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Vol. V.

THE APOLOGIES OF JUSTIN MARTYR

AND

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.
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It is remarkable that no place has been given in the schools and colleges of England and America to the writings of the early Christians. For many centuries, and down to what is called the Pagan Renaissance, they were the common linguistic study of educated Christians. The stern piety of those times thought it wrong to dally with the sensual frivolities of heathen poets, and never imagined it possible that the best years of youth should be spent in mastering the refinements of a mythology and life which at first they feared and loathed, and which at last became as remote and unreal to them as the Veda is to us.

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THE APOLOGIES

of

JUSTIN MARTYR

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By BASIL L. GILDE SLEEVE, Ph.D. (Göt.), LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

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PREFACE.

The notes in this edition of Justin Martyr’s Apologies are chiefly grammatical and historical. Theological questions I have touched as lightly as possible, and always, I trust, with due reserve.

To my predecessors, Thirlby, Maran, Braun, Trollope, and Otto, I owe much; not a little to various special treatises on Justin; but I have not deemed it superfluous to examine for myself the original sources of our knowledge of Justin’s times, and my citations are all at first-hand, unless distinctly credited. The grammatical notes are mainly syntactical, and I will not apologize for employing formulæ, which I have found useful in the class-room, instead of referring to grammars, which the fewest will take the trouble to consult.

In the constitution of the text I have proceeded according to my best judgment; and I would state here as an act of simple justice to myself that the text of the Apologies was electrotyped before I had access to Otto’s third edition, and, except in some minute points, my critical work is independent of his recent labors, by which many of my conclusions have been anticipated.
PREFACE.

The plan of marking variations from the MSS. by spaced type has not been carried out quite so consistently as might have been desired, but the occasional failures have been made good in the commentary.

The Introduction is constructed on the lines of Semisch's standard work, which I have abridged, recast or translated closely as suited my purposes, freely incorporating the results of my own reading and research, and availing myself without scruple of any apt expression that I might happen to find on the track of my studies.

To the two Apologies of Justin I have added the celebrated Epistle to Diognetus. For the final establishment of the text of this remarkable document I owe a few suggestions and many confirmations to the recent edition of Von Gebhardt in the new Patrum Apostolorum Opera. The notes consist in good measure of extracts from Otto's elaborate commentary, although I have consulted with profit Bunsen, Hefele, Hollenberg, and Krenkel, and have not been content merely to copy others.

B. L. GILDERSEEVE.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
Baltimore, Dec. 5th, 1876.
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INTRODUCTION.

Justin, philosopher and martyr, was born at Flavia Neapolis, in Samaria, near the ancient Sichem, the modern Nablus, at the close of the first or the beginning of the second century. His father was Priscus, his grandfather Bacchius. The names indicate that they belonged to the stock of the Greek colony sent to Sichem by Flavius Vespasianus, the Emperor Vespasian, after whom the place was named. It is sufficiently evident that he was not a Samarian in any other sense than that he was a native of that region, and, according to his own statement, he was an uncircumcised heathen at the time of his conversion. Of this conversion we have an interesting account in the opening of his Dialogue with Trypho. Careless as Justin is in his style, for once we recognize a faint approach to conscious literary art; and as he tells us how he bade Plato farewell forever, he reminds us for the first time and the last of his master. In this passage he describes his weary journey through the perplexing round of the various philosophic schools and his final rest in the system of revealed truth. Philosophy is to him as grand and as precious as ever. He has not renounced her, but he has found her truest form in Christianity. If men only knew what Philosophy is, and why she has been sent down to earth, they would not be Platonists or Stoics, Peripatetics or Pythagoreans, for knowledge is one, philosophy is one—one, and not a many-headed creature, as she is supposed
to be. But the great thinkers have overawed their followers by their fortitude, their self-mastery, their novel discourse, and, under the spell of this reverence and incurious of the actual truth, the disciples have caught up what their masters taught, and have stamped their body of doctrine with the name of a Plato, an Aristotle. And Justin, at the outset of his career, resorted to these half-philosophers. First he tried a professor of the Stoic, and after a brief apprenticeship turned away in bitter disappointment from a teacher who could teach him nothing about God, from one who did not even consider the subject an important matter of philosophic research. Still more bitter was his disappointment when he put himself under the care of a Peripatetic, and found in a few days that his master thought more of his fees than of his philosophy, and belonged to the large class of mercenary sages who, to use the expressive language of Tatian, would not even grow their beards for nothing. Still faithful to his ideal, still athirst for the truth, Justin next entered the lecture-room of a Pythagorean, a man of high repute and high self-esteem. But when Justin made his request known, the Pythagorean indulged himself in a long eulogy of music, geometry, and astronomy. Without a knowledge of these, he said, the soul was not ready for the high abstractions of true philosophy; and Justin, acknowledging his insufficient preparation, withdrew, exceeding sorrowful, for this teacher really seemed to know something. At last Justin sought refuge and light in the Platonic school. A famous teacher of that sect—a random guess identifies him with Maximus of Tyre—began to lecture in the place of Justin's sojourn, and in his instructions Justin fancied that he had found the object of his long quest. The doctrine of ideas
INTRODUCTION.

was especially attractive to the enthusiastic student, who took in with eagerness the wealth of new thought that lay in the Platonic system. Every day was marked by a decided progress. In a short time he had become wise; yet a little while and he should see God, the goal of Platonic philosophy. But an accident, as men count accidents, was to change the whole course of his life. The brooding Platonist was to become an active Christian.

One day, as he was going to a quiet spot by the sea-side for undisturbed meditation, his solitude was broken by the appearance of a venerable stranger, and the conversation which ensued determined Justin's future career. The old man had come to the shore for the simple purpose of looking out in the offing for some expected friends. Justin, with some little self-complacency, declared his nobler object. To Justin's amazement, instead of being complimented by the stranger on his lofty aims, he was charged with being a lover of words, not a lover of deed and truth; a professor of rhetoric, not a man of effective work. Step by step Justin yields with all the docility of one of the adversaries of the Platonic Socrates, with all the docility of his own Trypho, to the pitiless advance of his interlocutor. Philosophy is the science of God and the knowledge of God. This divine knowledge is not to be acquired by study nor by practice. No lecturer, no drill-master can impart it. To understand God, you must see Him. But to see God is the gift of God Himself. Man has no claim to this privilege by reason of his kindred to his Maker, nor does the soul gain anything by release from the body; for the soul is not necessarily immortal, as philosophers dream. That it does not die is not by virtue of its own nature, but by the will and power of God, who keeps the souls of men alive in order to re-
ward the good and punish the wicked. The fancies of
your wise men, Plato and Pythagoras, are naught. The
soul is not life itself, but is merely a partaker of life.
The life is in God. He gave and He can take away. If
you desire to know of this doctrine, you may learn it of
the prophets, who lived long before the time of your
vaunted philosophers, just men on whom rested the bless-
ing of God, men who spake by the spirit of God and
foretold the future. These alone saw and declared the
truth to man without fear or favor. No respecters of
persons, no slaves of ambition, they proclaimed what they
saw and heard, being filled with the Holy Ghost. These
writings still exist, and whoso reads and believes will learn
what philosophers ought to know. They needed no argu-
ments to establish their message; their words are above
arguments. Their proofs are to be sought in the history
of the past and the present, in the fulfilment of their
prophecies. To all this add the miracles that attested
their divine mission, add the character of their message,
the glorification of the Maker of the universe, Father and
God, the announcement of His Son, the Christ. False
prophets, filled with a lying and unclean spirit, never de-
ivered such a message; their wonders are wrought to
dismay men; the beings they glorify are spirits of error,
are demons. Pray, above all, that the gates of light be
opened to you, for none can understand these things un-
less it be given to him of God and His Christ.

After much discourse the mysterious stranger vanished,
and Justin saw him no more; but, to use Justin's own
The fire is language, a fire was kindled in the heart of the
kindled philosopher, and the love of the prophets and of
the friends of Christ animated him to his martyr's end.
The instructions of the strange old man, the study of the
prophets, the association with the followers of Christ, led
INTRODUCTION.

Justin from the shades of the Academy into the dust and sun of Christian warfare.

The conversion seems electric, but most conversions, ancient and modern, are so represented; and we learn from another passage that Justin had long felt the power of the Christian life as shown in the steadfastness of Christian confessors, the holy boldness and holy joy of Christian martyrs. As after his conversion he did not trample on the philosopher's mantle, and cherished all that was good in the philosophic creed of his Platonic master, so before his conversion his liberal spirit refused to sneer at the senseless obstinacy of the Galileans, or admit the charge of nameless crimes against such heroic sufferers. His heart had been unconsciously prepared for communion with the Christian Church, and as soon as the intellectual bond that connected him with the Platonic school was severed he became a fervent and uncompromising disciple of Christ.

This whole interview has been considered in recent times a mere dramatic fiction. The question is almost of as little importance as the identification of the venerable stranger, with which editors have sometimes amused themselves. Was he an angel? A saint? St. John risen from the dead? Polycarp? An Ebionite preacher? The most important thing is the substantial accord of the statements in this account with what we know of Justin's views and Justin's history. In this account, as in Justin's writings, the Old Testament prophets bulk most largely. In this account we find distinctly asserted, what we might have gathered for ourselves, that Justin was a Platonist before he became a Christian. Nor is his prolonged quest any thing strange. Tatian, the disciple of Justin himself, tells us how he had travelled over many lands, had explored all
INTRODUCTION.

the wisdom of the Greeks, had tried many forms of heathen worship, and had sought admittance to all the mysteries, before the light of Christianity broke upon him. We find a similar search sketched in the Hermotimus of Justin's contemporary Lucian as well as in the Clementine Homilies. The age was full of 'seekers after God.'

The year of Justin's conversion is uncertain. As uncertain is the scene of the Dialogue. It cannot have been Tarsus and place Flavia Neapolis, as is shown by the mention of Justin's conversion of the sea, to say nothing of the unlikelihood that a celebrated teacher should have taken up his abode in so insignificant a place. Ephesus is a mere guess, and so is Alexandria.

'Freely ye have received, freely give.' In the true apostolic spirit Justin devoted his life thenceforth to the service of his Master. A woe was on him if he preached not the Gospel. 'Every one,' he says, 'who can proclaim the truth and does not proclaim it will be judged of God.' Everywhere he shows a deep sense of the responsibility resting on him toward Jew and Gentile, whether he addresses the Antonines or argues with Trypho.

Free from all affectation of singularity, Justin did not placard the change in his views by a change in his manner of living. He retained his philosophic garb, the mantle which had long been the uniform of the lover of wisdom, but the wisdom he now served was the wisdom of God and not the wisdom of man. The rough cassock gained him ready access where access might else have been denied, and the example was followed by others, notably by Tertullian, who defended his course in the famous tract De Pallio. He was a wanderer all his life, an evangelist, like his predecessor Quadratus, and it is not at all probable that he was aught
besides a layman. At all events there is not a breath of sacerdotalism in his writings; and while the student of the Christian eloquence of the fourth century, as he goes back to the rugged apologist of the second, misses the perfume, half incense, half altar of roses, that breathes from the pages of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus and Chrysostom, he is more than compensated by the fresher air, the intenser reality of Justin. His knowledge of the Christian religion is drawn from immediate contact with the Christian life, not at this point and that, but over a wide range of travel; and his description of Christian worship is of priceless value, for the worship he describes was the worship of the Church Universal. Direct evidence for his sojourn at Alexandria depends on the genuineness of the Cohortatio ad Graecos. Eusebius tells us that he met Trypho at Ephesus, and we learn from the Apologies that he resided for some time at Rome.

It is impossible for us to form an adequate conception of Justin's work. We can only gather that it was mainly polemic and apologetic. His time is known as the time of the Apologists. In his school at Rome he doubtless gave instructions to all who wished to know further of this way, but, so far as we can judge by the titles of his works and the drift of his remaining treatises, the defence of Christianity, and the necessary warfare against Judaism, Paganism, and heresy formed his chief occupation.

In the time of Justin the Jewish reaction against Chris-

1. Against the Jews.

1. Against the Jews. Christianity had reached its height, and found its expression in the formal curses of the synagogue, in the dissemination of the vilest slanders against the Christian life, and in the bloody persecution of the Christians by the ringleader of the Jewish revolt under Hadrian. The Jews were bitter and dangerous antagonists, and the
INTRODUCTION.

harder to reach as their rabbis forbade all discussion of religious topics with Christians; but here and there one might be found like Justin's Trypho, whose ear could not be stopped against a man who approached him in the garb of a philosopher, and fascinated him by a marvellous familiarity with the Scriptures of the Old Covenant.

But the dangers to which the infant Church was exposed from the wrath of the Jews were of far less significance than the dangers which threatened from the antagonism of heathendom.

Up to the time of Trajan the Christian religion had no recognized existence except as an obscure sect of Judaism, and there was no definite conflict between the Church and the State; for the persecutions which bear the names of Nero and Domitian were freaks of imperial wantonness, not systematic efforts to suppress an abhorred sect. But in the reign of Trajan the Christian religion made itself felt as a power, and in one notorious instance, in the province of Bithynia, the deserted temples and the neglected worship of the gods showed that the state could no longer pass over this new faith in silent contempt, and from this time on we find the power of the throne combined with the passion of the people in opposition to the religion of Christ. Indeed, it is no new observation that the best emperors were, as a rule, hostile to Christianity. Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, all opposed the spread of the new faith, and not the less resolutely because they were careful to keep the warfare within the strict bounds of legality. To define the weapons, to mark the limits of the arena, was to sanction the struggle. After the death of Marcus Aurelius there was a pause of more than fifty years in the conflict, and when it was renewed the state stood alone in its antagonism to the Christians, and as in the first period
the emperors merely sported with the popular prejudice against the Christians, in the third they endeavor'd to stir up the people in order to further their systematic plans for the annihilation of the Christian name. The reasons of this hostility are not far to seek, and belong to the commonplaces of history. Christianity was incompatible with the life of the Roman state. The peculiar mission of Christianity, as openly proclaimed by its followers, was the overthrow of all religions consecrated by antiquity. It was not satisfied with toleration—it aimed at nothing less than universal dominion. No matter how earnestly the apologists might repeat the words of our Saviour, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's,' what Caesar claimed as his own the Christian maintained to be God's, and no Christian could be a loyal subject to the state when the very profession of allegiance was an abomination in his eyes.

At first, as we have seen, this *superstitio externa* was Christian religion not sharply distinguished from other foreign forms of worship, and foreign religions were not excluded so far as foreigners themselves were incorporated into the Roman state, but every religion had to be licensed, had to be naturalized, if its professors were not to be exposed to punishment. But the Christians had no country except the country which they sought, and the only visible bond was a name, a watch-word, a pass-word, a by-word. It was this mysterious character of Christian society, of this *latrobræa et lucifugaz natio*, that excited the jealousy of the statesman of the imperial time, and roused the suspicions of the rabble. For the Hatred of the common people, on whom the national faith had a much stronger hold than is ordinarily conceived, looked upon Christians as atheists; and in their eyes a religion that had no temples, no altars, no images,
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no sacrifices, was a godless worship, and the popular cry was 'Away with the atheists.' The most abominable reports were circulated and believed: reports of human sacrifices, of cannibalism, such as fill medieval chronicles concerning the Jews; reports of promiscuous lust and wild debauchery; and among the various heresies which divided the body of Christ, there were some that lent countenance to the charges which were brought against the Christians as a class.

But the rabble was not more hostile to Christianity than those who affected to despise the rabble.

Philosophers might share the Christian's contempt for the superstition of the masses, but an academy of philosophers that was open to slaves and artisans, to women and children, was a cage of unclean birds to those supercilious sages, and by a natural reaction the myths which they once ridiculed were revived and refreshed, and made to yield a deeper spiritual sense. In later times concessions were made to the Master himself, and the Neoplatonists tried to incorporate Him into their systems. 'If not a god, Christ was a man dear to God;' and it was in this spirit that Alexander Severus gave his statue a place in the imperial chapel in such company as Apollonius of Tyana, Orpheus, and Abraham. But even then the Neoplatonists had little indulgence for the followers of Christ; and at this time—for Celsus is of this time—the philosophic mind was full of malignity and rancor toward the Master, of bitter scorn toward the disciples.

Nor, in taking account of the elements of opposition to Christianity, must we overlook the professional antagonism, the hostility of vested interests.

Priests, artists, tradesmen found their position and their income endangered by a faith which did away with the worship of the gods. Ephesus in the
days of Paul was but one sample of a formidable trade
union arrayed against the new doctrine, and any one who
has looked into the social life of the empire knows what
vast pecuniary interests were at stake.

Add to these enemies the religious impostors, who per-
nounced the empire and made merchandise of the
magic and sorcery, men who, like Alexander
of Abonoteichos, regarded the Christians as in some sense
rivals, and we can readily imagine that even in the second
century, before the full significance of the revolutionary
character of the Christian religion was revealed to its
opponents, there was a formidable array of spiritual forces
to call out all the energies of a man like Justin. It is the
struggle that makes the study of these documents of the
earlier Christian life so important and so fascinating. At
times our author may linger too long over the prophecies,
at times he may lose himself in parentheses, and quote
page after page of more or less irrelevant matter from
the Septuagint, but we feel that this is a real battle, and
Justin is a real warrior—now facing the emperors with a
their power, now rebuking the false philosophers with a
their rattling declamation, now silencing the hisses of
popular hatred by a calm exposition of Christian life, an
now wrestling with the arch-enemy himself and his host
of evil angels. For the devil was a personal reality to
Justin, as he is to every man at some time in his life,
and in no part of the battle-field did Justin see the en-
ginery of Satan more plainly than in the heresies of the
time.

The third line of defence faced the heretics. Some of
the most dangerous heresies of the early Church
culminated in the lifetime of Justin, and neither
personal nor local incitement was lacking. Samaria, the
native country of the Christian philosopher, was the home
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of Simon Magus and Menander; and Justin most probably came into personal contact with Marcion and Valentinus, two of the heresiarchs of the age. The blending of heathen and Christian elements in the Gnostic system, the evaporation of Christian doctrine into misty speculation, and the substitution of the liberation of the spirit for the salvation of the soul, the falsification or wresting of the Scriptures in furtherance of the new views, the practical manifestation of these principles in the extremes of asceticism and lust—all this must have been abhorrent to the candid, straightforward mind of Justin. But apart from these considerations, the speculative pride and the moral degradation of the Gnostic direction aggravated the bitterness of the heathen against the Christians, as is shown in the True Word of Celsus, and the spread of this idealistic tendency threatened to annihilate historical Christianity or to break up the Church into a variety of jangling sects, so that it is not surprising that Justin should have opposed the efforts of these heretics with all the apostolic fervor of his character, that he should have interrupted his argument with the heathen emperors in order to express his indignation against these traducers of the truth as it is in Jesus. In the brief memoir known as the Lesser Apology, he utters a manly protest against the government as represented by the prefect Urbicus, he defies the machinations of the Cynic Crescens, but almost his last word is a declaration of sovereign contempt for the impious and lying doctrine of the Simonians. Two of his lost works were directed against the heretics: one against the heretics in general, another against Marcion in particular, for Marcion was by far the most consistent and influential of the Gnostics, brought out into boldest relief the anti-Judaic character of the movement, and attacked what Justin considered the foundation of the
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Christian system, or, at all events, the most cogent proof of its truth.

The question has been asked, What was the immediate result of Justin's work? Little that we can discover. A Christian of his fervor, spirit, his manly earnestness, could not have labored in vain, and in his work as an evangelist he must have done much to strengthen the faith of the wavering and to win new disciples to the Christian doctrine. But he founded no school of Christian thought, and, though he was active against the heretics, his solitary disciple, Tatian, became the leader of a feeble heretical sect. His efforts to reconcile the old world with the new failed, and the progress of doctrine his liberal views were narrowed, his loose opinions crystallized into sharper dogmatic forms.

Nor does he seem to have succeeded in impressing the emperors in favor of Christianity. The rude freedom with which he addressed them was not so strange to imperial ears as has been supposed. The philosopher's cloak had protected others in the reign of the philosophic emperors, and to their equanimity there could not have been much difference between the vulgar abuse of the notorious Peregrinus Proteus and the prophetic warnings Justin Martyr; and although the language of Justin not so impassioned as that of Minucius Felix or Tertullian, not so sarcastic as that of Tatian nor so insolent as that of Hermias, it knows nothing of the courtly moderation of Athenagoras, and was hardly suited to win the good-will of the head of the state. Orosius, indeed, tells us that Antoninus Pius was moved by Justin's representations to take kindlier views of Christianity; but there seems to be no sufficient warrant for such a statement.
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In view of this immediate failure, it has been suggested that Justin's great influence on following generations was due more to his martyr's death than to the intrinsic value of his writings. No doubt that noble end enhanced his power, but it was only one manifestation, though the crowning manifestation of his spirit.

The fact of his martyrdom is beyond dispute. Irenaeus, a younger contemporary, bears witness to it, and from the time of Tertullian on Justin has always been known as the martyr. An account of Justin's end is found in the Martyrologium, an account of much later date than the event which it commemorates; but the absence of dramatic detail, the quiet tone of the narrative, the general coincidence with what we know of Justin's views, combined with minute discrepancies in less important matters—all these points give the stamp of truth to the record.

It is not improbable that the Cynic philosopher Crescens, whom we know from the Second Apology as a bitter personal enemy of Justin, was the direct or indirect cause of his death, although we have no distinct evidence of the statement so confidently given by later writers. No philosophic sect was more bitterly opposed to the Christian religion than was the Cynic.

It is unnecessary to copy from Lucian the familiar figure of these mendicant friars of Paganism—the long beard, the rough cassock, the knotty staff, the ragged wallet, the shameless mien; it is unnecessary to give examples of their sycophancy, their vanity, their scurrility, their insatiable greed of money, their unblushing indulgence in every lust of the flesh. Such men must have been irri-
tated to the last degree by the demeanor and by the doctrine of the Christians. The Christian creed contained many of the elements of the Cynic system in a higher
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form—the Cynic system, I mean, as understood by Epictetus, a Marcus Aurelius, a Maximus Tyrius; and the life of the Christian must have been a perpetual rebuke to the degraded followers of Antisthenes, who moved in much the same circles and addressed much the same audiences with the Christians. Justin has himself given an outline of his discussions with Crescens, and triumphed without disguise over his silenced adversary, who was either ignorant of the religion which he reviled, or, if he knew it, could not understand it; or, if he knew it and understood it, did not have the courage to acknowledge its excellence.

The mortified Cynic was the very man to bring the argumentum baculinum to bear on his scornful opponent. Justin himself declares his expectation of falling a victim to the machinations of Crescens, and Tatian, the disciple of Justin, informs us that Crescens made the effort to put his mortal enemy out of the way.

The martyrdom of Justin took place in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, under the prefect Rusticus. The date commonly given is 166. Aubé puts it, where Baronius puts it, in the first months of 168, and in this he is sustained by Borgeaud, 'the greatest master of Roman epigraphy,' and by the distinguished archaeologist Cavedoni. According to Eusebius, Justin suffered shortly after having written his Second Apology; his Second Apology was written not long after the condemnation pronounced by Urbicus. Urbicus was prefect in the closing years of the reign of Antoninus Pius, and was succeeded by Salvius Julianus, who, in his turn, was followed in January, 163, by Junius Rusticus. By putting the Second Apology in 160, or before March, 161, and the martyrdom of Justin in the early part of 163, Aubé claims that all the data are satisfied.
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The great name of Justin has been made to do service for a number of works which are not his, and the bulk of the doubtful and spurious productions is more than equal to that of the genuine.

In the front rank of Justin's works stand the two Apologies, the genuineness of which has never been seriously questioned; and even if the historical allusions and the doctrinal positions did not fix the origin of the First or Greater Apology in the second century, the influence of it is to be traced in the writings of Tatian, Irenaeus, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Theophilus, who transcribe, translate, and imitate passage after passage. And the Second or Lesser Apology is clearly by the same hand as the First, with which it shares every peculiarity of style and thought. Add to these internal evidences the express testimony of Eusebius and Photius, and we may safely say that no writings of the Christian Church have a more certain warrant than these two.

The First Apology is a noble appeal for liberty of conscience, a manly protest against the punishment of Christians as Christians, a lofty vindication of the character of the Christian religion. The Second Apology, which is much shorter and bears more evident marks of hasty composition, repels the mockery of the heathen enemies of Christianity, and gives the reasons why Christians complained of persecution, why God did not interfere to deliver His people.

The bold, as some might think, the audacious tone of the Apologies has led some to fancy that they are not, what they claim to be, actual documents intended for the eye of the emperor and senate; but Justin was no holiday Christian, and it is incon-
ceivable that a man who vindicated his faith with his blood should have shrunk from utterances which, after all, did not go beyond the boldness of a Peregrinus, to say nothing of the imaginary speeches of Apollonius of Tyana. To suppose that these Apologies are mere academic performances is to overlook the license accorded to the philosopher; is to shut the eyes to the earnestness of the Christian life of the century.

According to Eusebius, the Apologies were written in Rome, and this statement is not in the least unlikely. The time has always been a matter of dispute, and is discussed elsewhere in this volume.

The Dialogue with Trypho bears on its face the evidence of its genuineness, and it is wholly unnecessary to mention the more or less frivolous grounds on which the Justinian authorship has been attacked. Apart from the historical allusions to the second century, apart from the testimony of Eusebius, apart from the general agreement with the Apologies in doctrine and thought and want of method, the language is evidently the same, and, though there are slight variations in vocabulary, as might be expected from the difference of theme, these have little weight in comparison with the remarkable coincidences in tricks of speech and irregularities of syntax.

In the Dialogue with Trypho the prejudices of the Jews against Christianity are corrected, the doctrines of Christ's incarnation and redemption through His blood are proved by reference to prophecy, and the Christians are shown to be the true spiritual Israel and the true people of God.

As our immediate concern is with the relation of the Dialogue to the Apologies, we may pass over the questions as to the reality of the discussion, the personality of
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Trypho—identified by some with the Rabbi Tarphon—and the place where the Dialogue is supposed to have been held.

In time, the Dialogue with Trypho may be put after the First Apology, to which there is a definite allusion, and more safely under Antoninus Pius than under Marcus Aurelius.

The genuineness of the Cohortatio ad Graecos, or Hortatory Address to the Greeks, has been much questioned. There is no such title in the list of Justin's writings as preserved by Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius. The personal relations of the author seem to have been different from those of Justin, there is a different attitude toward Paganism, and the absence of the characteristic doctrine of the Logos is hardly to be accounted for. The language alone is no sufficient evidence that the Cohortatio is not by Justin. From a stylistic point of view, the Cohortatio is a better performance than the Apologies, better than the Dialogue with Trypho; and those who have attempted to account for the superior finish of the Cohortatio on the ground of the leisurely preparation of the tract in the early period of Justin's conversion, have not sufficiently observed that the Dialogue with Trypho, the opening of which is Justin's best piece of composition, shows all the peculiarities of the more urgent and passionate Apologies. Semisch himself, after as elaborate a defence as the thesis admitted, has finally abandoned the case.

Similar arguments have been brought to bear against the genuineness of the fragment on the Resurrection. External evidence is lacking, there are discrepancies in statement, discrepancies in dogma, and the style varies widely from the style of the Apologies and the Dialogue.
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A tract of the compass of a few pages On the Sol Government of God (το του κυρίου της Θεός) is open to grave suspicion by reason of style and contents, and seems to be unsupported by documentary evidence.

It is hardly worth while to mention the Expositio Reta Fidei, the Epistola ad Zenam et Serenum, the Conflatio dogmatum quorumdam Aristotelis, th Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos, the Quaestiones Christianorum ad Gentiles, the Quaestiones Gentilium ad Christianos. These productions have long since been pronounced spurious by competent judges, and have been content to leave them unexamined.

Two works remain, to most minds clearly not Justinian, and yet to some minds not so clearly as to make the mention of them superfluous, even if the works themselves were not of great intrinsic interest.

The Oratio ad Graecos — λόγος πρὸς Ἑλλήνας — is evidently by a different hand. Justin's language is marked b the laisser-aller of every-day life, while the author of the Oratio ad Graecos has a rapid, pungent, incisive, rhetorical style. The author of the Oratio ad Graecos takes the popular view of Paganism, and attacks the mythology of the Greeks as the incarnation of immorality. Justin's philosophic training in the schools of Greek thought has given him a far deeper insight into the nature of Hellenism; and the man whose great aim in life before he became a Christian was to see God must have been as incapable of the superficial mockery as he was of the brilliant rhetoric of the author of the Oratio, who, in my judgment bears a strong family likeness to Hermias. But it is hardly necessary to dwell on the internal evidence, as the discovery of a Syriac translation, in which this piece i
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attributed to one Ambrosius, has set the question at rest, so far as questions ever rest.

In the Prolegomena to his elaborate edition of the *Epistle to Diognetus* Otto has undertaken the hopeless task of vindicating the Justinian origin of this famous letter, of which Bunsen says that it "is indisputably, after Scripture, the finest monument we know of sound Christian feeling, noble courage, and manly eloquence." Otto's argument seems to have made little impression on the students of early Christian literature, and it might suffice to say with the great scholar just quoted, "I will not lose my time by proving over and over again that it cannot be Justin's." But, as I have not been able to withstand the temptation to add this famous piece as an appendix to the Apologies, the reader is entitled to a statement of some of the grounds on which the Justinian origin is usually rejected.

The historical allusions in the Epistle are so vague that little can be made out of them for or against the time of Justin. This vagueness has been used by one school to bring the composition down to a late period, by others the authorship has been pushed back to an earlier generation than Justin's; while a recent writer of eminence recognizes in c. 7 an allusion to two emperors, father and son, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and assigns the letter to the time between 177 and 180.

The coincidences of thought between Justin and the author of the Epistle are found in all the Fathers; they are the common property of the primitive Church.

But the author of the Epistle looks upon heathen idolatry as mere fetishism, as incomprehensible absurdity. To Justin the Greek gods are real beings—demons, not gods, but still real. The author of
the Epistle views with equal contempt Jewish and hea-
then sacrifices. Justin recognizes the hand of God in
this provisional form of worship.

And the same observation holds with regard to other
points of the Jewish ritual, the Jewish ceremonial law.
The author of the Epistle has only a sneer for meats and
drinks and circumcision. Justin had a deeper and truer
conception of the relations of Judaism to Christianity.
According to the author of the Epistle, Christ was hidden
until his incarnation. According to Justin, the Logos
was revealed in the theophanies of the Old Testament.
According to the author of the Epistle, the execution of
God’s counsel was delayed in order to show that God’s
grace and favor alone could save, while Justin defends
the postponement of the revelation on the ground that
God had given man the power to choose between the
good and the evil, and had strengthened his natural abili-
ty by the presence of the Logos, which was with Socrates
as well as with David. Besides, it is especially worthy
of note that in the whole Epistle there is no express
citation of any passage of Scripture, and that no use is
made of the Old Testament: for it is utterly incredible
that Justin should have written a work of this tenor with-
out a solitary citation from the Septuagint, which else-
where he quotes in season and out of season; without a
solitary argument drawn from prophecy, which was to
Justin the most cogent of all the proofs of the truth of
the Christian system.

But, if all this is not enough, the style of the Epistle
constitutes the argument which it is hardest to in-
validate by any hypothesis of youthful elegance and
senile slovenliness. Justin’s style is the every-day Greek
of the educated man of his century, the Epistle aims at
classic expression; Justin writes negligently, though not
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so incorrectly as is sometimes represented. The language of the Epistle is carefully polished. Except under the pressure of especial excitement, Justin keeps to the speech of his time. As a former Platonist, his diction is here and there colored by reminiscences of his master. As a diligent student of the Septuagint, his language shows occasional traces of that idolized version; but as he seldom sinks into sheer solecism, so he seldom rises above the level of the common dialect. There are many effective thoughts in Justin, few effective phrases, and the only rhetorically effective period is borrowed. The author of the Epistle reached whatever height was to be reached in that time, and is as determined an antithesis-monger as Maximus Tyrius.

In the development of his theme Justin lacks logical arrangement, and interrupts his discourse by all manner of parentheses. The author of the Epistle pursues his subject with strict method. Finally, Justin's pet expressions are lacking in the Epistle, and there are many peculiarities of diction in the Epistle which we should seek in vain in the genuine works of Justin.

A positive decision has not been reached as to author or century. In the opening of the Notes I have given some brief account of recent views on this interesting subject.

To return to Justin himself.

The ancient Church always speaks of the Martyr with unconditional praise; Tatian calls him ὁ Σωφιστής μακαρόν. Tertullian counts him among the viri sanctitate et praestantia insignes, and Methodius puts him not far below the apostles. Soon after his death he received the surnames of 'Philosopher and Martyr,' because he declared that he had found the only true philosophy in the Christian faith, because he had sealed his tes-
timony with his blood. The Fathers of the next generation, such as Irenaeus and Tertullian, borrow largely from his writings; and Eusebius expresses his admiration in measured terms. Nor has he been less esteemed in modern times, though in more recent days Justin has not always met with the same reverence; and while all concede the importance of his writings for the history of the early Church, some have denied him all pretensions to philosophic thought, have sneered at his inaccurate statements, his ‘weak and inconclusive arguments, his trifling applications and erroneous interpretations of Scripture.’ True, many of the Fathers stand above him in solid learning, in natural endowments, in creative force, in lofty spirituality. But, for all that, he was a man of earnest thought, of apostolic zeal, of immovable faith, of liberal nature, and if he had not the tongues of angels nor even the golden mouth of Chrysostom, his message falls from lips that have been touched with a live coal from off the altar of God.

It must always be borne in mind that Justin’s whole direction was practical rather than theoretic. ‘Not for the school, but for life,’ was more true of his motto than Seneca’s, yet his title of ‘philosopher’ is not undeserved. Bunsen calls him ‘a decidedly speculative thinker,’ and Ritter, after making every possible deduction, concedes his important influence on the progress of Christian philosophy.

Nor should it be forgotten that he was a pioneer, the Justin a pioneer. He was the first to make a path from philosophy to Christianity; and it is no wonder that in his earnest advance he brushed aside all the flowers of rhetoric, and disregarded the thorns and burs of grammar. To the Greek scholar, familiar with the subtleties of Attic diction, the roughness of Justin is at first repellent, a
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the bulk of the Dialogue with Trypho is peculiarly arid to a reader who has not a professional interest in the study; but touch on the Christian life, and the eloquence of true feeling lights up the homely style, and as one learns to appreciate the thoroughness of Justin’s conviction and the wide reach of the views which he is laboring to express, the honest carelessness of his Greek garb is not less welcome than the studied costume of the fourth century.

Granted that he is not to be measured as a mere writer with Chrysostom or Basil or Gregory of Nazian-za; granted that he falls short of Athenagoras in elegance, of Tatian in point; granted that he is not to be reckoned with the great master-thinkers of the patristic time— with Tertullian, who borrowed, he it remembered, with all the audacity of genius, with Origen, with Athanasius, with Augustin; granted the vagueness of his views, the looseness of his terminology, the want of logical development of his theme—grant all this, and there still remains a man of no ordinary mind—a man much greater than his books, a man whose lead apologists of far more brilliant talents have been content to follow.

Justin’s theology was the theology of the heart. His faith was no mere intellectual faith; it was no dogmatic craze, no day-dream of quietism. It was the principle of moral regeneration. Christ’s test was his test. ‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’ To him Christianity consisted not in word, but in deed. ‘Without holiness no man shall see the Lord;’ or, as he phrases it, no man shall reach a blessed immortality.

The love of the Gospel is the love of the truth. To Justin this life is not worth a lie; and Bunsen well remarks that his best epitaph may be said to be the words about truth which are quoted from
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one of his lost writings, 'There is Truth, and nothing is stronger than Truth.'

But there is no real love of truth without courage, and the courage of Justin reminds us now of Socrates, now of Paul. It is not the courage of an Ignatius, of a Polycarp, which is almost ecstatic, almost feverish in its joy. It is based broad upon solid conviction, and rests with massive sureness on God's Word. The language which he holds toward the emperors in his Greater Apology is the language of one 'that fears God, and has no other fear;' and De Pressensé admires— as who would not?—'its manly courage, its simple dignity, its noble frankness.' He lived as seeing Him who is invisible, as in the immediate presence of his Lord and Judge, and did not hesitate to warn his earthly rulers of the penalties of unrighteousness. The emperors were of more importance to him simply because of their greater responsibility.

To this noble spirit we might forgive many inaccuracies of composition and not a little slovenliness of style. But let us look more narrowly into this charge which has been so often brought against Justin.

In the first centuries, if we except Athenagoras and Minucius Felix, logic and rhetoric are negligently treated by the Fathers. Photius himself says that the Apostolic Fathers wrote in a simple, inartistic, ordinary style. Even those who went from the schools of the philosophers to the school of Christ are said to have renounced deliberately whatever charm of diction they might have acquired from converse with the literary heroes of classical antiquity. In Justin's day we are still far from the times when Julian's interdict, which forbade Christian teachers to interpret the masterpieces of Pagan letters, was felt as a cruel blow by the Fathers of the Church; and his
sneering allusions to the eloquence of Matthew and Luke would have fallen harmless on their ears. Christ was no sophist, no rhetorician, says Justin himself. Still I do not agree with those who suppose that Justin was one of that number who deliberately renounced style, nor do I attach much importance to the declamations of the Fathers against the meretricious charms of human discourse. They say that art is a hindrance rather than a help; that eloquence is a delusion and a snare; that the simple and naked truth is sufficient to prosper in the thing whereto it was sent. But the Fathers were men as well as Fathers, and the excellency of man's speech is generally at its best when that excellency is most depreciated. However, Justin is an exceptionally honest man, and it is tolerably evident that he was too full of his message to elaborate his composition. Of this composition few critics have much to say that is favorable. True, Winer remarks that Justin's diction is unusually pure for his time, and Bunsen terms him a good Hellenistic writer, and calls the thirteenth chapter of the First Apology 'sublime;' but the great majority of critics, from Photius down, notice the lack of grace in his expression, and the awkwardness of his periodology. It would be easy enough to join the cry against Justin's style; to call it incorrect, lumbering, colorless; to point out the long digressions, the frequent repetitions, the indigestible parentheses, the dragging clauses, the coupled synonyms. But Winer is right in the main as to Justin's vocabulary, and the percentage of post-classical words in the Apologies is far from large—indeed marvellously small—when we remember how Justin was steeped in the study of theSeptuagint, and how imperatively new relations call for new expressions. Most of the negligences of his syntax may be defended by classic warrant, many of its diver-
gences are common to the whole century, and may
found in such authors as Plutarch and Lucian, who
not excluded from the range of text-books. At all eve-
lamentations over the decadence of the Greek langu-
of this period come with an ill grace from those
emend a corrupt text by impossible forms and unhe-
of syntax; and while a Cobet may be permitted to
claim against the depravation of post-Aristotelian Gr
it requires something more than mere declamation
to make a man a Cobet; and it was to reduce the man-
of false and superficial criticism, such as one hears
persons who ought to be more modest, that I have
at the pains to bring the peculiarities of Justin's
language to the test of classic usage. No author, wh
terst studying at all, should be negligently handled
any direction, stylistic or other, and Justin’s mes-
sufficiently important to justify an attentive consid-
tion.

Perhaps it may not be out of place here to say that
far from regretting the time consumed by my occasi-
excursions into patriotic territory, I have only learned
appreciate more fully, as I go back to my special
the wisdom of Niebuhr’s advice, when he says, ‘The
others of the Church ought to be read more by philolo-
gians than they are; . . . and the example of such great
as Scaliger, Hemsterhuy, and Valckenier should light
way, and show us that we cannot become thoroughly
quinted with the history of those times unless we shall
into account the writings of a Justin Martyr, a Cles
of Alexandria, an Athenagoras.’ And in the preface
this excellent Outline of Roman Literature, Prof. Hub
one of the foremost epigraphists of our day, has said
emphasis, ‘I have never been able to understand 1
Roman literature from the third to the sixth cent.

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could be taught without a detailed account of such men as Tertullian, Prudentius, Jerome, and Augustin.

A more serious charge than inelegance of language has been brought against Justin, and it is not to be denied that in the heat of composition he has made many awkward slips; that he miscalls the prophets, puts Zephaniah for Zechariah, Jeremiah for Daniel, Isaiah for Jeremiah, Hosea for Zechariah, Zechariah for Malachi; that he dovetails verses from different parts of the Scriptures, and shows a sovereign disregard of chronology. He makes Jethro the uncle of Moses, and Herod a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He implies that Heraclitus was a Stoic—and so he was by anticipation—and puts both Heraclitus and Musonius to death without good warrant; and his confusion of Simon Magus with Semo Sancus is a stock example of uncritical identification. But who is so devoid of historical vision as to blame Justin for believing in the Sibyl and Hystaspes, or for deriving the wisdom of the Greeks from the books of Moses? And what does the whole bead-roll of blanders amount to after all in view of Justin’s testimony on matters of vital importance for the history of Christianity? Rude he may be in speech, inaccurate in statement, but about him revolve some of the most momentous problems of Christian tradition.

Among these problems may be mentioned the doctrine of the Trinity, the nature of the sacraments, the order of the Christian Church, and the establishment of the canonical Gospels, and so nicely poised is the testimony of Justin on all these points that his authority is invoked by partisans of the most diverse views. To enter into these questions at all would be to overstep the line which circumscribes the present undertaking; but it may be allowable, for the sake of illustrating the importance
of Justin's evidence, to give the student some hints as to
the controversy on the topic last mentioned—on Justin's
use of our canonical Gospels. The battle over the ques-
tion whether Justin's Memoirs of the Apostles
are identical with our canonical Gospels has
lasted nearly a century. Begun by Stroth in 1777, it is
safe to say that the fight is going on at this very moment
in the powder-magazine of some theological review. It
is the Homeric question of the canon. Eichhorn and
Paulus and Gieseler have each had his word to say on the
subject, and Credner, whose entrance upon the field marks
a recrudescence of the controversy, has gained great reputa-
tion by his acute and vigorous discussion of the subject.
An English bishop, Marsh, has taken the negative side, an
American clergyman, Norton, the affirmative. The num-
ber of pages consumed is appalling. Bindemann is con-
tent with 128, but Hilgenfeld does not sum up his complex
result until he reaches page 304, and Semisch's book takes
up no less than 409 pages. And yet these are only a few
of the names that might be cited, only a few of the pages
to be studied by those who would master the bearings of
the controversy; and the mere statement of the history of
the question would take up more space than could be oc-
cupied with profit by the introduction to a school-book.
Suffice it to say that Justin's citations from the Memoirs
of the Apostles do not tally exactly, save in a few instances,
with the parallel passages in our Gospels, and, though the
differences are not considerable to the uncritical eye, some
theory is demanded to account for the discrepancy; and
much stress has been laid on the fact that these
divergent texts recur with the same divergences, not
only in Justin, but in other writers who are known to
have used uncanonical Gospels. Then there are certain
statements, certain reports of sayings of our Lord, which
do not occur in our Gospels, and these also are made much of or made light of by the debaters according to the side which they have espoused. The extreme positions are occupied by those who deny that Justin made any use of our canonical Gospels, and by those who maintain that Justin made little use of any other. The former either reconstruct for him a lost Gospel, or refer his citations to a number of archetypal or apocryphal Gospels, such as the Gospel according to Peter, the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The latter account for the variations mainly by Justin's careless quotations from memory—for which curious parallels might be adduced from the popular treatment of our own authorized version—and also by Justin's use of other recensions of the synoptics. Between the two extremes are those who admit only the subordinate use of one or more of the synoptics in connection with one or more gospels of the Petrine type.

One great objective point in this whole struggle is the date of the Fourth Gospel. If Justin was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, the whole fabric of a great historical school falls to the ground, and we can readily understand why the controversy assumes an almost personal tone when it approaches the subject, and, like all other personal controversies, becomes more or less disingenuous.

Certainly confidence is not lacking to the leaders on either side, and trophies are erected with great intrepidity by conservatives and destructives alike. In such battles no trace is ever made for burying dead arguments, and in this war there is no immediate prospect of a discharge; for while Keim, no mean authority, declares that the long struggle has ended in favor of the conservatives, the author of 'Supernatural Religion' has demolished, to his own satisfaction, the last defence of those who maintain
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that the Memoirs of the Apostles are identical with our Gospels.

But though this 'burning question' has blazed more fiercely than any other connected with Justin, a formidable array of disputants might be cited for either side of the other controversies that have been indicated, and Justin has been claimed for widely diverse schools of Christian thought. Although he forsook Plato, he is considered a Platonist, and to his influence the supposed infiltration of the body of Christian doctrine with Platonic elements has been freely attributed. Although he reprobates those extreme Jewish Christians who insisted on the observance of the Mosaic law by Jew and Gentile alike, the mildness of his tone toward those weaker Jewish brethren who adhered to the ancient ritual has caused him to be considered an Ebionite. Although his conception of Christian doctrine is not unlike that of Paul, and although his phraseology reminds us now and then of the Pauline Epistles, the *argumentum ex silentio* of Paul has been racked to prove his hostility to the Apostle to the Gentiles; and the man who, of all the Fathers, seems to have least brooked any compromise with falsehood, is supposed to have kept back his real convictions out of regard for a respectable party in the Church, and to have relieved his mind by girding at Paul under the name of Simon Magus. Upon this debatable ground, thick-planted with caltrops for unwary hobby-riders and lurid with the glare of an undying *odium theologicum*, I have neither inclination nor vocation to enter.

But there is one point so peculiarly Justinian that it cannot be passed over in silence, the doctrine of the λόγος σπερματικός, or germinant word, for this doctrine is Justin's chief claim to a place among the