- P² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. Gr. 1366 (18th c.), fos. 61^r–63^v
- A Athens, Library of the Hellenic Parliament, MS 47 (18th c.), fos. 172^r–176^r
- I Athos, Ibêrôn Monastery, MS 679 (18th c.), item 3
- B Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, MS 538 (18th c.), fos. 84^v–96^r
- S Siatista, Manouseios Dêmosia Bibliothêkê, MS 17 (18th c.), fos. 67^v–71^r

QuPh (QA 48, 116, 117, 64, 57, 59, 62, 63, 93–5, 31, 130, 73, 123, 119, 8, 46, 127, 128, 52, 74, 81, 107, 19, 21, 124, 10, 2, 24, 4, 5, 14, 102, 98, 70, 103–5, 115, 118, 106)

- O² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici 61 (18th c.), fos. 246^r–261^r
- K Kozanê, Kobentareios Dêmotikê Bibliothêkê, MS 67 (18th c.), fos. 175^r–221^v

FloM (QA 21)

- F Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 270 (11th c. ex.), fo. 164^{r-v}
- F² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 7 (12th c. ex.), fos. 618^v–619^r

Quotations

DTr Ps.-Theodoretus, *De Trinitate* (8th–10th c.) (QA 117)

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Nik¹ Niketas Heracleensis, *Catena Evangelii secundum Lucam* (c.1080) (QA 20)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Graec. 1611, fo. 83^v

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, theol. graec. 71, fo. 349^v

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Nik² Niketas Heracleensis, *Catena Evangelii secundum Lucam* (c.1080) (QA 58)

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Author notes

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