

Justin: teacher, philosopher and martyr

Justino: mestre, filósofo e mártir

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Abstract: On this essay, we will present to the reader Justin Martyr, a II century Christian philosopher and theologian. To accomplish this task, we will give a brief summary of the use of the term *διδάσκαλος* in the Greek poetic and philosophical literature, in Flavius Josephus and the *New Testament*. Onwards, we will reconstruct the essential elements of Justin's philosophical school at Rome. Additionally, we will present Justin's biographical data and a critical analysis of his legal procedure and conviction, as transmitted by the *Acta Iustini, Rescencion A*. Finally, we will do a stylistic analysis of Justin's *Apology*.

Resumo: No presente artigo, apresentaremos ao leitor a figura de Justino Mártir, filósofo e teólogo cristão do século II. Para tanto, apresentaremos um breve resumo do emprego do termo *διδάσκαλος* na literatura poética e filosófica grega, em Flávio Josefo e no *Novo Testamento*. A seguir, reconstruiremos os elementos essenciais da escola filosófica de Justino, em Roma. Adicionalmente, apresentaremos os elementos biográficos conhecidos sobre Justino e analisaremos criticamente o registro de seu processo judicial e condenação, conforme transmitidos pela *Recensão A dos Acta Iustinus*. Finalmente, realizaremos uma análise estilística da *Apologia*, de Justino.

Keywords:

Christianity;
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Teacher;
Philosopher;
Martyr.

Palavras-chave:

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Justino;
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Teachers in Graeco – Roman and Jewish sources

In order to better understand the historical significance of Justin and avoid inaccuracies and anachronisms, we will make a brief summary of some contemporary scholarly contributions about the sense of talking about “teachers” and “schools” in Antiquity.

The first known attestation of the word *διδάσκαλος* is in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (*Hymn. Merc.* 556) dating from the sixth century BCE. The word is located in a sort of appendix (513-578), that was probably written by the same author of the rest of the hymn. Other attestations of the word are in Heraclitus (c. 535-475 BCE, fragments 57 and 104), Aeschylus (c. 525-456; *Eum.* 279 and 584; *Prom.* 109, 322, 373; *Sept. c. Theb.* 573.) and many other later Greek documents. In the Septuagint, there are only two occurrences (*Esther* 6, 1 and *2Mac.* 1, 10). In the first passage, *διδάσκαλος* was the translator option to designate the king’s lector. In the second, Aristobulus is called teacher of King Ptolemy, probably because he dedicated to the king a book about the Mosaic Law (FALCETTA, 2006, p. 47).

Previously to the Alexandrian culture, *διδάσκαλος* had the technical meaning of choir master. Zimmermann (1987, p. 76-86) identified four meanings for the term *διδάσκαλος*: 1) Counselor: usually with a pejorative sense, designating someone who instigates the masses, a traitor, or someone who somehow deceives the people. This sense can be seen in the works of Heraclitus (Frag. 57), Aeschylus (*Sept.* 573), and Lysias (*Oratio* 12, 47; 12, 78; 14, 30). Philo (*Spec.* 1, 56 – 57; cf. *Num.* 25, 1 – 8) designates as *διδάσκαλος κανών* a woman who diverts an Israelite. Also on this issue, Philo (*Spec.* 3, 11) calls *διδάσκαλοι* those who want to own other people’s wives, for inciting others to commit the same ungodliness. Josephus (*A.J.* 1, 61) says that Cain became instructor (*διδάσκαλος*) of perverted practices to all whom he met.

Besides the above mentioned negative sense, it is perceived a neutral significance on Aeschylus (*Eum.* 279) and Isocrates (*Antid.* 95, 104). From Aristophanes (*Equ.* 1235) onwards we find the positive meaning of elementary teacher. Philo (*Legat.* 27; 53; 54; *Migr.* 116; *Sacr.* 51), also, employs this term for elementary teachers in several texts; *διδάσκαλος* is also used to designate the person who teaches a specific knowledge (*τέχνη*), like music (Plat., *Lach.* 180d; *Menex.* 236), medicine (Plat., *Meno*, 93d); rhetoric (Plat., *Menex.* 236a) etc. Also, according to Philo (*Mos.* 1, 21 – 24), Moses would have been educated in his youth by Egyptians, Greeks and neighboring countries *διδάσκαλοι*.

Finally, the term *διδάσκαλος* designates a master of philosophy or religion. This is the meaning that matters in this essay. Initially, *διδάσκαλος* had an ambiguous meaning. On the one hand, Plato presents Socrates refusing to be identified as a teacher; On the

other hand, this is precisely the way Aristophanes presents Sócrates (*Nub.* 871, 1147, 146). Obviously, the refusal of Socrates to be called teacher derives from its peculiar philosophical understanding, according to which his role would be just make people aware of what they already know. Besides, of course, a controversy with the Sophists, who presented themselves as masters, willing to be paid for teaching a knowledge unknown to the student.

Around the time of Jesus, Epictetus (1, 9, 12 *Diss.* cf. 2, 21, 10) defined himself *διδάσκαλον... καὶ παιδευτήν*. Among the Jews, Josephus presents Moses as master of Joshua (*A.J.* 3, 49) and Ananias *διδάσκαλος* of Izates, on Jewish religion (*A.J.* 20, 46). The Sadducees considered a virtue to dispute with the masters on the paths of wisdom (*A.J.* 18, 16). Whatever is the judgment that should be made about the *Testimonium Flavianum*, the fact is that Jesus is also presented as *διδάσκαλος* and *σοφός* (*A.J.* 18, 63, 3). Moreover, we have the *New Testament* passages in which Jesus is designated as a master such as: *Matt.* 9, 11; 10, 24-25 and its parallel *Luke* 6, 40; *Matt.* 17, 24; *Marc.* 14, 14 and parallel *Matt.* 26, 18; *Luke* 22, 11; *Marc.* 5, 35; and parallel *Luke* 8, 49; *John.* 11, 28; 13, 13-14. We also have passages where John the Baptist is called *máster* (*Luke* 3, 12), some Jews are so called (*Rom.* 2, 20, *Luke* 2, 26; *John* 3, 10), not to mention Christian teachers (FALCETTA, 2006, p. 49).

After this brief overview of the use of *διδάσκαλος* term and its various meanings in Antiquity, it is necessary to try to trace the main features of the Ancient schools. R. Alan Culpepper (1975, p. 258-259) defines as a school a group of disciples who usually emphasize the *φιλία* and *κοινωνία*. This group has an identity that is different from the general society and also different from other similar groups by tracing its origin to a founder, considered by its disciples as wise and good. Members of this group see themselves as disciples of this founder and perform activities in common, such as: teaching; learning; study and production of books and community meals, usually in memory of its founder. Moreover, in order to strengthen the group identity, there were common rules for the admission of new members and standards of conduct to maintain the status of group member, which inevitably created some distance, total or partial, from the rest of society. Finally, there was the development of an organizational structure to ensure the school's perpetuation in time. C. Loveday Alexander (1994, p. 1005-1011), in turn, tried a broader definition, by distinguishing four levels of relationship: 1) between the teacher and the individual student; 2) With more students of the same master, forming a community; 3) Among several masters, forming a "university"; 4) Among schools, forming a movement.

Finally, before closing this section, we would like to summarize the conclusions of Schmeller (FALCETTA, 2006, p. 50). He believes the basic features of the Hellenistic philosophical schools are: 1) Active participation of students; 2) A strong emotional bond

between the teacher and his students, which translates into a strong authority exercised by the master; 3) The presence of a group of students; 4) Belonging, in most cases, to the privileged strata of society; 5) The tradition as the basis of the teaching authority; 6) Veneration with religious traits of the founder of the school or some other figure from the past; 7) Teaching and learning as daily school activities; 8) In the case of the Stoics, Epicureans and Cynics, use of philosophy in view of *Ψυχαγωγία*.

Biographical elements

After having presented the current understandings of the general characteristics of philosophical schools in Late Antiquity, we will expose the specific features of Justin and his school, according to our available sources.

Justin was born around the year 100, in *Flavia Neapolis*, near the ruins of the biblical *Shechem*, in Syria Palestine. The city was founded as a Roman colony in 72 CE by Emperor Vespasian. It is now known as Nablus and located in the Palestinian territories. Justin came from a family of pagan colonists. His grandfather carried a name of Greek origin, *Bacchius*, and his father, a Roman one, *Priscus*.

In the early chapters of his *Dialogue with Trypho* (2, 1-6), Justin tells us that he looked for teachers of major Greek philosophical traditions of his time: Stoicism, Pythagoreanism, Platonism and Aristotelianism.¹ He converted to Christianity, which he considered to be the true philosophy, between 132 and 135. Even after his conversion to Christianity, Justin continued wearing the *pallium*, id est, the cloak of philosopher and studying the Hellenistic philosophy (DE SIMONE, 2002, p. 798). Justin dwelled at Rome at least twice. It is believed that he passed a period residing in the capital of the Empire, as evident from the account of his martyrdom known as *Acta Iustini* or *Martyrium Sancti Iustini et Sociorum*. During this period at Rome, Justin established a Christian philosophical school, having been prominent during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138 - 161), when he gathered around him a number of disciples, among whom Tatian, the Syrian (DE SIMONE, 2002, p. 798; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, I, 28, 1). According to the already mentioned *Acta Iustini*, Justin was brought before Rusticus, the *praefectus urbi* of Rome, tried and beheaded along with six of his disciples. According to Eusebius (*H. E.* IV, 16, 1), this would have happened by instigation of the Cynic philosopher Crescens, between 163 and 167. The importance of Justin as one of the thinkers who contributed decisively to the development of thought and religious practices of Christianity can be inferred both by references of him made by

¹ For a possible identification of Justin's platonic teacher in Ephesus as Numenius, see: Edwards (1991, p. 21-33).

Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* IV, 6, 2), Tertullian (*Adv. Valentinianus* 5, 396) and Eusebius and by the preservation of his memory as *Saint Justin Martyr*.

In the *Acta Iustini* (2, 3), Rusticus addresses Justin as a teacher in his discipline, and able to speak (*A.I.* 5, 1). Rusticus also engages himself in a conversation on the immortality of the soul, a philosophical theme stranger to criminal proceedings (*A.I.* 2, 3; 5, 1). It is normally admitted that 165 is the year of Justin's martyrdom. This is also the date indicated on the Chronicon Pascale (*P. G.* 92, 629). We have no evidence about his relations with the Roman Christian communities. His statements to fight against all kinds of heresies and his detailed description of Eucharistic worship indicates that he was in agreement with the mainstream of the so called "Great Church", and shared the concern of their leaders regarding pastoral care, liturgy and orthodoxy of local communities (*Justin, Apol.* I, 26-27; 61-67; *Dial.* 35, 6).

We sought, in his theological and exegetical writings indications of authors belonging to schools of Palestine, Asia Minor and Egypt. However, nothing prevents that Justin had had contact with these ideas after his arrival in Rome. Justin did not just teach Christians. He was in dialogue with Jews and Pagans who showed themselves interested (ULRICH, 2014, p. 62-63; MUNIER, 2011, p. 21; *Dial.* 8, 1). Justin's attitude, presenting himself publicly as a philosopher and Christianity as a philosophy was of great audacity and courage. Munier (2011, p. 21) confirms the bad public reputation of Christians after the persecution enforced by Nero blaming the Christians of being responsible for the great fire. On the Christian side, the term "philosophy" designated strictly Pagan systems of thought and had a pejorative meaning.

In the *Apologies*, Justin declares that he discussed publicly in Rome with a Cynic philosopher named Crescens. Justin claims of having proved the ignorance of his opponent about Christianity and the lie of the charges brought against Christians. Justin also asks the Emperor to arbitrate a new debate between them, or at least be aware of the content of the debate already occurred (*Apol.* II 8 (3), 1-6). According to Tatian (*Or. ad Graec.* 19, 3) and Eusebius (*H.E.* IV, 16, 8-9), Crescens was behind the denunciation and condemnation of Justin. Anyway, the episode significantly shows the conditions in which the Christian message was preached in the second century: precarious, dangerous conditions, but this not intimidated Christian διδάσκαλοι and apologists.

The conversion to Christianity

As already stated in this work, Justin is a privileged witness to the dialogue between Greek philosophy and Christianity. It is certainly the most important apologist of the second

century and also the most studied, judging by the amount of secondary literature on him during the last century. Justin was, as far as we know, the first Hellenistic philosopher who converted to Christianity and remained acting as a philosopher (MUNIER 2011, p. 11).

At the beginning of his *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin tells us how he was meditating by the sea, in a not specified location, when he was approached by an elder. They started a conversation on current philosophical issues, such as the immortality of the soul, transmigration of the same in different incarnations and the possibility of knowing God. The elder questioned Justin about his opinions on each of these subjects, and, meanwhile answering the old man's questions, Justin had his certainties broken by the elder's counter-arguments. Finally, the old man convinced him to read the Biblical Prophets, presented as earlier than the Greek philosophers, and as the only ones who spoke inspired by the divine Spirit. Justin reports this event as his starting point for converting to Christianity (*Dial.* 3, 1-8, 2. 409; *Apol.* I, 12, 1).

Additionally, in his *Apology I*, Justin confesses that even when he was still enjoying in the teachings of Plato, he could not believe the charges of grave immorality against the Christians because of their fearlessness in the face of death. Such an attitude was incompatible with a life dedicated to the fleeting pleasures and evil (*Apol.* I, 12, 1). According to Munier, the two accounts are complementary: on the one hand, the study of Scriptures and the conviction that biblical prophecies were being fulfilled in his days gave him the intellectual certainty of the truth of the Christian faith. Additionally, the courage showed by the Christians in the face of persecution and death gave him the moral assurance of Christianity.

Much has been discussed about the literary and philosophical training of Justin. This has been done by discussing the information given by Justin himself in the prologue of the *Dialogue*. The goal was to determine if there was auto biographical information believable. Munier (2011, p. 13 – 15) suggests that the conversion of Justin was the natural result of Justin's intellectual itinerary. Munier points out, that even before conversion, Justin was already a philosopher concerned with religious issues. Although Justin claims being from Samaria, he did not know Hebrew or Aramaic, nor did he show any knowledge of the Samaritan religion and exegesis. He knew, however, certain "rabbinic" exegeses and certain beliefs associated with them.

Within its proper context, the extant writings of Justin demonstrate a good level of philosophical training that allowed him to engage effectively with the intellectual elite of his time. The acts of his martyrdom attest to his boldness in speaking with the prefect of Rome *Quintus Junius Rusticus*, who was a stoic philosopher and the teacher of Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* (MUNIER, 2011, p. 13-15).

Although the first chapters of the *Dialogue* present analogies with Plato's *Protagoras* and recall the literary topos of the "intellectual and/or spiritual journey"; it is not possible to deny all biographical value as it is stated by convergent analysis of many scholars such as N. Hyldahl, J.M.C. Van Winden, P. Lampe, M.J. Edwards and S. Heid.

In conclusion, a thorough analysis of his writings has determined that his education was predominantly literary as the use of this time. Then Justin had a philosophical training following the eclectic scholastic tradition of the time.

Justin as a philosopher

Justin presents itself to the public as a philosopher. He wears a pallium, a distinctive garment of the philosophers of his time (*Dial.*, 1, 1). Unfortunately, we have no further details about his appearance. For him, the title of philosopher is of great importance. Evidence of this is his account of how Trypho would have addressed him as a philosopher (*Dial.* 1, 2), and for having assigned this title to *Marcus Aurelius* (*Apol.* I, 1.). For Justin, the ideal of the philosopher is to know the being and truth. His expected reward is beatitude (*Dial.*, 3, 4). Philosophy is strongly related to devotion and piety (εὐσέβεια) (*Apol.* I, 3, 2; 12, 5). To be a philosopher, a person must show that it is worthy of pursuing philosophy (*Apol.* I, 2, 2). However, Justin is aware of the ambivalence of the philosophers' reputation, for example, when the companions of Trypho mock him (*Dial.* 9, 3); when he himself criticizes philosophers along side with poets narrators of myths (*Apol.* I, 20, 3 – 4; 44, 9), or when he accuses the philosophers of his time to teach contradictory doctrines (*Apol.* I, 1, 44, 1). Anyway, to Justin and the other philosophers of his time, being a philosopher means to seek the truth through reflection on theories and doctrines. This process occurred through dialogue between the one who knows (the master), and the one who wants to know (the disciple) (ULRICH, 2012, p. 65-66). The characteristic activity of the philosopher's teaching. This brings us to the question concerning Justin's school.

Justin's philosophical school at Rome

A document, in our view, essential to a characterization of the profile of Justin's school is the account of his martyrdom along with six companions, known as the *Acta Iustini*. Scholars are unanimous in dating the death of Justin around the year 165. The account of his trial before the Prefect of Rome, Rusticus, survives in three different versions, all showing varying degrees of editing. However, it is admitted that there is a historical core which originated the narrative, and the so-called Recension A is regarded

as the oldest of all, having been written shortly after the events narrated, almost certainly in Rome itself (HILHORST *et al.*, 1987, p. 49).

The *Acta Iustini* tells us that Justin and six companions, among them, a woman, Carito, were brought to the presence of Rusticus,²⁻³ *praefectus urbi* of Rome and formally accused of being Christians. Justin is interrogated first. Rusticus asks him what kind of life he leads,⁴ A little later (A.I. 2, 3) Rusticus specifies the question: "What kind of doctrines do you profess?" (*Ποίους λόγους μεταχείζη*), becoming clear that Justin is presented in the text as a teacher. In A.I. 3, 1 - 2, Rusticus asks Justin where they meet. Initially, Justin replies that they meet wherever possible. The Philosopher reaches the irony by asking the prefect if he thinks it would be a possible chance to gather all Christians in one place. Rusticus insists, and, finally (A.I. 3, 3), Justin says he lives above the bath of Myrtilus, and there they meet, adding that if anyone wanted to come see him, he would inform that person about the Christian principles.

A crucial passage that reveals the relationship between Justin and his companions as a Bond between a master and his disciples, is the question addressed to Justin's disciples: "Did Justin convert you to Christianity?" He seems to recognize a teacher - student relationship between Justin and his fellow Christians. The answer given by EVELPISTUS brings evidence of a "school", "I gladly listened to the teaching of Justin, but my Christianity I received from my parents." This response allows us to speak of a Justin's school, albeit generic and imprecise, since it is very likely that the others were also listeners of Justin (TOBIAS, 2012, p. 77-78).

So far, we have identified the following characteristic features of a school: Justin is presented as a master (A. I. 3, 3), his companions are treated by the prefect as disciples of Justin (A. I. 4, 5), and there is a place designated to meetings, the master's house. We do not know if these six people were the only disciples of Justin, but the small group coincides with the assumption that the house should not be able to contain many people. Most importantly, this group of Christians do not seem to have met for the first time at Justin's home the day they were brought before Rusticus. In addition, as mentioned earlier, Justin made sure to clarify that he would teach anyone who is present at his home. This evidence shows a school open to accept new members, and also shows that Christian baptism does not constitute a pre - requisite for attending Justin's lectures.

² *Εις ἄχθησαν*, judicial technical term which means "were brought before" (HILHORST *et al.*, 1987, p. 391).

³ *Quintus Iunius Rusticus*, Stoic philosopher and teacher of Emperor Marcus Aurelius. He held the consulate twice and urban mayor probably between 162 and 168 (HILHORST *et al.*, 1987, p. 391).

⁴ A. I. 2, 1, *Τίνα βίον βιοῖς*. Barnes suggests that, with this question, Rusticus maybe has intentionally offered Justin the opportunity to avoid conviction to proclaim philosopher (BARNES, 1968, p. 516).

Anyway, even though Justin had only these six disciples at the time of his death, the fact that they always met in the same place and welcomed another person interested in learning about the Christian faith, allows us to characterize the group as a community of teaching and learning with social visibility. Certainly, it is difficult to identify specific Christian educational structures in the second century, and even more difficult if we require the evidence of a succession of teachers as a sign of the permanence of a school. The only way to deny completely the existence of Christian schools in the first two centuries is totally denying the historical value of Christian tradition (TOBIAS, 2012, p. 78-79).

Another important aspect of Justin's school is showed by the answer provided by Paion, another disciple of Justin, to the prefect Rusticus. Speaking for the whole group, Paion says: "We received this (the Christian faith) from our fathers." (*Ἀπὸ τῶν γονέων παρελήφραμεν*) This statement allows us to deduce that the basic Christian education was a responsibility of Christian parents, and that Justin taught more complex matters. This presumed higher level of education is consistent with the picture of Justin as a philosopher and his remaining writings, which deal with philosophical doctrines current at the time (TOBIAS, 2012, p. 80).

Other evidence about Justin's school are the mentions made by Tatian the Syrian. He also wrote an apologetic work, the *Oratio ad Graecos*. In his writing, Tatian refers to Justin twice. In *Or. ad Grac.* 18, 2, Tatian mentions the "admirable Justin," (*Καὶ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Ἰουστίνος*) and in 19, 1, he also mentions that the Cynic Philosopher Crescent "set about involving Justin – as he did with me too – in the death penalty." (*θάνατον, ὡς καὶ Ἰουστίνον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐμὲ*). The dispute between Crescent and Justin is mentioned by Justin himself in *Apology* 2, 8(3). Although Justin does not mention Tatian, the fact that he put himself along side with Justin in this dispute with Crescent proves his discipleship with Justin. This information is confirmed by Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons about 30 years later.

Despite the extant works of Justin do not tell us about the school of the Christian Philosopher, the *Dialogue* presents an initial scene that no doubt can be placed in a school context: Justin, the philosopher, argues with an educated Jew, Trypho, which is accompanied by a group of men who can be also interpreted as Trypho's students (HEID, 2001, p. 820). Although this scene is probably fictional, it's hard not to imagine it as a debate between two masters in a philosophical school horizon (TOBIAS, 2012, p. 81-82).

What can we assume about the doctrinaires' contents discussed in Justin's school? In the *Apology*, Justin defends Christians against Pagan accusations of atheism by their refusal to worship the gods of the Empire. As a defence argument, Justin describes the Christian faith and morality according to the intellectuals' standards of the time, so that people educated in the Greek παιδεία could understand. Thus, we can imagine that in his

school, Justin promoted a dialectical discussion between Hellenistic culture and specifically Christian doctrinal contents.

This assumption is confirmed by the acts of his martyrdom where Rusticus asks Justin what doctrines (λόγοι) he practices; to which Justin replied that he sought to know all doctrines, but is personally committed to follow the Christian ones, even though they were not recognized by followers of false doctrines. This Christian self-definition through the confrontation with Pagan philosophers and their teaching determined a process of assimilation as much as rejection of Pagan culture. For Christians, such as Justin, who received an education based on Greek παιδεία before their conversion, it was necessary to take a position regarding the Hellenistic culture, adopting its philosophical education, but rejecting its myths and polytheistic cults. At the same time, one could not avoid to define the exact relationship of the Christian faith with its Jewish matrix. Thus, the Dialogue with Trypho can also be integrated with Justin's Christian philosophical school environment at Rome.

The *Dialogue* transpires an accurate knowledge by Justin about the exegetical techniques practiced by the Jewish teachers of his time. By now, we can only emphasize that, by confronting himself dialectically with both, Greco - Roman and Jewish cultural environments, Justin gave a great contribution to the formation of Christian theological and cultural identity, which was in full boil, precisely in his days (TOBIAS, 2012, p. 82-83).

Justin's Christian Philosophy

After having discoursed about the figure of Justin as a philosopher and the basic characteristics of his school in Rome, we will still make a quick description of the type of education practiced in the school of Justin before treating his Apology. Διδάσκειν (*Apol.* I, 8, 3; 14, 4; 45, 5) is the regular verb, found several times in the writings of Justin. The noun διδάσκαλος, however, is strictly reserved for Christ, considered the only true master.⁵ Διδάσκειν implies a high esteem of the doctrines that are taught, whose goal is to pass on the teaching of Christ, which was always transmitted in a traditional and authentic way (*Apol.* I, 6, 2; 8, 3; 14, 4). On some occasions Justin says "We were taught and now ourselves teach" (*Apology* I, 14, 4; 8, 3), which emphasizes the authenticity of the Christian teaching transmitted. Christianity is a philosophical doctrine that dates back to Christ, the only true master. Justin does not claim originality; on the contrary, the Christian teacher

⁵ There is, however, one exception in *Apol.* I, 21, 2, which is a subject of controversy over its literary authenticity (MINNS; PARVIS, 2009, p. 133).

should be seen in the continuity of transmission of the Christian tradition and the broader movement of Christian schools.

The works attributed to Justin: authentic and unauthentic

Eusebius presents a merely illustrative list of works attributed to Justin: "A great many other works of his are still in the hands of many of the brethren" (*H.E.* IV, 18, 8). Among the titles presented by Eusebius, we have a "Treatise (*Σύνταγμα*) Against All Heresies", also mentioned by Tertullian (*Adv. Valentinianus*, 5, 1), Photius (*Bibliotheca, Codex* 125, 1 – 3) and Jerome (*De viris illustribus*, 23). Pierre Prigent (1964, p. 211) claims that Justin based *Apol.* I, 39-50 and *Dial.* 16-17; 106-110 on the *Σύνταγμα*. This work was used by Irenaeus and Tertullian in their own anti – heresies treatises.

Eusebius also mentions a "certain discourse of his in defense of our doctrine addressed to Antoninus surnamed the Pious, and to his sons, and to the Roman Senate".

It is unanimous among scholars that this reference means the so called *First Apology*. The Ecclesiastical Historian (IV, 18, 1 – 6) also mentions a second apology (= our *II Apol.*); an *Address to the Greeks*; a work *Against the Greeks*; *On the Monarchy of God*; *The Psalter*; *On the Soul*; and *Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew*. Justin himself mentions his *Treatise Against All Heresies* in his *Apol.* I, 26 and the *Dialogue with Trypho* mentions the *I Apology* in its chapter 120. Finally, Eusebius (*H.E.* IV, 18, 9) reproduces a fragment of Irenaeus (*Adversus Haereses*, IV, 6, 2) which erroneously attributed to Justin a treatise against Marcion: [...] "And Justin well says in his work against Marcion, that he would not have believed the Lord himself if he had preached another God besides the Creator [...]".

It is more likely that the text originates from the *Treatise Against all Heresies* and the refutation of Marcion constituted an extensive section of the book. We still have a few fragments of doubtful authorship in *CPG* 1078 to 1089. John Damascene kept several very important strata of a treatise *On the Resurrection*, attributed to Justin whose authenticity was defended by A. Wartelle (1992, p. 3-10) but denied by B. Pouderon (1997, p. 143-166), and P. Bobichon (2005, p. 60-61). The Bizantine manuscript tradition passed a dozen apologetical and polemical works on behalf of Justin which are certainly apocryphal. Although pseudepigraphical, these works serve to attest the good reputation of philosopher and theologian connected to the memory of Justin (MUNIER, 2011, p. 24-25).

Justin's Apology

The works of Justin which are considered authentic by the critics, the so called *Apologies* and the *Dialogue with Trypho*, came to us in a single manuscript: the *Parisinus Graecus* 450 dated of September 11, 1364 which is preserved in the National Library of Paris. The other manuscript available, *the Codex Musaei Britannici* Loan 36/13, of April 2, 1541, also known as *Claramontanus* 82 is a direct copy of the *Parisinus* (MARCOVICH, 1992, p. 323). Although the manuscript presents two apologies, one long and one short, there are several indications, all converging, confirming the unity of composition, writing and publication of the work, prepared according to the set rules of ancient rhetoric.

Formally, the Apology of Justin is a *Libellus* (*βιβλίδιον: Apol. II, 14.1*); a request to the Emperor by a single private citizen. Such documents, unlike letters (*Epistulae*) sent by the magistrates, were deposited in the appropriate imperial office at Rome, the *Scrinium ad rescriptis*. After reading them, the emperor indicated his decision on the request and signed it. The imperial responses were made public by being displayed in tables (*libri libellorum rescriptorum et propositorum*) posted at regular intervals so that anyone could take science of them (MUNIER, 2011, p. 27-28).

From the point of view of ancient rhetoric, the Apology depends on the judiciary literary genre. The scholars identify five essential parts in these discourses which are easily identifiable in Justin's Apology: *exordium*; *narratio*; *probatio*; *confutatio*; *peroratio*. These will be discussed below.

Justin prudently limit himself to examine only the *rationalis generis status*. For the *legalis generis status*, Justin merely reproduces the rescript of Hadrian (*Apol. I, 68, 3 – 10*) which he interprets with the technique of examining *scriptum et voluntas*.

The unity of the text of both Apologies results also evident from the arguments around the key themes of *εὐσέβεια - φιλοσοφία*. This theme incorporates the most important elements of imperial titration: the piety of Antoninus, and the love for philosophy and culture of his adopted sons. These elements recur seven times, wisely distributed in "strategic" discursive points: I, 1 (address); I, 2, 1 (*captatio benevolentiae*); I, 3, 2 (the request: *ἀξιῶσις*); I, 12, 5 (at the end of *refutatio*); II, 2, 16 (at the end of *narratio*); II, 15, 5 (at the end of *peroratio*).

The unity of the work is ultimately indicated by the deliberate procedure that puts face to face elements found in *Apol. I* and *II*, with the goal of extending the discourse from *Apol. I, 1, 1* to *II, 15, 5*. The theme of compassion and philosophy puts face to face *I, 1, 1* and *II, 15, 5*. The same applies to the theme of the righteous judgment. On the topic of "act in your interest" confronts *I, 8, 1* and *II, 15, 5*, besides *II, 1, 1*. From all these observations, it appears

that, notwithstanding the manuscript tradition has presented these texts as if they were two separate apologies, they are in reality a single work composed at once and presented at the imperial office of rescripts as a petition (*libellus*) with the objective of obtaining a radical change in the imperial policy towards the Christians (MUNIER, 2011, p. 29-30).

The literary structure of the Apology

Aimé Puech (1928, p. 142), Johannes Geffcken (1907, p. 98) and Miroslav Marcovich (1992, p. 323-324) judged Justin harshly, claiming he was not a good writer and was therefore useless to look in his *Apology* for influences of classical rhetoric and /or general conformity of his work with the precepts taught in the schools of the time. However, one should not judge the Apology based on the canons of rhetoric. Justin himself said (*Dial.* 2, 3-6) to have devoted his life to study philosophy since his youth, never having claimed to have studied classical rhetoric. Besides, the various philosophical traditions of his time proposed other rhetorical models (MARROU, 1965, p. 95, 243-264; 292-307). The discursive pattern of Justin should be judged in the light of philosophical models and also the judicial genre, since the Apology is a legal petition (MUNIER, 2011, p. 37 – 38).

The literary traditions

Thomas Wehofer (1897, p. 56s) was the first to investigate the *Apology* trying to find in it reflexes of models. He proved that Justin was inspired by Plato's *Apology to Socrates*. In this work, Plato presented a rhetorical discourse placed at the service of justice and truth. Wehofer cites in his work the following agreements between Justin and Plato: *Apol.* I, 2, 4 = *Ap. S.* 30c; 5, 3=24b e 26c; 8, 2=30d; 68, 2=19a; II, 10, 2=24b.

Wehofer also recalls that in ancient times did not exist the current practice of quotations or the scholia typical of the Middle Ages. All comments of the author to the text itself were necessarily made as digressions in the text. These digressions were the normal way philosophers made the transition between themes in writing. Thus, quotations, exempla, notes etc. that currently are relegated to the notes, in Antiquity were part of the text body.

H. Hubik (1912, p. 325-367) and U. Huntemann (1933, p. 410-428) confirmed the study of Wehofer about the importance of the apparent digressions for the argumentation dynamics of Justin. Hubik demonstrated the apologist has several carefully written passages by its stylistic point of view, especially the prologue (I, 1-4), recapitulations (I, 13; 23; 30; 67), and the warnings addressed to the sovereigns (I, 2, 1-3; 68; II, 14-15). Huntemann, in his turn, after a detailed analysis of *Apol.* I suggested that because the very

fact of being a work so extensively researched, it prevented scholars to realize the logical development of it.

Huntemann also stated that Justin used several procedures, whose techniques were not always noticeable: first, Justin explicitly announces the points he wanted to develop, but instead of following the themes linearly, Justin developed them in an order reverse to that previously stated because he has predilection for chiasm structures. Moreover, Justin carefully prepared their developments through multiple transitions, ordered around keywords, which will serve as a reference.

Finally, the Apologist devotes a large space to eschatological considerations repeated to infinity in the course of the entire work, as he tries to impress his readers with the prospect of punishment reserved for the enemies of the Logos in the future existence. To this end, the repetition has always been considered the first figure of an effective speech (MUNIER, 2011, p. 39-40).

More recently, H.H. Holfelder (1977, p. 48-66; 231-251) illustrated the technique of progressive thematic exhibition that Justin used in his *Apology*. This technique consists in guiding the reader from one theme to another proposing incessantly renewed ideas during the development of the argument. The progression is built mainly by the association of ideas or variations of the same idea through keywords, synonyms, and sometimes parts of phrases or whole sentences that covertly announce the new theme. Justin, however, always provides accurate indications so as to make clear the steps of his reasoning. Holfelder points out that this method of composition responds to essentially accurate pedagogical intentions, and was constantly practiced in classical antiquity, mainly by philosophers. For them, it was not so much to definitely expose a complete system, but to induce the reader or listener to discover a doctrine of life. To insinuate himself in the best way into the soul of the disciple, the master calls upon all the arts of psychology. What matters to him is reaching the most secret fibers with imperceptible touches and exciting the will and enthusiasm no less than intelligence, because it is the whole of the soul that should be open to the attraction of the True, the Good and the Beautiful.

The developments of the *Apology* of Justin fall into this philosophical tradition that derives from Plato's dialogues. Needless to say, the progressive thematic exposure is extremely delicate. The price to be paid is an apparent disorder, a writing style seemingly sloppy with an arbitrary succession of dogmatic and paraenetical passages that insatiably resume the subject, analyzing the same theme from different points of view through digressions of all kinds. But for those who strive to follow the author through the subtle intricacies of his demonstration, there is no doubt that a structuring preceded not only the overall composition of the *Apology*, but each of its sessions (MUNIER, 2011, p. 40-42).

The structure of Justin's Apology

Since Wehofer, philologists identified in the Apology a literary model imitated by the Roman Apologist: refutation of all charges, both ancient and current (negative development); exhibition of his "mission" of Christian way of life, and "truths". However, despite the Apology of Justin also include these two sessions, it is infinitely more complex. It remains true, nonetheless, that the writing of Plato left a strong influence on the *Apology* of Justin. The example of Socrates, condemned as "atheist and impious" underlies the peroratio.

For Justin, the tragic fate of Socrates perfectly illustrates the fate of Christians. Only persons of corrupt customs, puppets of demonic powers can conspire to get them to death. In light of these assumptions, the diatribe against Crescens assumes a particular importance: at the end of the *questioni incidentali*, which clarifies the narratio, it is the exact replica of the mention of Socrates which has opened the debate. As well as Meletus had accused Socrates, Crescens accused the Christians of being "atheists and impious" in order to please the ignorant multitude. Like Socrates, Christians objected to their opponents with the indifference to "the talent of the word, and his only concern to tell the truth" (Plat., *ApS.* 17bc) so the challenge made by Justin to Crescens is inspired by the sentence of Plato: "Under no circumstances should honor a man more than the truth." (*Resp.* X, 595c; 607c).

However, the *Apology of Socrates* is not the only literary model that seems to have inspired Justin. There are also a number of amazing agreements with the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle. In this treatise, Aristotle tries to show that, despite the discredit cast upon the philosophers, philosophy retains all its value for life in society, and that a life without philosophy is not worth living. In fact, philosophy is related, first of all, to man's action and it is impossible to lead an honest life without having reflected on the purpose and meaning of existence. To these general considerations, Aristoteles added an argument of eschatological nature: he stated that in the "islands of the blessed", the only human activity left is philosophic contemplation. This means that philosophy leads to perfect life and ends up being identified with this (MUNIER, 2011, p. 51-52).

Once Justin had presented Christianity as the "divine philosophy" (*Apol.* II, 12, 5), he could take advantage of the tradition of protreptic treatises since Aristotle, Isocrates and his followers, all dedicated to philosophy. Justin does not hide his desire to win the Cesar Marcus Aurelius to the philosophy of Christ. In the wake of Aristotle, Justin emphasizes that philosophy is needed not only to behave in this life with justice and truth, but it is also the best preparation for "the future judgment of God." (*Apol.* I, 68, 2 cf. I, 17, 4; 19, 8; II, 15, 3). If

Justin's request is met, there would be innumerable benefits spread throughout the Empire, due to the superior morality of Christians and their unceasing prayers (*Apol. I*, 12, 1-2, 17, 1-4473). It is in this perspective that he takes up and extends the celebrated dictum of Plato: "If the sovereigns and their subjects are not philosophers, there cannot be happiness in the cities" (*Resp. V*, 473de). Justin extended the practice of philosophy also to the subjects, because for him, even the simple and unlearned Christians profess the true philosophy through the teachings of Jesus, the Logos and Divine Master (*Apol. II*, 10, 8).

Regarding the originality of the apologetics initiative of Justin, Jerome said that the Roman apologist would have imitated Aristides. However, Jerome does not tell us on what consisted this supposed imitation. B. Pouderon (2003), states that notwithstanding the fragmentary and problematic state of the manuscripts that testify the Apology of Aristides, the parallel elements that can be established between Aristides and Justin are few and relatively modest. There are no grounds for arguing with certainty the hypothesis of a direct dependence of Justin regarding Aristides, or to assert a clear intention of imitation (POUDERON, 2003, p. 100.) After reviewing about 20 parallel passages Pouderon concludes:

If, therefore, Justin read the Apology of Aristides - something that belongs to the scope as possible - it seems certain that he did not write his works with Aristide's text under the eyes and maybe even in the memory. There is nothing in his work to betray the will to pay tribute to its glorious predecessor making discreet references to it (POUDERON, 2003, p. 101).

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