

DAVID E. NYSTRÖM

The Apology of Justin Martyr

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

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Mohr Siebeck

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David E. Nyström

The Apology of Justin Martyr

Literary Strategies
and the Defence of Christianity

Mohr Siebeck

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To Filippa and Edwin

Preface

This book is the lightly revised version of a doctoral thesis which was defended at the Faculty of Divinity, University of Cambridge in April 2012. The bibliography has been updated, the language revised, and some points have been clarified or reformulated. The majority of the text, as well as all major conclusions, nonetheless remain the same.

My interest in Justin Martyr and the Christian movements of the second century was sparked already during my undergraduate studies, but developed when I conducted my master studies at the University of Durham. At first, my primary interest rested in the relationship between Christianity and Judaism and therefore my early encounter with Justin was largely limited to the *Dialogue with Trypho*. As I moved into doctoral studies at Cambridge, I began to study the *Apology* and its rhetoric mostly as a preliminary exercise, and I had the intention of eventually continuing into the *Dialogue*. However, the *Apology* proved to be an enormously captivating and rich text, and I was never able to leave it. This study, thus, is the product of what was intended to be only a cursory investigation carried out in the initial stages of the project.

Most of my research took place in the Tyndale House Library which, though primarily a library for biblical studies, proved to host a surprisingly vast variety of resources which the present project could benefit from. I would like to thank the Tyndale House community for the opportunity to live and do research at the premises, but also for all the inspiration, encouragement and fellowship I experienced during my time there.

Further, I would like to direct my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Judith M. Lieu, without whose competent guidance, sharp analyses and probing questions directed towards drafts in different stages of this project, the final result would indeed have looked very different.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, whose unyielding support during all the years of study and research cannot be measured or valued, as well as all friends and members of family who have offered help and encouragement in different ways.

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List of Abbreviations

AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
AZK	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BZHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>DTT</i>	<i>Dansk teologisk tidsskrift</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JbAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JES</i>	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
NT.S	Novum Testamentum Supplement
MSMG	Mnemosyne Supplements. Monographs on Greek and Latin Language and Literature

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<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>SecSen</i>	<i>Second Century</i>
<i>SMSR</i>	<i>Studi materiali di storia delle religioni</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
TH	Théologie Historique
<i>ThQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VCSup	Vigiliae Christianae, Supplements
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Chapter 1

Introduction

Sometime around 112 CE, Pliny, imperial governor over the Roman provinces Pontus and Bithynia (parts of modern day Turkey), writes a personal letter to his old friend and master, the emperor Trajan, and asks for guidance in a particular question (*Letters* 10:96–97). He wants to know what his policies should be in dealing with an apparently red-flagged religious group of people, a superstitious cult, whose members call themselves Christians.

Admitting that he has never been present at a trial of a Christian, he expresses concerns as to what guidelines he should follow when dealing with them in court. What punishment should they be given? Should the age of the accused be factored in? Should the charges be dropped and a pardon be given if the Christian recants? And perhaps most importantly, is the name ‘Christian’ prosecutable in itself, even if no criminal actions (lat. *flagitia*) can be proven to have been committed? His present practice is to repeatedly ask the accused ones if they are Christians, and if they persist in so affirming they are sentenced to death on the grounds, if nothing else, of sheer obstinacy. Yet the problem is that more and more people are being denounced as Christians, even by anonymous accusers, and as his own investigations into the allegedly criminal activities¹ of the group have yielded no significant results, the governor has postponed all further trials, awaiting the emperor’s counsel and ruling. The emperor’s reply is brief, and it reassures Pliny that he has acted correctly. Christians are not to be sought out, but if they are denounced (by identifiable accusers) and found guilty in court, they shall be punished unless they repent and show this by praying to the Roman gods.

This is the first Roman source which mentions and discusses the imperial legal policies adopted against Christians, and it has been of great importance to the effort of mapping the legal situation of second century Christians.² It is also one of our earliest testimonies to how the pagan world reacted to and

¹ Pliny does not specify which crimes he had expected to find evidence for. They may have been ordinary crimes, but more likely they were crimes which through rumours were especially associated with Christians. Possibly, these would have included promiscuous orgies, infanticide (Thyestean banquets), Oedipean unions and other crimes we know were ascribed to Christians not long after the time of Pliny. Cf. Robert Louis Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them*, 2 ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 17–18.

² For further reading on Pliny’s and Trajan’s exchange, see *ibid.*, 1–30.

interpreted the rise of the Christian movement. And as the surrounding world reacted, Christians, in due turn, began to counter-react and respond. It is along this chain of reactions and counter-reactions during the second century that the formation of early Christian identity begins to take place.

One of the earliest and most influential of these “counter-reactors” was Justin Martyr, the great Christian apologist of the time. Though the Christian movement, from its slender beginnings in Jerusalem, to a large extent had been shaped and defined through the production and dissemination of texts, and though these texts certainly bore testimonies to persecutions from different authorities, the first direct response to the imperial policies discussed by Pliny, and in some respects created by Trajan, was given by Justin. Earlier Christian literature, by and large intended for an inward audience, rarely, if ever, directly engages in political, legal or philosophical questions which would have made any sense to outsiders, especially those of Pliny’s stature and education.

In Justin’s *Apologia pro Christianis* (*Apology on Behalf of the Christians*, hereafter the *Apology*) we encounter, for the first time, an attempt to give a comprehensive Christian response to imperial politics and culture, and a defence for the Christian faith which intersects deeply with and challenges inherited cultural notions of truth and validity, political reason and civic morality. Condemnations of legal practices, whether real or perceived, such as judging citizens based on rumours and ascribing guilt on the basis of a mere name, are juxtaposed with philosophical arguments concerning the nature of truth and a proteptic defence of Christianity over and against Graeco-Roman culture and religion.

With Justin’s *Apology*, Christian discourse takes a large step forward. Breaking out from the idiosyncratic circles which inevitably characterize all sectarian literature, Justin frames his discussion in a language, and in accordance with intellectual standards, understandable and acceptable to the literate elite of the contemporary Roman society. This makes the *Apology* one of the most important texts produced by the early Christian community, and crucial to the study of early Christian identity formation.

This study is an attempt to analyse this epoch-making text, with particular interest given to the different literary strategies used by Justin in his defence of Christianity. How did Justin react to the challenges Christians faced from the surrounding society and, more importantly, how and for what purposes did he formulate his response? But before proceeding to the specific questions which will be addressed in the chapters to come, a short introduction to Justin’s life, work and circumstances is needed.

A. Justin and His Works¹

I. Life

We know little of Justin's life, except that he was born ca. 100 CE in Flavia Neapolis, a town in Syria Palestine near biblical Shechem, which was founded by the emperor Vespasian. Though referring to the Samaritans as his γένοϋς (*Ap.* 2:15:1; *Dial.* 120:6), the names of his father and grandfather (*Ap.* 1:1) are Roman and Greek, and it is therefore likely that he belonged to a family that had immigrated to the area from elsewhere in the Roman empire. Having acquainted himself with the major schools of philosophy,² he was eventually converted to Christianity by an old man whom he, according to his own account, met on a seashore (*Dial.* chs. 3–7). What convinced him of the truth of Christianity was partly the lifestyle and courage of the Christians, which he had earlier marvelled over (*Ap.* 2:12:1), and partly the fulfilment of the words of the Hebrew prophets in the life and ministry of Jesus Christ (*Dial.* 7:2; 8:1). Eventually, Justin came to reside in Rome, where he seems to have founded some sort of school of philosophy, in which he taught Christianity to any who came to him (*Mart. Just.* 2).³ Already by Tertullian, (*Adv. Val.* 5:1) Justin was called both philosopher and martyr, and it was as a philosopher he presented

¹ This introduction will be kept short and concise. For recent and more comprehensive introductions to Justin's life, works and thought, see e.g. Charles Munier, *Justin, Apologie pour les Chrétiens: Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction et Notes*, Sources Chrétiennes (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2006), 9–99, and Denis Minns, "Justin Martyr," in *The Cambridge History of Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lloyd P. Gerson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 258–269.

² In the account of his martyrdom, Justin claims that he had attempted to understand the teachings of 'all schools' (πάντες λόγοι, *Mart. Just.* 2:3) and in the introduction to the *Dialogue*, he gives a description of his philosophical wanderings from teacher to teacher, which included a Stoic, a Peripatetic, a Pythagorean, and finally a Platonist (*Dial.* 2:2–6). The authenticity of the latter account has been debated, not the least because of its similarity to other stylized accounts of 'philosophical journeys', such as those of Lucian and Galen; see Niels Hyldahl, *Philosophie und Christentum: Eine Interpretation der Einleitung zum Dialog Justins*, Acta Theologica Danica (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Munksgaard, 1966), 154–158, for an argument against its historicity, and the critique in Peter Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 158, n. 154.

³ On the role of philosophy teachers in Rome's cultural life, see Judith M. Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 303–306. Cf. Bernard Pouderon, "Réflexions sur la formation d'une élite intellectuelle chrétienne au II^e siècle: les écoles d'Athènes, de Rome et d'Alexandrie," in *Les apologistes chrétiens et la culture grecque*, ed. Bernard Pouderon and Joseph Doré, TH (Paris: Beauchesne Éditeur, 1998) and Tobias Georges, "Justin's School in Rome – Reflections on Early Christians 'Schools'," *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 16, (2012): 75–87.

himself. In *Dial.* 1:2 he is greeted by his interlocutor, a prominent Jew called Trypho, because he is wearing a *pallium*, a philosopher's cloak. He also referred to Christianity as the 'true philosophy' (*Dial.* 8:1) and he apparently took part in debates with other philosophers.⁴ Around 165 CE, Justin and six of his students were brought before the prefect of Rome, Rusticus, and were ordered to make an offering to the Roman gods. Refusing to comply, they were all brought away to be scourged and executed through beheading. At least some of the students who followed Justin to his death claimed to have been raised as Christians by their parents (*Mart. Just.* 3), but presumably Justin's students and followers would also have included converts – perhaps catechumens and neophytes who wanted to learn more about Christianity and be strengthened in their new faith, and possibly also sympathetic though yet unconverted pagans who took an interest in Christianity.

II. Works

Justin was a prolific writer, but from the time of Harnack⁵ only three surviving works bearing his name have generally been considered authentic: the *First Apology*, the *Second Apology* and the much longer *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew*. The *Apologies*, framed as letters or petitions to the emperor, argue for the rights of Christians to be treated fairly in the imperial courts, and try to present a case for the rationality and soundness of the Christian faith. The relation between the two apologies is, however, complicated and will be discussed below. The *Dialogue* is cast as a conversation, loosely modeled on Plato's dialogues, between Justin and a distinguished Jew called Trypho. Their discussion, which turns into more of a monologue on Justin's part, centers on the validity of the Mosaic Law and the true nature of the people of God.

Several pseudepigraphies ascribed to Justin have also survived, and apart from these there are references in ancient Christian literature to lost works as well as a few fragments.⁶ Justin himself mentions a work (the so called *Synagma*) he has written against 'all the heresies that have arisen' (*Ap.* 26:8). Irenaeus (*A.H.* IV:6) refers to a treatise against Marcion written by Justin

⁴ In *Ap.* 2:3(8):1–7, he refers to a vitriolic debate between himself and a Cynic philosopher called Crescens. According to Eusebius, this same Crescens was later instrumental in the arrest and execution of Justin and his friends (*H.E.* IV:16:3–6).

⁵ Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs Verlag, [1893] 1958), 99–114.

⁶ A substantial fragment from a work ascribed to Justin called *On the Resurrection*, preserved by John Damascene, has been considered authentic by some scholars (cf. e.g. Pierre Prigent, *Justin et l'Ancien testament: l'argumentation scripturaire du traité de Justin contre toutes les hérésies comme source principale du Dialogue avec Tryphon et de la première Apologie*, *Études bibliques* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1964)), but this is not the majority view.

(which could possibly be the *Syntagma*) and Eusebius (*H.E.* IV:18:1–6) mentions several additional works, now lost: one *Address to the Greeks*, a book called *Refutation*, one treatise on the unity of God and one on the soul, and finally a work called *Psalmist*.⁷

III. Social and Cultural Sitz-im-Leben

The eighteenth-century church historian Philip Schaff famously called Justin the first Church Father who may be considered a ‘learned theologian and Christian thinker.’⁸ Justin’s texts do indeed move the propagation of the Christian gospel to a new level and in academia he is often treated as constituting a watershed between the disciplines of New Testament Studies and Patristics. In his writings we encounter, for the first time, a deep engagement with the surrounding culture, rivaling faiths and philosophies, as well as a sustained, logic-based and philosophical argument for the superiority of the Christian faith. The second century was a time of great developments and changes taking place in the Christian community – a time during which the relatively small and confined Jesus movement transformed from a largely inner-Jewish sect into a predominantly gentile religion and spread all over the known world attracting people from all backgrounds and walks of life. As a religion, it must be seen as a novelty, mixing universal claims similar to those of the most prominent philosophies with an intolerance rivaling that of the most exclusive, national religion and the exclusivity of a mystery cult. Its message and call to repentance and conversion pertained to everyone, everywhere, but at the same time it was unyielding to the customs and beliefs of the society into which it sought admittance. In addition, the moral demands put on its followers were high. The new religion was indeed something very foreign, and at times quite provoking, to the ancient mind. In this context, a need for a distinct and recognizable Christian identity began to emerge. What was true Christianity and what was not? Who was a Christian and who was not? And perhaps most importantly: how and in what way did the Christian faith distinguish itself from its cultural, religious and philosophical rivals? These were questions that concerned the Christian writers of the second century. The two first ones, although addressed by Justin and other early writers as well, came into bright focus first with Irenaeus and the later heresiologists, but the third question is one with which Justin is deeply concerned. How can

⁷ For lists and/or descriptions of lost works, fragments and the pseudo-Justin literature, see e.g. Leslie W. Barnard, *Justin Martyr, His Life and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 172, André Wartelle, *Saint Justin: Apologies: Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction, Commentaire et Index* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987), 24–28, Munier, *Justin, Apologie*, 19–21, or Minns, “Justin Martyr”, 260–261.

⁸ Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2 (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, [1882] 1996), 715.

it be shown and proved that Christianity is equally valid, rational and sound – in fact, even superiorly so – to its competitors, specifically Judaism, pagan philosophy and Graeco-Roman religion?

With this sketchy background in place, it is time to move on towards the specific questions which will govern this study.

B. Question and Methodological Approach

Justin often goes under the title *apologist* which, of course, refers to him as a writer of texts which are called *apologies*. As will be discussed in the next chapter, ‘apology’ is not an unproblematic term, and neither is it easy to define, but used in its widest sense it simply refers to some sort of defence. What Justin defends in his work entitled the *Apology* is both the rights of *Christian individuals* and, primarily, the reasonableness of the *Christian faith* as such. Yet, this defence is anything but defensive; it is rather both protreptic and triumphant. Certainly, Justin spends time refuting misconceptions about Christianity and Christians, but his most important aim is to present Christianity as not only an acceptable religion, but as a faith or philosophy far superior to any of its contemporary rivals.

The present project seeks to focus solely on the *Apology* in an attempt to analyse the literary-rhetorical strategies Justin uses in his defence of Christianity. Attention will thus be given to what actually happens in the text: how and why Justin formulates his arguments the way he does, how he negotiates between traditions, and why he shapes his material in certain ways. These analyses build upon three important assumptions, which will be clearly stated from the beginning. The first is that in order to understand the *Apology* it must be treated as a separate text and thus independently from the *Dialogue*. The reason is that Justin employs literary and apologetic strategies differently in each text and that his intended audience and purpose are not necessarily the same. For example, a reconstruction from both texts of how Justin uses the so called ‘Logos doctrine’ may possibly yield a fuller picture of Justin’s *ideas* on the logos than if only one text is used, but it is not helpful for understanding the dynamic and function of the argument in the *Apology*; for this the *Apology* needs to be analysed on its own. The second assumption is that Justin is in control of his sources and thus that what is found in the text of the *Apology* serves a function and is included for a reason. This study will not take interest in unveiling or identifying Justin’s direct literary sources, and will thus not engage heavily with the meticulous scholarship of Skarsaune and others on this subject.⁹ It will, at times, briefly attempt to locate Justin on the large canvas which features the philosophical and literary traditions of his

⁹ See discussion below.

time, but more importantly it will seek to understand what Justin does with the traditions he is in receipt of and how he shapes them into serving his purposes. The third assumption is that the *Apology* can and should be seen as a text which can be understood on its own terms and thus that it is a fruitful endeavour to look for inner consistency in the text and to treat the different literary strategies as pieces of a puzzle which, understood correctly, together depict a coherent message.

Having established these basic assumptions, it is time for a more detailed discussion of the chosen methodological approach. To anticipate the conclusions of the review of literature below, most of the research on the *Apology* which has been done to date can be categorized into three groups: a) research which aims at a reconstruction of Justin's position on different theological questions, b) research into Justin's philosophical background and context or c) research into Justin's literary sources and traditions. This study will fit into none of these categories but will attempt to approach the *Apology* from a different angle. Instead of trying to get 'behind' the text in various ways – either by probing into the mind of its author or by trying to identify or reconstruct its different sources – an attempt will be made to analyse and understand the text on its own premises. This means that focus will be given to what really happens in the text, i.e. to what goes on in the narrative and in the argumentation. The method chosen could be described as literary-rhetorical analysis. The aim will be to map the most important apologetic arguments Justin uses in the *Apology* and analyse them as literary-rhetorical strategies employed for certain given reasons. 'Rhetorical', in this context, should not be understood as a reference either to oratory techniques or the standards associated with the *art* of Graeco-Roman rhetoric, but to the inner-text dynamic between words and purpose and to the complicated relations between text, argument and function. In plainer language, the point of interest lies in seeking an understanding of how Justin's different strategies and arguments are used and shaped, why they are used and shaped this way, and how they work together with the purpose of reaching specific argumentative goals. Consequently, I am less interested in Justin's ideas as such than in how they function and are expressed in the text, and how the text itself functions as a defence for the Christian faith.

Yet, as the reader will notice, the following chapters still do contain some lengthy context-related discussions. These discussions, as a rule, do not take interest in the background to Justin's thought, as much as in the socio-cultural circumstances which formed his argumentation. For example, when the 'argument from antiquity' in the *Apology* is treated, the background discussion focuses on the importance of this type of argument in the ancient world. Rather than mapping Justin's historical/literary sources or philosophical influences, the interest lies in mapping the background to his concerns, as well as the more general traditions his apologetic responses draw upon.

C. Review of Previous Literature

There are several rich bibliographical resources available for Justin, for example Skarsaune's article in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*,¹⁰ Stephan Heid's in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*¹¹ and Wartelle's exhaustive historical bibliography on Justin and the second century apologists,¹² and as these will show, there is no lack of secondary literature on Justin. Yet, no comprehensive review of this literature will be undertaken here. As I will not engage heavily with earlier interpretations of Justin, differing from them primarily in method, what constitutes relevant literature will vary between the different parts, and consequently particular works will be introduced at the appropriate place.

A short description of the state of recent research is nonetheless warranted, and as an admirably well summarized one has been provided by Michael Slusser in the recent edited publication *Justin Martyr and His Worlds*,¹³ it will serve as a good starting point for the present discussion. Slusser rightly observes that Justin scholarship in the last 50 years has taken two different paths: one which has focused on Justin's relation to Hellenistic philosophy, and one which has centered on his relation to Judaism.¹⁴ In correlation, the first trajectory has been more concerned with the *Apology*¹⁵ and the second with the *Dialogue*. Obviously, the first trajectory of scholarship, which focuses on the *Apology*, is more important to the present study and will therefore be focused upon here.

In the modern study of the *Apology*, two major interests can be detected. One interest has been in Justin as a theologian, and its aim has been to recon-

¹⁰ Oskar Skarsaune, "Justin der Märtyrer," in *TRE*, ed. Gerhard Müller, Gerhard Krause, and Horst Robert Balz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988).

¹¹ Stephan Heid, "Iustinus Martyr I," in *RAC*, ed. Theodor Klauser (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1999).

¹² André Wartelle, *Bibliographie historique et critique de saint Justin, philosophe et martyr, et des apologistes grecs du IIe siècle, 1494–1994, avec un supplément* (Paris: Lanore, 2001).

¹³ Michael Slusser, "Justin Scholarship: Trends and Trajectories," in *Justin Martyr and his Worlds* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁵ The first nine chapters of the *Dialogue* are also of great interest to students of Justin's relation to philosophy, and some contributions have majored on these (e.g. Hyldahl, *Philosophie*, J. C. M. van Winden, *An Early Christian Philosopher* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), Robert Joly, *Christianisme et Philosophie: Etudes sur Justin et les Apologistes du deuxième siècle* (Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1973), 9–74, Torben Christensen, "Bemærkninger og overvejelser til Niels Hyldahl: Philosophie og Christentum: eine Interpretation der Einleitung zum Dialog Justens [sic]," *DTT* 29, (1966): 195–232, and Niels Hyldahl, "Bemærkninger til Torben Christensens analyse af indledningen til Justins Dialog," *ibid.* 30, (1967): 129–146).

struct Justin's theology, often pertaining to questions which are of interest to the modern theological community. The conviction underlying these works, as formulated by Chadwick, is that though Justin 'never sets out to give a single, succinct statement of his beliefs, it is possible to piece together a mosaic providing a clear and surprisingly full account of his doctrines of God, Creation, Incarnation, Atonement, the Church, the sacraments of baptism and eucharist, and the Last Things.'¹⁶ Further, Chadwick asserts, 'every essential element in the traditional Christian pattern could be expounded on the basis of Justin's statements and allusions, together with some other elements that may be thought less essential.'¹⁷ In this category we find (apart from Chadwick's own just quoted contribution) the comprehensive monographs on Justin, such as Goodenough's¹⁸ classic opus, and the more modern contributions of Barnard and Osborn,¹⁹ but also more specialized works such as Trakatellis' excellent study on the pre-existence of Christ in Justin's writings.²⁰ Typical for these reconstructive works is that they, for understandable reasons, make use of both the *Apology* and the *Dialogue*, and thus they rarely contribute directly to the exclusive study of the *Apology*. The other interest which has dominated research on the *Apology* is Justin's relation to Greek/Hellenistic philosophy. It was propelled by the publication of Carl Andresen's article in 1952, in which the author argues that Justin's philosophical outlook should be understood as fundamentally Middle Platonist.²¹ This generated a wealth of further scholarship which had as its goal to analyze Justin's philosophical framework in greater detail.²² This, in turn, also stirred an interest in a more general research into Justin's literary sources. Already Goodenough had argued that Justin's knowledge of Hellenistic phi-

¹⁶ Henry Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition: Studies in Justin, Clement, and Origen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 18–19.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁸ Erwin R. Goodenough, *The Theology of Justin Martyr: An Investigation into the Conceptions of Early Christian Literature and its Hellenistic and Judaistic Influences* (Jena: Verlag Frommannsche Buchhandlung, 1923).

¹⁹ Barnard, *Life and Thought*, Eric Osborn, *Justin Martyr* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1973).

²⁰ Demetrius C. Trakatellis, *The Pre-Existence of Christ in the Writings of Justin Martyr: an Exegetical Study with Reference to the Humiliatio and Exaltatio Christology* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976). A number of important articles have been written on different aspects of Justin's theology, but space does not allow for them to be listed here. Many of them will be found in the bibliographical works already referred to.

²¹ Carl Andresen, "Justin und der mittlere Platonismus," *ZNW* 44, (1952).

²² Examples of important contributions to this debate are Ragnar Holte, "Logos Spermaticos: Christianity and Ancient Philosophy according to St. Justin's Apologies," *ST* 12, (1958), Henry Chadwick, "Justin Martyr's Defence of Christianity," *BJRL* 7, (1965), Joly, *Christianisme*, Mark J. Edwards, "On the Platonic Schooling of Justin Martyr," *JTS* 42, (1991), and "Justin's Logos and the Word of God," *J ECS* 3, (1995).

losophy was mediated through Hellenistic Jewish sources, Philo *par excellence*, but no comprehensive research had been done into the matter. In 1964, Prigent made an attempt, through an analysis of Justin's use of the Hebrew Scriptures, to prove that Justin's lost *Syntagma* served as the source for both the *Apology* and the *Dialogue*.²³ Though his conclusions failed to convince the majority of scholars, Prigent's method of tracing Justin's sources through their use in the text served as inspiration to Oskar Skarsaune's seminal work on Justin's proof-texting tradition, *Proof from Prophecy*, which was published in 1987.²⁴ This work, which Slusser identifies as the launching point for the 'Dialogue trend' in modern Justin research,²⁵ deals nonetheless (which Slusser acknowledges), with the *Apology* as well, and constituted a groundbreaking research into the literary sources and traditions behind Justin's texts.

Research on ancient apologetic texts was given a substantial contribution in the edited volume *Apologetics in the Roman Empire*,²⁶ which, among other things, deals with questions of genre and audience of ancient apologetic works. These questions were then readdressed, more specifically pertaining to Justin, in the above-mentioned edited volume *Justin Martyr and his Worlds*,²⁷ especially in Sarah Parvis' article "Justin Martyr and the Apologetic Tradition."²⁸ In the same volume, Paul Parvis also introduced a radically new perspective on the history of the text of the *Apology*, which was then further developed and implemented in his and Denis Minns' recent critical text and translation.²⁹ Several of these works will be given fuller introductions in the pages to come.

To date, no work has given specific interest into comprehensively analyzing Justin's apologetic strategies or into exploring how the different arguments and apologetic *topoi* function together in the text, which is the aim of the present volume.

This short review is, obviously, far from exhaustive but it is sufficient to provide a grasp of the state of the present research on Justin's *Apology*.

²³ Prigent, *Justin et l'Ancien testament*.

²⁴ Oskar Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile*, NT.S. (Leiden: Brill, 1987).

²⁵ Slusser, "Justin Scholarship", 16.

²⁶ Mark J. Edwards, Martin Goodman, and Simon Price, eds., *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagan, Jews and Christians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

²⁷ Sara Parvis and Paul Foster, eds., *Justin Martyr and His Worlds* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007).

²⁸ Sara Parvis, "Justin Martyr and the Apologetic Tradition," in *Justin Martyr and His Worlds* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007).

²⁹ Paul Parvis, "Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: The Posthumous Creation of the Second Apology," *ibid.*, Denis Minns and Paul Parvis, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

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