

people to suffer is because of the blessedness won through discipline and probation (11). They are as athletes who prove their virtue by risking death. The way in which Christians regard death (12) is a crowning proof of the truth of their religion and the falsity of the slanders reported about them. Christianity is not hostile to Plato (13) but the completion of what Plato and the other philosophers taught. Each man spoke well according to the part present in him of the sowing logos. Justin concludes (14) with a prayer that his book may be authorized and remarks (15) that his writings were at least not as injurious to public morals as some others that were authorized.

The relation of the *Second* to the *First Apology* has occasioned much scholarly discussion. E. R. Goodenough regarded the work as a fragment of a larger book and held that references in it to the *First Apology* may well have their source in a lost part of the *Second Apology*. P. Keresztes, on the other hand, argues that the *Second Apology* is an independent work of rhetoric having no connection with the *First*. The *Second* has Rome for its background while the *First* comes from an Asian milieu in which mob violence often had its way. However, this attempt to sever the two Apologies ignores the many links and ideas that connect them. More recently, R. M. Grant, while doubting that the *Second* is an appendix to the *First*, tends to think that the two Apologies are really one work, which is not an apology in the usual sense but a *syntaxis* or composition, more specifically a petition, with the second part inspired by recent events in Rome.²⁷ The ingenuity that scholars have expended on this question has not, however, led to any agreed solution and it seems more likely that the *Second Apology* was designed as a supplement to the *First*—indeed may have been appended to a second edition of the *First*—although it was called into existence by a specific injustice. This accounts for its more passionate character and its conviction that resistance to popular hatred without flinching is the hallmark of the Christian. It is more plausible to take Justin at his word, namely, that when he refers in this work to something he has said before that is not found in it, he is referring to the *First Apology*.

THE DATE OF THE APOLOGIES

When were the two Apologies written? The *First* presents few problems. It is addressed to the "Emperor Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Pius, Augustus Caesar; and to his son Verissimus the philosopher, and to Lucius the philosopher, the natural son of Caesar, and the adopted son of Pius...." This is certainly a reference to Antoninus Pius as sole emperor with his two adopted sons, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Antoninus reigned from 137 to 161 C.E. while Lucius was born in 130 C.E. Then we have in the *Apology* a description of Marcionism as the greatest type of heresy "with a following spread over every race of men."²⁸ Marcion came to Rome and taught there in the reign of Hyginus, 139–142 C.E., and we have to allow time for his rise to preeminence over the other heretics. In addition we have Justin's statement that he is writing 150 years after Christ's birth²⁹—no doubt a round figure—and his reference to a petition recently presented to Felix, the Governor of Alexandria.³⁰ A Greek papyrus in the British Museum shows that L. Munatius Felix was the successor of M. Petronius Honoratus, who is mentioned on papyri in the years 147–148 C.E., whereas Felix's name occurs on documents dated 150–151 C.E. He himself was succeeded by M. Sempronius Liberalis, who was prefect of Egypt in 154 C.E. It would seem that Felix held office from c. 150 to 154 C.E.—another papyrus gives his date of accession as 151 C.E.³¹ If these dates are correct, Justin would have written his *First Apology* somewhere between 151 and 155 C.E., which would agree with the internal evidence of the work.

The *Second Apology* is more difficult to date but cannot be long after the *First*. It has references to Antoninus as sole emperor and to the emperor and Marcus Aurelius, who is saluted as the philosopher, the son of Caesar.³² Continued reference is made to the piety of these two persons and with this coheres the references in the *Second Apology* to the *First* as a writing freshly remembered.

Eusebius says that Justin wrote two Apologies or defenses of the faith—the one under Antoninus and the other in the time of Antoninus Verus, that is, Marcus Aurelius: "There is a discourse of his, addressed to Antoninus, surnamed the Pius, and his sons and the Roman Senate, in defense of our doctrines. Another work,

comprising a defense of our faith, which he addressed to the Emperor of the same name, Antoninus Verus, the successor of the preceding, the circumstances of whose times we are now recording.³³ It is, however, doubtful if this second defense is the same as our *Second Apology*. Quite apart from the difficulty of reconciling Eusebius's statement that it was addressed to Marcus Aurelius with the internal references in the *Second Apology* to Antoninus, Eusebius quite clearly gives quotations from both the Apologies yet describes them as taken from Justin's *First Apology*.³⁴ The most likely deduction to be drawn from these facts is that Eusebius knew our *First* and *Second Apologies* as the *First Apology*. The *Second Apology* to which he refers is lost, unless we identify it with the *Legatio* of Athenagoras. In the early Christian centuries, the fusing together of different treatises into a single work was a well-known phenomenon. So the *Epistle to Diognetus* is attached to the former part of the *Epistle of Polycarp*, so as to form in appearance one work. It would seem, too, that Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians* is likewise composite, Chapters 13–14 being an earlier covering letter to a collection of the Ignatian Epistles and Chapters 1–12 being a later letter called into existence by a definite historical situation.³⁵ Tertullian's *De praescriptione haereticorum* is widely recognized to be two works that have been combined. It should therefore cause no surprise that in Eusebius's time the *First Apology* and the *Second Apology* of Justin were fused together in the manuscript that he quoted so as to form a single work. This would have been all the easier as the *Second Apology* contains no obvious internal dedication.

JUSTIN'S PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND

Justin made no clear distinction between theology and philosophy. There was, for him, but one wisdom, one philosophy, which had been fully revealed in and through Jesus Christ. This involved no clear break with Greek philosophy, the best elements of which were a preparation for the Gospel. This sympathetic view is in marked contrast to that of the New Testament, which uses the word *philosophy* only once and then as a probable cause of peril to

Christians.³⁶ Later Tertullian was to hold that Plato was the sauce merchant used by all the heretics.³⁷

Justin's esteem for Plato and Platonism is evident from his Apologies, although in becoming a Christian he believed he had passed beyond Platonism. Plato, Justin says, like the Christians, taught a future judgment and derived his doctrines of creation, of human responsibility, and of the Second and Third Powers in the Universe from Moses. He sees no inconsistency in holding the Platonic doctrine that God made the world from formless matter as he believes this to be the teaching of Moses in Genesis 1:2.³⁸ He also quotes from the *Timaeus* the statement that the World-Soul was placed like a (*Chi*) in the universe, and declares that Plato referred to the Second Power and took the idea from the biblical account of the brazen serpent.³⁹ Plato's World-Soul was, for Justin, an attempt to teach the doctrine of a personal logos—a reading of Christian ideas into the Master. Justin certainly prized the Platonic doctrine of the immaterial world and of the being beyond essence, yet he is no uncritical advocate. Plato, he says, teaches the punishment of the wicked for only a limited period of time and in bodies other than their own, while Christians teach the eternal punishment of the wicked in the *same* bodies they now possess. He no longer believes in the preexistence of souls nor in their natural immortality.⁴⁰ He conceives that something more than intellectual discipline is needed if the individual is to apprehend God.

Justin's admiration for Socrates is evident from his Apologies and he sees a close correspondence between the treatment meted out to the philosopher and that accorded to Jesus Christ and His followers. When Socrates, in the power of reason (logos), or as its instrument, sought to bring people to the truth, evil people put him to death as an atheist; so Christians who follow the Incarnate logos are falsely termed atheists. In other words, just as the work of Socrates was a preparation for the work of Christ, his condemnation was a condemnation of Christ and His followers.⁴¹

Justin's knowledge of Plato and Platonism seems to have come through the medium of Middle Platonism. This was not a unified system but an eclectic amalgam of different philosophies with the Platonic element uppermost. Its most distinguished exponents were Eudorus of Alexandria (c. 25 B.C.E.), Plutarch (b. 45 C.E.),

and Albinus, who taught in the second century C.E.; the latter's philosophical theology represents a transition stage between Platonism and the Neoplatonism of Plotinus, the last great philosophical effort of the ancient world.⁴² Evidence that Justin's knowledge of Platonism came from Middle Platonism is provided by his quotation of the famous passage in *Timaeus* 28c, "That it is neither easy to find the Father and Maker of all, nor, having found Him is it safe to declare Him to all."⁴³ The Middle Platonists interpreted the passage in the same way as Justin and knew the wording "possible" for "safe." Moreover, it can be shown that the version of the text known to Albinus is identical with that of Justin.⁴⁴ A further indication of Justin's philosophical background is provided by his introduction of the Aristotelian idea of God as the Unmoved Mover, which probably entered Middle Platonism just before or just after the beginning of the Christian era.⁴⁵

Justin's reverence for Platonism as finding its consummation in Christ was of great importance for the Church for it meant that educated converts were no longer obliged to deny the insights of their philosophical backgrounds. Platonism was now seen to be for some a preparation for the Gospel.

The Logos

The doctrine of the logos played an important part in the thought of Justin and the other second-century Apologists. By its use they were able to claim as "Christian" anything that was good or noble in pagan literature and philosophy and to meet the pagan contention that what was good in Christianity was already to be found in paganism. Yet the logos was also a theological necessity, which enabled them to tackle the cosmological problem and to show that Christianity itself was as old as the Creation.

Behind Justin's use of the logos lay much earlier Jewish and Greek speculation and the logos theory of Saint John as well as subsequent Christian interpretation. Justin accordingly introduces the term as a familiar one both to Christian and non-Christian. His starting point is that the whole logos resides only in Jesus Christ and that people can, at most, possess "seeds" of the logos.⁴⁶ The

titles he applies to the logos—such as dayspring or east, stone or rock, the beginning, the day, man, Israel, Jacob, First-begotten, priest, and king—appear to have been taken from the biblical tradition or early Christian exegesis of the Old Testament rather than from Philo.⁴⁷ Philo's logos is ultimately Stoicism or Middle Platonism blended with the Old Testament "Word of God."⁴⁸ Justin's logos is Jesus Christ understood in the light of the same Old Testament "Word of God" and Greek philosophy.

A characteristic of Justin is his use of the term *logos spermatikos* for the universal activity of the logos. Each thinker, inasmuch as he conformed to the truth and spoke well, possessed a portion of the logos, which in its entirety was Jesus Christ.⁴⁹ The seeds of truth sown in the hearts of people were the formative principle of right knowledge and right living. So there were Christians before Christ and Christianity was brought into relationship with wider truth.⁵⁰ Recent work has shown that the epithet *spermatikos* does not mean, in the usual English translation, "disseminated" but refers to the logos in a special activity, that is, sowing his seed in religious and moral illumination.⁵¹ This, however, does not mean that a person has no immediate knowledge of the logos. A close comparison of the three passages in 2 *Apol.* 8, 10, and 13 shows that Justin assumed the presence in every person, before the coming of Christ, of part of the "sowing logos," which is identical with Christ.⁵² The logos is an active and divine potential, the sowing logos. It would seem that Philo is not Justin's source for the *logos spermatikos* idea as Philo uses the term exclusively in connection with the propagation of species in animals and plants.⁵³ It has been suggested⁵⁴ that Justin's usage has a threefold source:

1. logos as a well-known Stoic term;
2. the influence of the Gospel Parable of the Sower;
3. the frequency of the idea of sowing and planting in the works of Philo.

It is, however, significant that Justin never quotes the Parable of the Sower, although he quotes many other New Testament passages in the Apologies. It may simply be that in working out his theory of the *logos spermatikos* Justin took over the well-known Stoic term but otherwise developed the sower idea boldly in his

own way. His originality should not be underestimated. The equation of the Whole Word with Jesus Christ at once differentiates him from Stoicism, Middle Platonism, Numenius, and Philo. However much he was indebted to Stoicism for the term *logos spermatikos*, the idea of the logos—Christ sowing seeds in people—was, I believe, in essence his own.

MAIN RELIGIOUS IDEAS

As a result of his conversion to the Christian Faith, Justin inherited the rich, biblical doctrine of God as living Creator, a compassionate Father who in Christ had drawn near to people and who was concerned with the welfare of each soul. Yet Justin remained a Platonist even after his conversion. He retained the Middle Platonist idea of God as unknowable and transcendent, the Unmoved First Cause, Nameless and Unutterable, Unbegotten, residing far above the heavens, and incapable of coming into immediate contact with any of His creatures. Justin had no real theory of divine immanence to complement his emphasis on divine transcendence. His doctrine of the logos, which we have just discussed, in fact kept the supreme Deity at a safe distance from intercourse with humankind and left the Platonic transcendence in all its bareness. God operated through the logos, who alone bridged the gulf that would otherwise have proved impassable.

In the Apologies Justin does not set forth any real Trinitarian doctrine. But he says he worshiped the Father as supreme in the Universe; he worshiped the logos or Son as divine but in the second place; he worshiped the Holy Spirit in the third place. This is the language of Christian experience and worship rather than of theological reflection. The Holy Spirit was, for Justin, the inspirer of the prophets, the guide of spiritual endeavor, the source of the spiritual gifts in the Church. Justin's experience as a Churchman took precedence over his logic. His philosophical idea of God, deriving from Middle Platonism, was too abstract for any real distinction within the Godhead such as would equate the love between the Father and the Son with the Spirit. In fact,

the logos largely carries out the functions of the Spirit. Nevertheless, the fact that Justin has so much to say about the Spirit and refers to the traditional triadic formulas of the Church shows how strongly he was influenced by Christian worship as he had known it.⁵⁵ And this is also true of his many statements about the Cross, which he regarded as fundamental although, in strict logic, his philosophical presuppositions left no place for any objective theory of the Atonement.

Justin was much interested in the activity of evil demons or spirits, which he believed were everywhere active in the Universe. He believed, with the Jews, that there were fallen angels who had sinned with women and had so given birth to demons.⁵⁶ After the fall, these demonic children multiplied to form a whole army of evil powers that was seeking to bring the human race into subjection. Pagan poets and mythologists were led astray by mistaking them for gods. They caricatured Christian ordinances, such as the eucharist, in the services of Mithraism—and baptism, in the rites of pagan temple purifications. All along they had inspired persecution of those moved by the logos. Now these demons were urging the persecution of Christians. However, the activity of the demonic host was not beyond control. Christians exercise dominion over them in the rite of exorcism, which is an omen of the final overthrow at the Second Coming of Christ. It is this that makes Satan desperate and unrestrained in his present assaults against humankind. In delineating the picture of Justin as an apologist to the Greek world, it should not be forgotten that his main practical concern was to win the fight against evil demons who were trying to win control of the Universe and men's and women's souls. This was the atmosphere in which he and his contemporaries lived.⁵⁷

CHURCH AND SACRAMENTS

Justin claimed that he was a representative of the great body of Christians and that he had received his Christianity from the Church of the preceding age. The doctrine he presented was, he believed, the traditional belief of the Church—as were the rites of

baptism and eucharist, which had come down from the Apostles.⁵⁸ Justin's philosophy, important though it was, had not made his Christianity. This latter had been delivered to the Church at the beginning of its existence by Our Lord's Apostles and was to be differentiated from the teaching of the heretical groups.⁵⁹ While Justin had no developed doctrine of the Church, he accepts that the Church is a supernatural society founded by the Apostles in Christ's name.

As to the Church's organization in his day, Justin gives but little information. It was no part of his apologetic purpose to expound the nature or function of the Christian Ministry. However, five times he refers to the "Ruler" or the "Ruler of the Brethren" whose function included leading public worship, the celebration of the eucharist, and the administration of Church finances.⁶⁰ It would seem that he used this term (rather than *episcopus*) because he knew that the title applied to this permanent officer of the Church (although not necessarily his functions) varied in different localities. Justin's "Ruler" may well have been the bishop, although we cannot be quite certain about this.

Justin's account of the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist in his *First Apology* is of great importance as the fullest description we possess of the second-century rites. He introduces his account almost incidentally, as if he wished to emphasize the harmlessness of the Christian rites and to assure his readers that no horrors were perpetrated at Christian gatherings. It is, however, significant that he uses the technical terminology of the Church and assumes that, with a suitable exposition, this terminology will be intelligible.

Justin's account of baptism presupposes a period of prebaptismal instruction, as in the *Didache*;⁶¹ and his use of the plural for both witnesses and baptized may refer to a collective baptism—possibly at the time of the Pascha, which commemorated the whole complex of Christ's birth, incarnation, death, and resurrection and the gift of the Spirit in the pre-Nicene period.⁶² The actual baptism is in the threefold name of the Trinity and is accompanied by a confession of faith. Unfortunately, Justin does not tell us what this confession embraced, although it appears to have included assent to the three persons of the Trinity and the death of Christ.

Justin does not specify where or how baptism takes place but merely states that the candidate is washed three times in water and the name of each person of the Trinity is pronounced over him at each washing. As to the theology of baptism, Justin's main thought is that baptism is a new birth—indeed he explicitly quotes John 3:3–4, "Unless you are born again you will not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."⁶³ It is also an illumination because in baptism people are illuminated with a divine force, the *logos*, which enables them to live a truly moral life if they will only strive to make their souls a habitation for the Spirit. Justin is the first to associate the noun *phōtismos* (illumination) specifically with baptism, although the association of light with baptism is very old.⁶⁴

Justin describes two celebrations of the eucharist. The first is a baptismal eucharist by the "Ruler of the Brethren" in the presence of the assembled Christian community, the newly baptized and their witnesses.⁶⁵ After prayers for the new members of the Church and Christians everywhere and the exchanging of the kiss of peace, bread, a cup of water, and a cup of wine mixed with water are brought to the celebrant, who takes them and offers a prayer of praise and glory to the Father of the Universe through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit and offers further thanksgiving at some length. The people assent by saying "Amen," which, Justin explains, means "So be it." The deacons then give to each of those present a portion of the eucharistized bread and wine and water and later take these to the absent. Justin's second account is of the eucharist celebrated at the regular Sunday worship of the Church.⁶⁶ At this the "Memoirs"⁶⁷ or "Records" of the Apostles (most probably the Synoptic Gospels) or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits. Then the Ruler expounds the biblical reading, which is followed by prayers said in a standing position. Then the bread, wine, and water are brought and the Ruler offers prayers and thanksgivings "to the best of his ability." This is followed by the giving of the eucharistic elements to those present and the sending to those absent by the hand of the deacons. A voluntary collection of alms is deposited with the Ruler, who is responsible for the care of orphans, widows, the sick, visitors, and other needy persons.

Between his two descriptions of the rite, Justin explains its

meaning.⁶⁸ He applies the term *eucharistia* to the consecrated elements and teaches the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. As in the incarnation the divine logos was incarnate in the flesh and blood of Jesus for our salvation, so in the eucharist, he says, there is a further action of the logos such that the elements of bread and wine become united with the logos and so become the flesh and blood of the Incarnate Jesus. As in the natural physiological process digested food is changed into blood, and later into flesh, is it incredible, Justin suggests, that this should be repeated in the spiritual realm?⁶⁹

It is unlikely that the liturgy had a fixed "structure" in Justin's day. There was still a considerable extempore element. But his accounts do show how the original thanksgiving of the Last Supper had been expanded through the use of liturgical elements deriving from Judaism.

Justin's reference to a sending of a portion of the consecrated elements to absent members of the Church is the earliest reference to a practice that received considerable extension in later ages. By Tertullian's time Christians were allowed to carry away and keep the sacrament in private for their own use.⁷⁰ This custom was obviously open to abuse and had to be strictly controlled.

Justin's doctrine of the Church and sacraments is of great interest—the more so since it is introduced into the *First Apology* almost incidentally. These sacraments, he believed, were essential to the fullest Christian life. Sunday worship without the eucharist is unknown to him. The sacraments are life-giving and the spiritual life and illumination that Christians receive must issue in good Christian lives. That is the ultimate test.

JUSTIN'S ACHIEVEMENT

Justin occupies a central position in the second-century Church. He made an outstanding contribution to the intellectual tradition of Christian thought by his interpretation of the logos through which he claimed for Christ all that was best in the Greek philosophical tradition, although his view of the latter was not uncritical—indeed he passes judgment on it. He was, moreover,

the first thinker after Saint Paul to grasp the universalistic element in Christianity and to sum up, in one bold stroke, the whole history of civilization as finding its consummation in Christ. Justin was, however, no mere academic philosopher but a man with a mission. Christianity was, for him, not a theory but philosophic truth itself and this he served with unswerving devotion and courage. The heart of Christianity, which for him was indispensable, was God's care and love for men and women revealed in the Bible and supremely in Jesus Christ. This places him in the mainstream of the Christian tradition and not on the outskirts as one who grievously distorted the Christian *kerygma* by his excursions into philosophy. Loyal to the tradition of the Church, he possessed a liberal and eirenic spirit that was open and alive to the intellectual currents of his age and friendly to the stirrings of the human spirit. E. F. Osborn concludes his study of Justin with these measured words: "He was one of the most original thinkers Christianity produced.... His greatness is that of an originator. All his main ideas are taken up and developed by his immediate successors who add, alter and diverge."⁷¹ So likewise Hans von Campenhausen: "Nearly all the Greek Fathers of the Church were, consciously or unconsciously, his imitators."⁷² What Justin accomplished in the second century was the seedbed of the later Church. Today, in a very different world, we need to follow Justin in adhering to, and following, the truth, wherever it may lead, with a confidence in its power while remaining loyal to the Church and to Christian tradition.

TEXT

THE FIRST APOLOGY

1. To the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Caesar, and to his philosopher son Verissimus, and to Lucius the philosopher,¹ Caesar's natural son and Pius's adopted son, a lover of culture,² and to the Sacred Senate³ and all the Roman people—on behalf of people of every nation who are unjustly hated and grossly abused,⁴ I, Justin, son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius,⁵ from Flavia Neapolis in Syria-Palestine, myself being one of them, have drawn up this address and petition.⁶

An Appeal for Justice

2. Reason⁷ dictates that those who are truly pious and philosophers should honor and love only the truth, declining to follow the opinions of the ancients, if they are worthless. For not only does sound reason dictate that one should not follow those who do or teach unjust things, but the lover of truth should choose by all means,⁸ and even before his own life, even though death should remove him, to speak and do righteous things. So you, then, since you are called⁹ pious and philosophers and guardians of justice and lovers of culture, listen in every way; and it will be shown if you are such.¹⁰ For we have come into your company not to flatter you by this writing, nor please you by our address, but to ask that you give judgment, after an exact and searching enquiry, not moved by prejudice or by a wish to please superstitious people, nor by irrational impulse or long prevalent rumors, so as to give a decision which will prove to be against yourselves.¹¹ For we indeed reckon that no

evil can be done to us, unless we are proved to be evildoers, or shown to be wicked. You are able to kill us, but not to hurt us.¹²

Refutation of Anti-Christian Slanders

3. But that nobody should think that this is an unreasonable and daring utterance, we ask that the charges against us be investigated, and that, if they are substantiated let us be punished as is fitting.¹³ But if nobody can prove anything against us, true reason forbids you, because of an evil rumor, to wrong innocent people, and indeed rather [to wrong] yourselves, who think fit to instigate action,¹⁴ not by judgment, but by passion. Every honorable person will recognize this as the only fair and righteous challenge,¹⁵ namely, that the subjects should give a straightforward account¹⁶ of their own life and teaching; and likewise that the rulers should give their decision as having followed, not violence and tyranny, but piety and philosophy.¹⁷ For thus both rulers and subjects would reap benefit. For even one of the ancients said somewhere, "Unless both rulers and ruled love wisdom, it is impossible to make cities prosper."¹⁸ It is then our task to offer to all an opportunity of inspecting our life and teachings, lest, on account of those who do not really know of our affairs, we should incur the penalty due to them for mental blindness.¹⁹ But it is for you, as reason demands,²⁰ to listen [to us] and to be found good judges. For if, having learned the truth, you fail to do what is righteous, you have no defense before God.
4. By the mere statement of a name,²¹ nothing is decided, either good or evil, apart from the actions associated with the name; indeed, as far as the name with which we are accused goes, we are most gentle²² people. But we do not think it just to ask to be acquitted on account of the name, if we are convicted as evildoers, so, on the other hand, if we are found to have committed no wrong, either in the appellation of the name, or in our citizenship, you must be exceedingly anxious²³ against incurring righteous judgment by unjustly punishing those who are not convicted. For from a name neither approval nor punishment

could fairly come, unless something excellent or evil in action could be shown about it. For you do not punish the accused among yourselves²⁴ before they are convicted; but in our case you take the name as proof against us, and this although, as far as the name goes, you ought rather to punish our accusers. For we are accused of being Christians, and to hate what is favorable is unjust. Again if one of the accused deny the name, saying that he is not [a Christian], you acquit him, as having no proof that he is an evildoer; but if any one acknowledges that he is one, you punish him on account of this acknowledgement.²⁵ You ought also to enquire into the life both of the confessor and the denier, that by his deeds it would appear what kind of person each is. For as some who have been taught by the Teacher, Christ, not to deny him²⁶ encourage others when they are put to the test, so similarly do those who lead evil lives give some excuse to those who, without consideration, like to accuse all the Christians of impiety and wickedness.²⁷ And this also is improper. For in philosophy, too, some assume the name and the dress who do nothing worthy of their profession; and as you are aware those among the ancients whose opinions and teachings were quite different are yet called by the one name of philosopher. And some of these taught atheism;²⁸ and those who became poets get a laugh out of the impurity of Zeus with his own children. And those who follow such teaching are unrestrained by you; but, on the contrary, you offer prizes and honors to those who euphoniously insult them.

5. Why, then, should this be? In our case, who pledge ourselves to do nothing wicked, nor to hold these godless opinions, you do not investigate the charges²⁹ made against us; but, giving in to unreasoning passion, and the instigation of evil demons,³⁰ you punish us without trial or consideration. For the truth shall be told; since of old these evil demons manifested themselves, both defiled women and corrupted boys, and showed terrifying sights to people, that those who did not use their reason in judging the acts that were done, were filled with terror; and being taken captive by fear, and not knowing that these were demons, they called them gods, and gave to each the name

which each of the demons had chosen for himself. And when Socrates³¹ tried, by true reasoning and definite evidence, to bring these things to light, and deliver people from the demons, then the demons themselves, by means of people who rejoiced in wickedness, compassed his death, as an atheist and impious person, on the charge of introducing new divinities;³² and in our case they show a similar activity. For not only among the Greeks through Socrates were these things revealed by reason [logos], but also among the Barbarians³³ were they revealed by logos personally, when He had taken shape, and become man, and was called Jesus Christ; and in obedience to Him, we not only deny that they who did such things as these are gods,³⁴ but state that they are wicked and impious demons, whose actions will not bear comparison with those even of people who long after virtue.

The Principal Charges—Atheism, Immorality, and Disloyalty

6. Hence we are called atheists. And we confess that we are atheists with reference to gods such as these, but not with reference to the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance and the other virtues, who is unmixed with evil. But we worship and adore both Him and the Son who came from Him, and taught us these things,³⁵ and the army of the other good angels,³⁶ who follow Him and are made like Him, and the prophetic Spirit, giving honor [to Him] in reason and truth;³⁷ and to everyone who wishes to learn handing over³⁸ without grudging, what we have been taught.
7. But someone will say, "Already some have been arrested and convicted as evildoers." For you often condemn many, when at any time you inquire into the lives of those who are being accused, but you do not do so because of those convicted before.³⁹ And this we acknowledge, that just as among the Greeks those who teach what pleases them are all listed under the name philosophy, though their doctrines are opposed, so also among the barbarians the name which is now made against them⁴⁰ is the common property of those who are and those who

appear to be wise. For all are called Christians.⁴¹ So we ask that the deeds of those who are denounced to you be judged, in order that each one who is convicted may be punished as an evildoer, but not as a Christian; and if it should appear that any one is blameless, that he may be acquitted as a Christian who has done no wrong. For we will not ask that you punish our accusers,⁴² for they are sufficiently punished by their present wickedness and their ignorance of the good.

8. Consider that we have said these things for your sakes, for it is in our power when we are examined to deny [our Christianity]; but we would not live by telling a lie.⁴³ For, impelled by the desire for the eternal and pure life, we seek to dwell with God, the Father and Demiurge⁴⁴ of all things, and hasten to confess [our faith], being persuaded and convinced that those who have shown to God by their works that they follow Him, and long to dwell with Him where there is no evil to cause disturbance, are able to obtain these things. This, then, to speak briefly, is what we look for and have learned from Christ, and teach. Likewise Plato said that Rhadamanthus and Minos⁴⁵ would punish the wicked who came before them; and we say that this is what will happen, but at the hand of Christ, and to the same bodies, reunited with their souls and destined for eternal punishment, and not for a thousand-year period only, as he said. And if anyone says that this is incredible or impossible, this mistake of ours is one which concerns us only, and no one else,⁴⁶ as long as we are not convicted of doing any evil.
9. But neither do we honor with many sacrifices and garlands of flowers the objects that people have formed and set in temples and named gods; since we know that they are lifeless and dead and have not the form of God [for we do not think that God has such a form as some say is fashioned to His honor], but have the names and shapes of those evil demons which have appeared.⁴⁷ For why must we tell you who already know, what the craftsmen fashion their material into, by planing and cutting, casting and hammering? And often out of vessels used for dishonorable purposes,⁴⁸ by merely changing the form, and

making an image of the appropriate shape, they make what they call gods. We consider this not only irrational, but to be even insulting to God, who, though of ineffable glory and form, yet has His name⁴⁹ set upon things which are corruptible and need to be cared for. And that the craftsmen of these are impure⁵⁰ and, not to enter into details, are given to all kinds of vice, you very well know; they even corrupt their own slave girls who work alongside them. What stupidity, that dissolute people should be said to fashion and make gods for public worship, and that you should appoint such people the guardians of temples where they are set up, not recognizing that it is unlawful even to think or say that people are the guardians of gods.

10. But we have received⁵¹ [from tradition] that God does not need material offerings from people, seeing that He Himself is the provider of all things. And we have been taught, and are persuaded, and believe that He accepts only those who imitate the good things which are in Him, temperance and righteousness and well-doing, and whatsoever else truly belongs to God who is called by no given name. And we have been taught that in the beginning He of His goodness, for people's sakes, formed all things out of unformed matter;⁵² and if they, by their actions, show themselves worthy of His design, they are accounted worthy, so we have received, of reigning⁵³ with Him, being delivered from corruption and suffering. For as in the beginning He created us when we were not, so we consider that those who likewise choose what is pleasing to Him are, on account of their choice, counted worthy of incorruption and of fellowship with Him. For the coming into being was not our choice; but in order that we may follow those things that please Him, choosing them by means of the rational powers He has given us, He both persuades us and leads us to faith.⁵⁴ And we think it for the good of all people that they are not prevented from learning these things, but are even urged to consider them. For the restraint which human laws could not bring about, the logos, being divine, would have brought about, save that the evil demons, with the help of the evil desire⁵⁵ which is

in every person and which expresses itself in various ways, had scattered abroad many false and godless accusations,⁵⁶ none of which apply to us.

11. And when you hear that we look for a kingdom, you uncritically suppose that we speak of a human one; whereas we speak of that with God,⁵⁷ as appears also from the confession of their faith made by those who are charged with being Christians,⁵⁸ although they know⁵⁹ that death is the penalty meted out to him who so confesses. For if we looked for a human kingdom, we would deny it, that we might not be slain; and we would try to escape detection, that we might obtain the things we look for. But since we do not have our hope on the present, we do not heed our executioners since death is in any case the debt of nature.⁶⁰
12. And more than all other people we are your helpers and allies in the cause of peace,⁶¹ convinced as we are that it is alike impossible for the wicked, the covetous, the conspirator, and the virtuous to escape the notice of God, and that everyone goes to eternal punishment or salvation in accordance with the character of his acts.⁶² If all people knew this, no one would choose wickedness even for a little while, knowing that he goes to eternal punishment by fire; but would by all means restrain himself, and order his path with virtue, that he might receive the good gifts of God, and avoid the punishments. There are some people who endeavor to conceal their wrongdoing because of the laws and punishments you impose,⁶³ knowing that since you are only men and women it is possible for wrongdoers to escape you; if they were to learn and were convinced that our thoughts as well as our acts cannot be hidden from God, they would by all means live decently, at least because of the impending penalties,⁶⁴ as even you yourselves will admit. But you seem to fear lest all people become righteous, and you no longer have any to punish. This would be the concern of public executioners, not of good rulers. But, as we said before, we are convinced that these things are brought about by evil spirits, who demand sacrifices and service from people who live irrationally; but as for you, we assume that

you who aim at piety and philosophy⁶⁵ will do nothing unreasonable. But if you also, like thoughtless people, prefer the custom⁶⁶ to truth, do what you have power to do. But just so much power have rulers who respect reputation rather than truth, as brigands have in a desert. And that you will not succeed is shown by the Word;⁶⁷ and after God who begat Him we know of no ruler more kingly⁶⁸ or more just than He. For as all people shrink from inheriting the poverty or sufferings or obscurity of their fathers, so whatever the Word forbids to be chosen, the sensible person will not choose. That all these things⁶⁹ would come to pass, I say, our Teacher foretold, who is both Son and Apostle of God the Father and Master of all, that is Jesus Christ;⁷⁰ from whom also we have received the name of Christians. We are more assured that all the things taught by Him are so, since whatever He predicted before is seen in fact coming to pass; and this is the work of God, to announce something before it happens, and as it was predicted so to show it happening. We could pause here and add no more, having made clear that we demand what is just and true; but because we know that it is not easy suddenly to change a mind enchained by ignorance, we are encouraged to add a few things for the sake of persuading those who love the truth, knowing that ignorance may be escaped from, if the truth is set over against it.⁷¹

Christians Are Monotheists

13. What sober-minded person then will not admit that we are not atheists, since we worship the Maker of this Universe, and declare, as we have been taught, that He has no need⁷² of blood and libations and incense, whom we praise to the utmost of our power through the word of prayer⁷³ and thanksgiving for all things that we receive. We have been taught that the only honor that is worthy of Him is not to consume by fire the things He has brought into being for our sustenance, but contribute them for ourselves and those in need,⁷⁴ and with thanksgiving to Him celebrating our solemnities in hymns and speech,⁷⁵ for our creation, and for all the means of health,

and for the qualities of the different kinds of things, and for the changes of the seasons, and presenting before Him petitions that we may live again in incorruption through faith in Him. Our teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, who was also born for this purpose, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator⁷⁶ of Judaea in the time of Tiberius Caesar; and we will show that we worship Him rationally, having learned that He is the Son of the true God Himself, and holding Him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third rank.⁷⁷ For they charge our madness to consist in this, that we give to a crucified man second place after the unchangeable⁷⁸ and eternal God, begetter of all things, for they do not know the mystery involved in this, to which we ask you to give heed as we expound it to you.

The Moral Power of Christianity

14. For we warn you in advance to be on your guard, lest the demons whom we have previously accused should deceive you and divert you from reading⁷⁹ and understanding what we say. For they strive to have you as their slaves and servants, and sometimes by appearances in dreams, sometimes by magical tricks,⁸⁰ they subdue all who do not struggle to the utmost for their own salvation, as we do also who, after being persuaded by the Word, renounced them,⁸¹ and follow the only unbegotten⁸² God through His Son. Those who formerly delighted in fornication now embrace chastity alone;⁸³ those who formerly made use of magical arts have dedicated themselves to the good and unbegotten God;⁸⁴ we who once valued above everything the gaining of wealth and possessions now bring what we have into a common stock, and share with everyone in need;⁸⁵ we who hated and destroyed one another, and would not share the same hearth with people of a different tribe on account of their different customs, now since the coming of Christ, live familiarly with them, and pray for our enemies, and try to persuade those who unjustly hate us to live according to the good advice⁸⁶ of Christ, to the end that they may share with us the same joyful hope of a reward from God the

Master of all. But lest we should seem to deceive,⁸⁷ we consider it right, before embarking on our promised demonstration,⁸⁸ to cite a few of the precepts given by Christ Himself. It is for you then, as powerful rulers, to find out whether we have been taught and do teach these things truly. Short and concise utterances come from Him, for He was no sophist, but His word was the power of God.⁸⁹

15. Concerning chastity he said this:⁹⁰ "Whosoever looks upon a woman to lust after her has already committed adultery with her in his heart before God."⁹¹ And: "If your right eye offends you, cut it out; for it is better for you to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven with one eye, than with two eyes to be cast into eternal fire."⁹² And: "Whosoever shall marry her that is divorced from another husband, commits adultery."⁹³ And: "There are some who have been made eunuchs by men, and some who were born eunuchs, and some who have made themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake; but not all can receive this saying."⁹⁴ So that all who according to human law make second marriages are sinners in the sight of our Master, as are those who look on a woman to lust after her.⁹⁵ For not only⁹⁶ the man who in act commits adultery is condemned by Him, but also the man who desires to commit adultery; since not only our deeds but also our thoughts are open before God. And many, both men and women, who have been Christ's disciples from childhood, have preserved their purity at the age of sixty or seventy years;⁹⁷ and I am proud that I could produce such from every race of men and women.⁹⁸ For what shall we say then of the countless multitude of those who have turned away from intemperance and learned these things? For Christ did not call the righteous and temperate to repentance, but the ungodly and licentious and unrighteous. So He said, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."⁹⁹ For the Heavenly Father desires the repentance of a sinner,¹⁰⁰ rather than his punishment. And concerning our affection for all people He taught so: "If you love those who love you, what new thing do you do? for even the fornicators do this. But I say to you, Pray for your ene-

mies, and love those who hate you, and bless those who curse you, and pray for those who despitefully use you."¹⁰¹ And that we should share with the needy, and do nothing for glory, He said these things; "Give to everyone who asks and turn not away from him who wishes to borrow. For if you lend to those from whom you hope to receive, what new thing do you do? Even the publicans do this."¹⁰² Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth, where moth and rust corrupt and thieves break in; but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where neither moth nor rust corrupts.¹⁰³ For what will it profit a man, if he should gain the whole world, but lose his own soul? or what will he give in exchange for it?¹⁰⁴ Lay up treasure therefore in heaven, where neither moth nor rust corrupts." And: "Be kind and merciful, as your Father also is kind and merciful, and makes His sun to rise on sinners and the righteous and the wicked."¹⁰⁵ Take no thought what you will eat, or what you will put on: are you not better than the birds and the beasts? And God feeds them. Take no thought, therefore, what you will eat or what you will wear; for your Heavenly Father knows that you need these things. But seek the Kingdom of Heaven, and all these things will be added to you.¹⁰⁶ For where his treasure is, there is also the mind of man."¹⁰⁷ And: "Do not do these things to be seen of men; otherwise you have no reward from your Father who is in heaven."¹⁰⁸

16. And concerning our being long-suffering and servants to all and free from anger, this is what He said: "To him that smites you on the one cheek, offer also the other; and to him that takes away your shirt do not forbid your cloak also."¹⁰⁹ And whosoever shall be angry is in danger of the fire. And whosoever compels you to go one mile, follow him for two. And let your good works shine before men, that they, seeing them, may wonder at your Father who is in heaven."¹¹⁰ For we ought not to quarrel; neither has He desired us to imitate wicked people, but He has exhorted us to lead all people, by patience and gentleness, from shame and evil desires. And this indeed we can show in the case of many who were once of your way of

thinking, but have turned from the way of violence and tyranny, being conquered, either by the constancy of life which they have traced in [Christian] neighbors, or by the strange endurance which they have noticed in defrauded fellow travelers or have experienced in those with whom they had dealings.¹¹¹ And concerning our not swearing at all, but always speaking the truth, He commanded thus: "Swear not at all, but let your yes be yes and your no, no. For what is more than these is from the evil one."¹¹² And that we ought to worship God alone He showed us when He said: "The greatest commandment is, You shall worship the Lord your God and Him only shall you serve with all your heart and all your strength, the Lord who made you."¹¹³ And, when a certain man came to Him and said, "Good Master," He answered and said, "There is none good, except God only who made all things."¹¹⁴ Those who are found not living as He taught should understand that they are not really Christians, even if they profess with the lip the teachings of Christ; for not those who profess, but those who do the works will be saved. For He said this: "Not everyone who says to me, Lord, Lord, will enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven. For whosoever hears me, and does what I say, hears Him who sent me. But many will say to me, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drunk in your name, and done wonders? And then I will say to them, Depart from me, you workers of iniquity."¹¹⁵ Then there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous will shine as the sun, but the wicked shall be sent into eternal fire. For many will come in my name, clothed outwardly in sheep's clothing, but inwardly being ravening wolves. By their works you will know them. And every tree that does not bring forth good fruit, is hewn down and thrown into the fire."¹¹⁶ And as to those who are not living in accordance with His teachings, but are Christians only in name, we demand that all such shall be punished by you.¹¹⁷

17. And everywhere we try to pay to those appointed by you, more readily than all people, the taxes and assessments,¹¹⁸ as

we have been taught by Him. For at that time some came and asked Him if it were necessary to pay tribute to Caesar. And He answered, "Tell me, whose image does this coin bear?" And they said, "Caesar's." And again He answered them, "Give therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."¹¹⁹ So we worship God only,¹²⁰ but in other things we gladly serve you, acknowledging you as emperors and rulers of men and women, and praying that with your imperial power you may also be found to possess sound judgment.¹²¹ But if you pay no regard to our prayers and frank statements, we shall suffer no injury, since we believe, or rather are indeed persuaded, that every person will suffer punishment in eternal fire according to the merit of his actions, and will give account according to the ability¹²² he has received from God, as Christ reminded us when He said, "To whom God has given more, from him more will be required."¹²³

18. For reflect on the end of each of the preceding emperors, how they died the death common to all; which, if it issued in unconsciousness, would be a piece of luck for all the wicked.¹²⁴ But since consciousness remains for all who have lived, and eternal punishment awaits [the wicked], do not neglect to be convinced and believe that these things are true. For necromancy,¹²⁵ and the divinations you practice through innocent children,¹²⁶ and the invoking of departed human souls, and those who are called among the magi dream-senders and familiars,¹²⁷ and all that is done by those who are skilled in such things—let these persuade you that even after death souls are still conscious; and those who are seized and torn by the spirits of the dead, whom all call demoniacs or madmen,¹²⁸ and what you call oracles, both of Amphilochus, Dodona, Pytho,¹²⁹ and many others such as exist; and the teachings of the authors, Empedocles and Pythagoras, Plato and Socrates,¹³⁰ and the pit in Homer¹³¹ and the descent of Odysseus to visit the dead, and all that has been spoken of a like kind. Receive us, even if you receive us only on an equality with them,¹³² who believe in God not less but more firmly than

they do, since we expect to receive again our own bodies,¹³³ though they be dead and buried in the earth, saying that nothing is impossible with God.

19. And to any thoughtful person what would seem more incredible, than if we were not in the body, and someone should say it was possible that from a small drop¹³⁴ of human seed, bones and sinews and flesh were formed into a shape such as we see? For let this now be said by way of supposition: If you were not such as you now are, born of such parents, and one were to show you the human seed and a picture of a man or woman, and were to say confidently that from such a substance such a being could grow, would you believe before you saw it happening? No one would dare to contradict¹³⁵ [and say that you would disbelieve]. In the same way, then, you are now incredulous because you have never seen a dead man rise again. But as at first you would not have believed it possible that from a small drop such persons could be produced, yet now you see them thus produced, so also consider that it is not impossible for the bodies of men and women, dissolved and like seeds resolved into earth, to rise again in God's appointed time and put on incorruption.¹³⁶ For we are unable to conceive what power worthy of God can be held by those who say that each thing returns into that from which it came,¹³⁷ and that not even God Himself can do anything beyond this; but this we see clearly, that they would not have believed it possible for such creatures as they are to have come into being, and produced from such materials, as they now see both themselves and the whole world to be. And we have learned that it is better to believe things impossible to our own nature and to men and women,¹³⁸ than to disbelieve like the rest of the world; since we know that our Master Jesus Christ said, "the things that are impossible with men are possible with God,"¹³⁹ and, "Fear not those who kill you and after that can do no more; but fear Him who after death is able to cast both body and soul into Gehenna."¹⁴⁰ And Gehenna¹⁴¹ is a place where those who have lived unrighteously will be punished, and those who

do not believe that these things which God has taught us through Christ will come to pass.

20. And Sibyl and Hystaspes¹⁴² stated that there will be a destruction by fire of corruptible things. And the philosophers called Stoics¹⁴³ teach that even God Himself will be resolved into fire, and they say the world is to come into being again by this change; but we know that God, the Creator of all, is superior to changeable things. If, then, on some points we teach the same things as the poets and philosophers whom you honor, and on other points are more complete and worthy of God [in our teaching], and if we alone offer proof,¹⁴⁴ why are we unjustly hated above all others? For while we say that all things have been ordered and made by God, we will appear to utter the teaching of Plato;¹⁴⁵ and while we say there will be a destruction by fire, that of the Stoics; and while we declare that the souls of the unrighteous will be punished after death, still remaining conscious, and those of the righteous being delivered from punishment enjoy blessedness, we will appear to say the same things as the poets and philosophers; and while we maintain that people ought not to worship the works of their hands we say the very things which have been said by the comic poet Menander,¹⁴⁶ and others who have said this, for they have declared that the Demiurge¹⁴⁷ is greater than the things formed.

The Irrationality of Paganism

21. And when we say also that the Word, who is the First-begotten of God, was born for us without sexual union, Jesus Christ our teacher, and that He was crucified and died and rose again and ascended into heaven,¹⁴⁸ we propound nothing new beyond [what you believe] concerning those whom you call sons of Zeus. For you know of how many sons of Zeus your esteemed writers speak: Hermes,¹⁴⁹ the interpreting Word and teacher of all; Asclepius,¹⁵⁰ who, though he was a great healer, after being struck by a thunderbolt ascended into heaven; and Dionysus too who was torn in pieces;¹⁵¹ and Heracles,¹⁵² when

he had committed himself to the flames to escape his pains; and the Dioscuri,¹⁵³ the sons of Leda; and Perseus,¹⁵⁴ son of Danae; and Bellerophon,¹⁵⁵ who, though of mortal origin, rose to heaven on the horse Pegasus. For what shall I say of Ariadne,¹⁵⁶ and those who, like her, have been said to have been placed among the stars? And what of your deceased emperors, whom you think it right to deify, and on whose behalf you produce someone who swears that he has seen the burning Caesar ascend to heaven from the funeral pyre?¹⁵⁷ And what kind of deeds are related of each of these reputed sons of Zeus, it is needless to tell those who already know. This only shall be said, that they are written for the benefit and instruction of students;¹⁵⁸ for all consider it an honorable thing to imitate the gods. But far be it from every sound mind to entertain such a thought concerning the deities as to believe that Zeus himself, the governor and begetter of all things, was both a parricide and the son of a parricide, and that being overcome by the love of evil and shameful pleasures he came into Ganymede and to those many women whom he seduced, and that his sons did like actions. But, as we have said above, wicked devils perpetrated these things.¹⁵⁹ And we have been taught that only those are deified who have lived near to God in holiness and virtue; and we believe that those who live unjustly and do not change their ways are punished in eternal fire.

22. Now the Son of God, called Jesus, even if only an ordinary man, is on account of His wisdom worthy to be called Son of God; for all writers call God Father of men and gods. For if we say that the Word of God was begotten of God in a peculiar manner, different from the ordinary method of birth, let this, as said before, be not a strange thing to you, who say that Hermes is the announcing word from God.¹⁶⁰ But if anyone objects that He was crucified, this is in common with those whom you call sons of Zeus, who suffered as we have now enumerated. For their sufferings at death are recorded as not all alike, but different; so that not even by the strangeness of His passion does He seem to be inferior to them;¹⁶¹ but, as we

promised in the preceding part of this discourse, we will now prove Him better—or rather have already proved Him to be so¹⁶²—for the better is revealed by His deeds. And even if we say that He was born of a virgin,¹⁶³ let this be to you in common with Perseus.¹⁶⁴ And when we say that He healed the lame, the paralytic, and those born blind,¹⁶⁵ and raised the dead, we appear to say things similar to those said to have been done by Asclepius.

Theological Exposition

23. And that this may now be clear to you [firstly],¹⁶⁶ that whatever things we say as having been learned from Christ, and the prophets who came before Him,¹⁶⁷ are alone true, and older than all the writers who have lived, and we ask to be accepted, not because we say the same things as they do, but because we speak the truth; and [secondly] that Jesus Christ alone was really begotten as Son by God, being His Word and First-begotten¹⁶⁸ and Power, and becoming man by His Will He taught us these things for the conversion and restoration of the human race;¹⁶⁹ and [thirdly] that before He became a man among men some,¹⁷⁰ under the influence of the wicked demons already mentioned, related as real occurrences the myths which the demons had devised through the poets, in the same manner as they have caused to be fabricated the scandalous reports against us and impious deeds, of which there is neither witness nor proof—we shall bring forward this proof.

Imposters Go Unmolested

24. Firstly, though we say things similar to what the Greeks say, we only are hated on account of the name of Christ,¹⁷¹ and though we do no wrong are put to death as sinners; others elsewhere worship trees and rivers, and mice and cats and crocodiles, and many kinds of irrational animals;¹⁷² and the same animals are not honored by all, but in one place one is worshiped, and another in another, so that all are impious toward each other, on account of their not worshiping the same objects. Yet this

is the sole accusation you bring against us, that we do not worship the same gods as you do, nor bring to the dead libations and offerings of fat, crowns for their statues,¹⁷³ and sacrifices. For you very well know that the same animals are with some honored as gods, with others as wild animals, and with others as sacrificial victims.

25. And, secondly, because we, who out of every race of men and women used to worship Dionysus¹⁷⁴ the son of Semele, and Apollo the son of Leto, who in their passion with men did such things of which it is shameful even to speak of, and Persephone¹⁷⁵ and Aphrodite, who were stung to madness by love for Adonis and whose mysteries you also celebrate, or Asclepius,¹⁷⁶ or some one or other of those who are called gods—have now, through Jesus Christ, learned to despise them, though threatened with death for it, and have dedicated ourselves to the unbegotten and impassible God;¹⁷⁷ we are not persuaded that He ever was goaded by lust for Antiope, or such other women, or of Ganymede, nor was He delivered by that hundred-handed monster, whose aid was obtained through Thetis, nor, on this account, was anxious that her son Achilles should destroy many of the Greeks because of his concubine Briseis.¹⁷⁸ We pity those who believe these things, and we recognize those who invented them to be demons.

26. And, thirdly, because after Christ's ascension into heaven¹⁷⁹ the demons put forward certain men who said that they themselves were gods, and they were not only not persecuted by you, but even were thought worthy of honors. One was a certain Simon, a Samaritan from the village called Gitta,¹⁸⁰ who in the reign of Claudius Caesar, through the art of the demons who worked in him, did mighty works of magic in your imperial city of Rome and was thought to be a god; he has been honored among you as a god with a statue, which statue was erected on the River Tiber, between the two bridges, having this inscription in Roman language:

SIMONI DEO SANCTO.¹⁸¹

And almost all the Samaritans, and a few even in other nations, worship this man and confess him, as the first god;

and a woman Helena¹⁸² who went about with him at that time, and had formerly been a public prostitute, they say was the first idea generated by him. And a certain man Menander,¹⁸³ also a Samaritan, of the village of Capparetacea, who had been a disciple of Simon's, and inspired by demons, we know to have deceived many while he was in Antioch by his magical arts,¹⁸⁴ who even persuaded his followers that they would never die; and even now there are some living who profess this from him. And there is a certain Marcion of Pontus,¹⁸⁵ who is even now teaching his disciples to believe in some other god greater than the Demiurge; who by the aid of the demons, has caused many of every race of men and women to speak blasphemies and to deny that God is the Maker of this Universe, and to profess that another, who is greater than He, has done greater works. All who take their opinions from these people, as we said before, are called Christians,¹⁸⁶ just as also those philosophers¹⁸⁷ who do not share the same views are yet all called by one common name of philosophy. And whether they commit the shameful deeds about which stories are told—the upsetting of the lamp, promiscuous intercourse, and eating human flesh¹⁸⁸—we do not know; but we do know that they are neither persecuted nor put to death by you, at least for their opinions.¹⁸⁹ But I have a treatise against all heresies which have arisen already composed,¹⁹⁰ which I will give you if you wish to read it.

27. But as for us, lest we should do any injustice or impiety,¹⁹¹ we have been taught that to expose newly born infants¹⁹² is the work of wicked people; firstly because we see that almost all those exposed, not only the girls but also the boys, are growing up to prostitution. And as the ancients are said to have reared herds of oxen, or goats, or sheep, or grazing horses, so now [we see you raise children] only for this shameful purpose; and with a view to this abomination a crowd of females and hermaphrodites and those who commit unspeakable iniquities are found in every nation. And you receive the hire from these,¹⁹³ and levies and taxes from them, whom you ought to exterminate from your civilized world.¹⁹⁴ And anyone who

makes use of these, in addition to the godless and infamous and impure intercourse, may by chance be consorting with his own child or relative or brother. And there are some who prostitute even their own children and wives, and some are openly mutilated for the purposes of sodomy,¹⁹⁵ and they refer these mysteries to the mother of the gods,¹⁹⁶ and along with each of those whom you think of as gods there is depicted a serpent,¹⁹⁷ a great symbol and mystery. Indeed the things which you do openly and with applause, as if the divine light¹⁹⁸ were overturned and extinguished, these you charge against us; which in truth does no harm to us who shrink from doing any of these things, but rather to those who do them and bear false witness [against us].

28. For among us the leader of the evil demons is called the serpent and Satan and the devil,¹⁹⁹ as you can learn by examining our writings.²⁰⁰ Christ has foretold that he would be sent into the fire with his host and the people who follow him, and would be punished for endless ages. For the reason why God has delayed to do this is His regard for the human race; for He foreknows that some are to be saved by repentance, and perhaps some not yet born.²⁰¹ In the beginning He made the human race with the power of thought and of choosing the truth and of acting rightly, so that all people are without excuse before God; for they have been born capable of exercising reason and intelligence. And if anyone denies that God cares for these things, either he will by some figure of thought deny His existence, or, while allowing His existence, he will assert that He rejoices in evil, or that He remains unmoved like a stone, and that neither virtue nor vice are anything, but only in the opinion of men and women these things are considered good or evil; and this is the greatest impiety and wickedness.²⁰²
29. And again [we do not expose children] lest some of them, not being picked up, should die, and we become murderers,²⁰³ But whether we marry, it is only that we may bring up children;²⁰⁴ or whether we renounce marriage we live in perfect continence. And that you may understand that promiscuous intercourse is not among our mysteries, one of our number

recently presented to Felix, the Prefect in Alexandria,²⁰⁵ a petition, asking that permission might be given to a doctor to make him a eunuch;²⁰⁶ for the doctors said that they were forbidden to do this without the permission of the Prefect. And when Felix would by no means agree to subscribe [to the petition] the youth remained single, and was satisfied with the testimony of his own conscience and that of his fellow believers. And it is not out of place, we think, to mention here Antinous,²⁰⁷ who was recently alive, and whom everybody, with reverence,²⁰⁸ hastened to worship as a god, though they knew both who he was and what was his origin.

Proofs of Prophecies Fulfilled

30. But lest anyone should argue against us, what excludes [the reasoning] that He who is called by us Christ, a man born of men, performed what we call His mighty works by magical art, and by this appeared to be Son of God?—we will now offer proof, not trusting in mere assertions, but being of necessity persuaded by those who prophesied [these things] before they happened, for with our own eyes we see things that have happened and are happening just as they were predicted;²⁰⁹ and this will, we think, appear to you the strongest and surest evidence.
31. Then there were certain persons among the Jews, who were prophets of God, through whom the prophetic Spirit²¹⁰ announced beforehand things that were to come to pass before they happened. And the successive rulers of the Jews carefully preserved in their possession their prophecies, as they were spoken and when they were uttered, in their own Hebrew language when they had been arranged in books by the prophets themselves.²¹¹ But when Ptolemy, the King of Egypt, formed a library and set out to collect the writings of all people, he heard also about these prophecies, and sent to Herod, who was at that time King of the Jews, asking that the prophetic books be sent to him. And King Herod indeed sent them, written in the already mentioned Hebrew language. Since their contents were found to be unintelligible to the Egyptians, he

again sent and asked that people be sent to translate them into the Greek language.²¹² And when this was done the books remained with the Egyptians where they are until now; and they are everywhere with all the Jews;²¹³ but though they read them they do not understand what is said, but consider us enemies and opponents; and like yourselves they kill and punish us whenever they can, as you can well realize. For in the Jewish war which lately happened Bar-Cochba,²¹⁴ the leader of the revolt of the Jews, gave orders that Christians alone should be led to terrible punishments, unless they would deny Jesus the Christ and blaspheme. In these books, then, of the prophets we have found it predicted that Jesus our Christ would come, born of a virgin, growing up to manhood, and healing every disease and every sickness and raising the dead, and hated and unrecognized and crucified, and dying and rising again and ascending into heaven, and both being and being called Son of God.²¹⁵ [We find it also predicted] that certain people should be sent by Him into every nation to proclaim these things,²¹⁶ and that rather among the Gentiles people should believe on Him. And He was predicted before He appeared, first five thousand years before, and again three thousand, and then two thousand, and again one thousand, and yet again eight hundred;²¹⁷ for in the succession of generations other prophets again and again arose.

32. Moses then, who was the first of the prophets, said in express terms: "The Ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor a prince from his loins, until He comes for whom it is reserved; and He shall be the expectation of the nations, binding His foal to the vine, washing His robe in the blood of the grape."²¹⁸ It is yours to make precise inquiry and ascertain up to whose time the Jews had a ruler and king of their own. [They had a ruler] until the time of Jesus Christ,²¹⁹ who taught us and interpreted the prophecies which were not yet understood, as was predicted by the divine and holy prophetic Spirit through Moses, "that a Ruler would not fail the Jews until He should come for whom the kingdom was reserved." For Judah was the forefather of the Jews, from whom also they are called Jews; and

after [Christ] appeared you began to rule over the Jews and gained control of all their territory. And the prophecy, "He shall be the expectation of the nations," signified that there would be some of every nation who would look for His coming again, as indeed you can see for yourselves and be convinced by the fact; for people of every race are looking for Him who was crucified in Judaea, after which the land of the Jews was immediately surrendered to you as spoil of war. [And the prophecy] "binding His foal to the vine, washing His robe in the blood of the grape" was a significant symbol of the things that were to happen to Christ, and of what He was to do. For the foal of an ass stood bound to a vine²²⁰ at the entrance of a village, which He then ordered His companion to bring to Him; and when it was brought He mounted and sat upon it and entered into Jerusalem, where was the great temple of the Jews which was afterward overthrown by you; and after this He was crucified, that the rest of the prophecy might be fulfilled. For "washing His robe in the blood of the grape" was predictive of the passion He was to endure, cleansing by His blood those who believe on Him. For what is called by the divine Spirit through the prophet a "robe" are those people who believe on Him in whom dwells the seed of God, the Word.²²¹ And what is spoken of as the blood of the grape signifies that He who was to appear would have blood, though not from human seed but by divine power. And the first Power after God the Father and Master of all is the Word,²²² who is also Son; and of Him, in what follows, we will tell how He took flesh and became man. For as man did not make the blood of the grape, but God, so it was intimated that [His] blood should not be from human seed, but of divine power, as we have said above. And Isaiah, another prophet, prophesying the same things in other words, said thus: "A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a flower shall spring from the root of Jesse; and upon His arm will the nations hope."²²³ But the shining star has arisen, and a flower has sprung from the root of Jesse—this is the Christ. For by the power of God He was conceived by a virgin of the seed of Jacob, who was the father of Judah, the father of the Jews, as we have shown; and Jesse was His forefather

according to the oracle, and He was the son of Jacob and Judah according to lineal succession.

33. And again hear how Isaiah in express terms prophesied that He should be born of a virgin. For He spoke thus: "Behold the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they will call His name, God with us."²²⁴ For things which were unbelievable and seemed impossible with people, these God predicted through the prophetic Spirit as about to come to pass, in order that when they came to pass there would be no unbelief, but faith because of their prediction.²²⁵ But lest some, not understanding the prophecy referred to, should bring against us the reproach we have been bringing against the poets who say that Zeus came upon women through lust, we will attempt to explain clearly the words. This then, "Behold the virgin shall conceive" signifies that the virgin should conceive without intercourse. For if she had had intercourse with anyone, she was no longer a virgin; but the power of God having come upon the virgin overshadowed her, and caused her to conceive while still a virgin. And the angel of God who was sent to the same virgin at that time brought her good news, saying, "Behold, you will conceive in the womb of the Holy Spirit and will bear a son, and He will be called Son of the Highest, and you will call His name Jesus, for He will save His people from their sins,"²²⁶—as those who have recorded everything about our Savior Jesus Christ have taught,²²⁷ whom we believed, since also by Isaiah, whom we have mentioned, the prophetic Spirit said that He should be born as we noted before. The Spirit and the Power from God cannot therefore be understood as anything else than the Word, who is also the First-begotten of God,²²⁸ as Moses the above-mentioned prophet testified,²²⁹ and it was this which, when it came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, caused her to conceive not by intercourse, but by power. And the name Jesus in Hebrew language means Savior²³⁰ in the Greek tongue. Wherefore also the angel said to the virgin, "And you will call His name Jesus, for He will save His people from their sins." And that the

prophets are inspired²³¹ by none other than the divine Word, even you, as I think, will agree.

34. Hear also in what part of the earth He was to be born, as another prophet, Micah, foretold. He spoke thus: "And you Bethlehem, land of Judah, are by no means the least among the rulers of Judah; for out of you shall come forth a Ruler who will shepherd my people."²³² Now this is a village in the land of the Jews, thirty-five stadia²³³ from Jerusalem, in which Jesus Christ was born, as you can learn from the census returns made under Quirinius, who was your first procurator in Judaea.²³⁴
35. And as to how Christ after He was born was to escape the notice of other people until He had become a man,²³⁵ which also came to pass, hear what was foretold concerning this. There are these: "A child is born to us, and a young man is given to us, and the government will be upon His shoulders";²³⁶ testifying the power of the Cross, for to it, when He was crucified, He applied His shoulders, as will be shown more clearly as the discourse proceeds. And again the same prophet Isaiah, inspired by the prophetic Spirit, said: "I have stretched out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, to those who walk in a way that is not good. They now ask judgment of me and dare to draw near to God."²³⁷ And again in other words He says through another prophet: "They pierced my hands and my feet, and cast lots for my clothing."²³⁸ And indeed David, the king and prophet, who said this,²³⁹ suffered none of these things; but Jesus Christ had His hands stretched out, when He was crucified by the Jews, who spoke against Him, and denied that He was the Christ. And as the prophet said, they set Him in mockery on the judgment seat and said, Judge us.²⁴⁰ "They pierced my hands and my feet," was an announcement²⁴¹ of the nails that were fastened in His hands and feet on the Cross. And after He was crucified they cast lots for His clothing, and they that crucified Him divided it among themselves. And that these things happened, you can learn from the Acts of what was done under Pontius Pilate.²⁴² And we will cite the prophetic sayings of another prophet, Zephaniah, to the effect that it was expressly

foretold that He would sit on the foal of an ass and enter into Jerusalem. These are the words: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold your King comes to you meek, and riding upon an ass and upon a colt the foal of an ass."²⁴³

36. But when you hear the sayings of the prophets spoken as in the person of someone, you must not suppose that they are spoken by the inspired persons themselves, but by the divine Word who moves them. For sometimes He speaks things that are to happen, in the manner of one who foretells the future; sometimes He speaks as in the person of God²⁴⁴ the Master and Father of all; sometimes as in the person of Christ;²⁴⁵ sometimes as in the person of the people²⁴⁶ answering the Lord or His Father, just as you can see even in your own writers, one man being the composer of the whole, but introducing the persons who converse. And not understanding this, the Jews who are in possession of the books of the prophets therefore did not recognize Christ even after His advent, but even hate us who proclaim that He has come and who prove that, as was predicted, He was crucified by them.

37. And that this too may be clear to you, the following words were spoken in the person of the Father through the aforementioned prophet Isaiah: "The ox knows his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel knows not me and my people have not understood. Woe, sinful nation, a people full of sins, a wicked seed, lawless children; you have forsaken the Lord."²⁴⁷ And again elsewhere, when the same prophet speaks in like manner [in the person] of the Father:²⁴⁸ "What kind of house will you build for us? says the Lord. The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool."²⁴⁹ And again elsewhere: "My soul hates your new moons and sabbaths, and I cannot endure the great day of the fast and of idleness; nor when you come to be seen of me, will I hear you. Your hands are full of blood. And if you bring fine wheaten flour and incense, it is an abomination to me; the fat of lambs and blood of bulls I do not desire. For who required this at your hands? But loose every bond of iniquity, tear apart the knots of violent dealings,

cover the homeless and naked, deal your bread to the hungry."²⁵⁰ You can now perceive what kind of things are taught through the prophets [in the person of] God.

38. And when the prophetic Spirit speaks in the person of Christ, the sayings are of this kind: "I have stretched out my hands over a disobedient and gainsaying people, over those who walk in a way that is not good."²⁵¹ And again: "I have given my back to scourges and my cheeks to blows, and I turned not away my face from the shame of spittings. And the Lord was my helper; therefore I was not confounded, but I set my face as a firm rock, and I knew that I would not be ashamed, for He is near who justifies me."²⁵² And again when He says: "They cast lots for my clothing, and pierced my hands and my feet. But I lay down and slept, and rose again, because the Lord supported me."²⁵³ And again when He says: "They spoke with their lips, they shook the head saying, let him deliver himself."²⁵⁴ And that all these things were done to Christ by the Jews, you can learn. For when He was crucified they twisted their lips and shook their heads saying: "Let Him who raised the dead save Himself."²⁵⁵

39. And when the prophetic Spirit speaks as predicting things that are to come to pass, He speaks in this way: "For from Zion will go forth the law and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and He will judge in the midst of the nations and will rebuke much people; and they will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and nation will not lift up sword against nation, neither will they learn war anymore."²⁵⁶ And that it really happened, we can convince you. For there went out into the world from Jerusalem men, twelve in number,²⁵⁷ and these were illiterate, not able to speak, but by the power of God they testified to every race of men and women that they were sent by Christ to teach to all the Word of God;²⁵⁸ and we who once killed one another not only do not make war on our enemies, but in order not to utter falsehood or deceive our inquisitors, we gladly die confessing Christ. For that saying, "The tongue has sworn, but the mind is unsworn,"²⁵⁹ it would be possible for us to follow in

this matter. But if the soldiers covenanted and enrolled²⁶⁰ by you prefer their allegiance before their own life and parents and country²⁶¹ and all their families, though you can offer them nothing incorruptible, it were truly ridiculous if we, who desire incorruption, should not endure all things in order to receive what we desire from Him who is able to grant it.

40. And hear how it was foretold concerning those who proclaimed His teaching and testified to His appearance, the above-mentioned prophet and King speaking thus through the prophetic Spirit: "Day to day utters speech, and night to night shows forth knowledge. There are no languages nor words, in which their voices are not heard. Their voice has gone out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the inhabited world. He has set His tabernacle in the sun, and He Himself, as a bridegroom coming out of His bridal chamber, will rejoice as a giant to run His course."²⁶² And besides these we have thought it good and relevant to mention some other prophetic words spoken through the same David, from which you may learn how the prophetic Spirit exhorts people to live, and how He testifies of the conspiracy which was formed against Christ by Herod the King of the Jews, and the Jews themselves, and Pilate, who was your procurator among them, with his soldiers; and how He would be believed in by people of every race;²⁶³ and how God calls Him His Son and has promised to subdue all His enemies under Him; and how the demons²⁶⁴ try, as far as they can, to escape the power of God the Father and Master of all, and the power of Christ Himself; and how God calls all to repentance before the day of judgment comes. These things were spoken thus:²⁶⁵ "Blessed is the man who has not walked in the council of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat on the seat of the pestilent, but his will is the law of the Lord, and in His law will he meditate day and night. And he shall be like the tree planted by the rivers of waters, which will give its fruit in its season, and his leaf will not wither, and whatever he does will be prospered. Not so are the ungodly, not so, but are like the dust which the wind blows away from the face of the earth. Therefore the ungodly will not stand in judgment

nor sinners in the council of the righteous, because the Lord knows the way of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly will be destroyed. Why have the nations raged, and the peoples imagined new²⁶⁶ things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers assembled together against the Lord and against His Christ, saying, Let us break their bonds and let us cast away their yoke from us. He that dwells in heaven will laugh them to scorn, and the Lord will mock at them. Then will He speak to them in His wrath, and will vex them in His anger. But I have been set up by Him a King on Zion His holy mountain, declaring the decree of the Lord. The Lord said to me, You are my Son, today I have begotten you; ask of me and I will give you nations for your inheritance, and the ends of the earth for your possession; you will shepherd them with a rod of iron, you will break them as potter's vessels. And now, O Kings, understand; be instructed all you who judge the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice before Him with trembling. Embrace discipline, lest the Lord be angry, and you be destroyed from the right way, when His anger has been suddenly kindled. Blessed are all who have put their trust in Him."

41. And again in another prophecy the prophetic Spirit testified through the same David that after He had been crucified Christ would reign, and spoke thus; "Sing to the Lord, all the earth, and proclaim His salvation day by day; for great is the Lord and highly to be praised, terrible above all the gods. For all the gods of the nations are images of demons, but God made the heavens. Glory and praise are before His face, and strength and pride in the place of His sanctification. Give glory to the Lord, the Father of the ages. Receive grace and enter in before His face and worship in His holy courts. Let all the earth fear before His face and worship in His holy courts. Let all the earth fear before His face and be set right and not moved. Let them rejoice among the nations; the Lord has reigned from the tree."²⁶⁷
42. But when the prophetic Spirit speaks of things that are about to come as already having happened, as may be seen in the passages already cited, we will explain this too so that this cir-

cumstance will afford no excuse to readers [for misunderstanding]. The things which He fully knows will take place He speaks of in advance as if they had already taken place. And that the sayings must thus be received [you will see] if you look carefully. David said the words cited above fifteen-hundred years²⁶⁸ before Christ became a man and was crucified, and none of those who lived before Him gave joy to the nations by being crucified, nor His contemporaries. But in our time²⁶⁹ Jesus Christ who was crucified and died rose again, and having ascended into heaven, reigned; and on account of those things which were proclaimed from Him by the Apostles among all nations, there is joy afforded to those who look forward to the immortality²⁷⁰ promised by Him.

43. But lest some may infer from what has been said by us that whatever things happen, happen according to inevitable destiny,²⁷¹ because they were foretold as foreknown, this too we explain. We have learned from the prophets and assert as true, that punishments and chastisements²⁷² and good rewards are given according to the merit of each person's actions. Since if this is not so, but all things happen in accordance with fate, neither is anything at all [left to our] free choice. For if it be destined that one person be good and another wicked, neither is the former meritorious nor the latter blameworthy. And again unless the human race has the power by free choice to avoid evil and to choose good, there is no responsibility for actions of whatever kind they be. But that by free choice [a person] both walks uprightly and stumbles, we prove as follows. We see the same person in pursuit of opposite things. Now if it had been destined that he were to be either evil or virtuous, he could never have been capable of opposites nor of so many pursuits. But not even would some be virtuous and others evil, since then we should have to affirm²⁷³ fate to be the cause of evil, and to act in opposition to itself; or that which has been already stated would seem to be true, that there is no real virtue or vice, but that things are reckoned good or evil by opinion; which, as the true reason shows, is the greatest impiety and wickedness.²⁷⁴ But this we assert is irrevocable

cable destiny, that those who choose the good have deserved rewards, and those who choose the opposite have their just punishment. For God did not make a man or a woman like other things, such as trees and animals, which cannot act by choice; for neither would he be worthy of rewards or praise if he did not choose the good of himself, having been born so; nor, if he were evil, would he be worthy of punishment, not being evil himself, but being unable to be anything other than that for which he was born.

44. The holy prophetic Spirit taught us these things, saying through Moses that God spoke thus to the first-formed man: "Behold before your face are good and evil, choose the good."²⁷⁵ And again through Isaiah, another prophet, this was said with this object as from God the Father and Master of all things: "Wash yourselves, be clean, put away evil from your souls, learn to do good, give judgment for the orphan and plead for the widow, and come and let us reason together, says the Lord: And if your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool, and if they be as crimson, I will make them white as snow. And if you are willing and listen to me, you will eat the good of the land; but if you will not listen to me, the sword will devour you; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken these things."²⁷⁶ And that expression, "The sword will devour you," does not mean that the disobedient will be slain by swords, but the sword of God is fire,²⁷⁷ of which those who choose to do evil become the fuel. Because of this he says, "The sword will devour you; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken." And if he were speaking of a sword which cuts and at once lets go,²⁷⁸ He would not have said "will devour." And so when Plato said, "The blame is his who chooses, and God is blameless,"²⁷⁹ he took this from the prophet Moses and uttered it. For Moses is more ancient than all the Greek writers.²⁸⁰ And everything that both philosophers and poets have said concerning the immortality of the soul, or punishments after death, or contemplation of heavenly things,²⁸¹ or doctrines like these, they have received such hints from the prophets as have enabled them to understand and expound these things. And hence there

seem to be seeds of truth²⁸² among all people; but they are proved not to have understood them accurately when they contradict each other. So that what we say about things yet to happen being predicted, we do not say as if they took place by inevitable destiny; but God foreknows all that will be done by all people, since it is one of our tenets that each person will receive from Him according to his deeds.²⁸³ He foretells by the prophetic Spirit that God's rewards will occur according to the merit of the deeds, always urging the human race to thought and recollection, showing that He cares for it and provides for men and women. But by the working of the wicked demons death has been decreed against those who read the books of Hystaspes or the Sibyl²⁸⁴ or the prophets, that through fear they may prevent people who read them from receiving the knowledge of good things, and may keep them in slavery to themselves; which however they could not always succeed in doing. For we not only boldly read them, but also, as you see, offer them to you for inspection, knowing that what they declare will be pleasing to all. And if we persuade even a few, this will be a great gain for us; for as good husbandmen we will receive the reward from the Master.²⁸⁵

45. And that God the Father of all would bring Christ to heaven after He had raised Him from the dead, and would keep²⁸⁶ [Him there] until He has subdued the demons who are His enemies, and until the number be completed of those who are foreknown by Him as good and virtuous, for whose sake He has not yet consummated His decree²⁸⁷ [of judgment]—hear what was said by David the prophet. These are the words: “The Lord to my Lord, Sit on my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool. The Lord will send forth to you the rod of power from Jerusalem; and rule in the midst of your enemies. With you is the beginning in the day of your power, the splendor of your saints; I have begotten you from the womb before the morning star.”²⁸⁸ The phrase “He will send forth to you the rod of power from Jerusalem” is a prediction of the mighty word which His Apostles, going forth from Jerusalem, proclaimed everywhere,²⁸⁹ and, although

death is decreed against those who teach or even confess the name of Christ, we everywhere both embrace and teach it. And if you also will read²⁹⁰ these words in a hostile spirit, you can do no more, as we said before, than kill us; which indeed does no harm to us, but to you and all who unjustly are enemies, and do not repent, brings eternal punishment by fire.

Christians before Christ

46. But lest some, reasoning absurdly, with a view to refuting what we teach, should maintain that we say that Christ was born a hundred and fifty years ago under Cyrenius,²⁹¹ and somewhat later,²⁹² under Pontius Pilate, taught what we say He taught, and should object as though all people who were born before Him were not accountable—let us anticipate and solve the difficulty.²⁹³ We have been taught that Christ is the First-born of God, and we have suggested above that He is the logos of whom every race of men and women were partakers.²⁹⁴ And they who lived with the logos are Christians, even though they have been thought atheists; as, among the Greeks, Socrates and Heraclitus,²⁹⁵ and people like them; and among the barbarians, Abraham, and Ananias, and Asarias, and Misael, and Elias,²⁹⁶ and many others whose actions and names we now decline to recount, because we know it would be tedious. So that even they who lived before Christ, and lived without logos, were wicked²⁹⁷ and hostile to Christ, and slew those who lived with the logos. But for what reason He, through the power of logos and according to the will of God the Father and Lord of all, was born a virgin as a man, and was named Jesus, and was crucified, and died, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, an intelligent person will be able to comprehend from what has been already so largely said. And we, since the argument concerned with this point is less needful now, will pass for the present to the demonstration of those things which are urgent.
47. That, then, the land of the Jews would be laid waste, hear what was said by the prophetic Spirit; and the words were spoken as if

in the person of the people, wondering at what had happened. They are these: "Zion has become a wilderness, Jerusalem has become like a wilderness, the house of our sanctuary [has become] a curse, and the glory which our fathers blessed is burned up with fire, and all its glorious things are fallen. And you abide these things, and have kept silence, and have humbled us exceedingly."²⁹⁸ And you are persuaded that Jerusalem has been laid waste, as it had been foretold would happen. And concerning its desolation, and that no one would be allowed to inhabit it, it was thus said through Isaiah the prophet: "Their land is a wilderness, their enemies eat it up before them, and none of them will dwell in it."²⁹⁹ And that it is guarded by you lest anyone dwell in it, and that death is decreed against any Jew caught entering it,³⁰⁰ you know very well.

48. And that it was prophesied that our Christ would heal all diseases and raise the dead, hear what was spoken. There are these words: "At His coming the lame will leap as a hart, and the tongue of the stammerer will be clear; the blind will see and the lepers will be cleansed, and the dead will rise up and walk."³⁰¹ And that He did these things, you can learn from the Acts of what was done under Pontius Pilate.³⁰² How it was predicted by the prophetic Spirit that He and the people who hoped in Him would be slain, hear what was said through Isaiah. These are the words: "See how the Righteous one³⁰³ is taken away, and no one takes it to heart; and righteous people are slain, and none considers it. From the presence of wickedness the Righteous one is taken away, and his burial will be in peace; he is taken away from [our] midst."³⁰⁴

49. And again [hear] how it was said through the same Isaiah—that the peoples of the Gentiles who were not looking for Him would worship Him, but the Jews who were always expecting Him would not recognize Him when He came. And the words are spoken as in the person of Christ Himself; and they are these: "I was manifest to those who asked not for me; I was found by those who sought me not; I said, Here am I, to a nation that did not call on my name. I stretched out my hands over a disobedient and contradicting people, over those who

walked in a way that was not good, but [follow] after their sins; a people that rouse me to anger to my face."³⁰⁵ For the Jews, having the prophecies, and always expecting the Christ to come, did not recognize Him when He came;³⁰⁶ and not only so, but even misused Him. But those of the Gentiles, who had never even heard about Christ, until His Apostles, who went forth from Jerusalem, testified to the things concerning Him and delivered the prophecies, were filled with joy and faith, bade adieu to their idols, and dedicated themselves to the unbegotten God³⁰⁷ through Christ. And that it was predicted that these slanders would be spoken against those who were confessing Christ, and how those who slandered Him would be afflicted, and said that it was well to observe the ancient customs, hear what was briefly said through Isaiah; it is this: "Woe to those who call sweet bitter and bitter sweet."³⁰⁸

50. But that having become man for us, He endured suffering and dishonor, and will come again with glory, hear the prophecies which were spoken to this effect; they are these: "Because they delivered His soul to death, and He was counted with the wicked, He has borne the sins of many, and will make propitiation for the wicked."³⁰⁹ For behold my servant will understand, and be exalted and greatly glorified. As many will be astonished at you, so your form will be marred before men and women and your glory before men and women, so many nations will wonder, and kings will close their mouths; because those who were not told about Him will see, and those who have not heard will understand. O Lord, who has believed our report? and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? We have declared before Him as a child, as a root in dry ground. He has no form nor glory; and we saw Him, and He had no form nor beauty, but His form was dishonored and despised more than [any among] men. He was a stricken man, and knowing how to bear infirmity, because His face was turned away, and He was dishonored and not esteemed. He it is who bears our sins and is afflicted for us, and we counted Him to be in distress, smitten and afflicted. But He was wounded for our wickednesses and suffered infir-

mity for our sins; the chastisement of [our] peace was upon Him, by His stripes we are healed. As sheep we have all gone astray, man has gone astray in his own way. And He delivered Him for our sins, and He did not open His mouth because of affliction. He was led as a sheep to slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearer is dumb, so He did not open His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was lifted up."³¹⁰ Then after He was crucified even all His acquaintances deserted Him, having denied Him;³¹¹ but afterward, when He had risen from the dead and appeared to them, and had taught them to read the prophecies, in which all these things were predicted as coming to pass, and when they had seen Him ascending into heaven, and had believed, and received power which He had sent from there, and went to every race of men and women, they taught these things and were called Apostles.

51. And that the prophetic Spirit might signify to us that He who suffers these things has an ineffable origin and reigns over His enemies, He spoke thus: "Who will declare His generation? Because His life is taken away from the earth; for their wickednesses He goes to death. And I will give the wicked for His burial and the rich for His death, because He did no wickedness neither was any deceit found in His mouth. And the Lord wills to cleanse Him from the blow. If you give [Him an offering] for sin, your soul will see a seed prolonged. And the Lord wills to deliver His soul from sorrow, to show Him light and to form Him with understanding, to justify the Righteous one who richly serves many. And He Himself will bear away our sins. Because of this He will inherit many and will divide the spoil of the strong, because His soul was delivered to death, and He was numbered with the wicked, and He Himself bore the sins of many and because of their wickednesses He was delivered up."³¹² Hear also how He was to ascend into heaven, as it was prophesied. It was thus spoken: "Lift up the gates of heaven, be opened, that the King of glory may come in. Who is this King of glory? The strong Lord and the powerful Lord."³¹³ And how also He would come again from heaven with glory, hear what was spoken to this end through the

prophet Jeremiah. His words are: "Behold as the Son of Man He comes on the clouds of heaven, and His angels with Him."³¹⁴

52. Since then we show that all things that have already happened had been proclaimed through the prophets before they came to pass, it must necessarily be believed also that those things that were similarly predicted, but are yet to come to pass, will certainly take place. For as the things that have already happened came to pass when proclaimed before, and even unrecognized, so will the things that remain, even though unknown and disbelieved, come to pass. For the prophets have proclaimed before two comings³¹⁵ of His: one, which has already happened, as that of a dishonored and suffering man; and the second, when, as has been proclaimed, He will come from heaven with glory with His angelic host; when also He will raise the bodies of all the people who have lived, and will clothe the worthy with incorruption,³¹⁶ but will send those of the wicked, eternally conscious, into eternal fire with the wicked demons. And that these things have been predicted as yet to happen, we will show. This was said through Ezekiel the prophet: "Joint will come together with joint and bone with bone, and flesh will grow again. And every knee will bow to the Lord, and every tongue will confess Him."³¹⁷ And in what kind of consciousness and punishment the wicked are to be, hear from what was said to this effect. It is this: "Their worm will not rest, and their fire will not be extinguished."³¹⁸ And then they will repent, when it no longer profits them. And what the people of the Jews will say and do, when they see Him coming in glory, has thus been prophesied through Zechariah the prophet: "I will command the four winds to gather together the scattered children; I will command the north wind to carry [them], and the south wind not to keep [them] back. And then [there will be] in Jerusalem great lamentation, not a lamentation of mouths or lips, but a lamentation of the heart, and they will not rend their garments but their minds. Tribe after tribe will lament, and then they will see Him whom they have pierced, and will say: Why, O Lord,

did you make us wander from your way? The glory, which our fathers blessed, has been turned for us into shame."³¹⁹

53. Though we could cite many other prophecies, we forbear, judging that these are sufficient to persuade those who have ears to hear and understand,³²⁰ and considering also that those people are able to see that we do not only assert, like those fables that are told of the so-called sons of Zeus, without being able to produce proofs. For with what reason should we believe of a crucified man that He is the First-begotten³²¹ of the Unbegotten God and Himself will pass judgment on the whole human race, unless we had found testimonies proclaimed about Him before He came and was made man, and unless we had seen that things had thus happened—the devastation of the land of the Jews, and men and women of every race persuaded by the teaching that comes from His Apostles, and having rejected the old customs in which, wandering astray, they lived; seeing ourselves too, and knowing that the Gentile Christians are both more numerous and true than those from among the Jews and Samaritans?³²² For all the other human races are called Gentiles by the prophetic Spirit, but the Jewish and Samaritan [races] are called tribe of Israel and House of Jacob. And how it was prophesied that there would be more believers from the Gentiles than from the Jews and Samaritans, we will announce what was predicted: It was spoken thus: "Rejoice, O barren who does not bear; break forth and shout, who does not travail, because the children of the desolate are many more than of her who has an husband."³²³ For all the Gentiles were desolate of the true God, serving the works of [their] hands; but Jews and Samaritans, having the word from God delivered to them through the prophets and constantly expecting the Christ, did not recognize Him when He came, except only a few of whom the holy prophetic Spirit predicted through Isaiah that they should be saved. For He spoke as in their person: "Except the Lord had left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom and Gomorrah."³²⁴ For Sodom and Gomorrah are related by Moses to have been cities of ungodly people, which God over-

threw and burnt with fire and brimstone, none of their inhabitants being saved except a certain stranger, a Chaldean by race, Lot by name, with whom also his daughters were rescued.³²⁵ And those who care to may yet see their whole country desolate and burnt and remaining unproductive.³²⁶ And that it was foreknown how those from among the Gentiles would be more true and faithful, we will cite what was said through Isaiah the prophet. He spoke thus: "Israel is uncircumcised in heart, but the Gentiles are uncircumcised [in the flesh]."³²⁷ Such things as these, then, when they are seen are sufficient [reasonably] to implant conviction and faith in those who welcome the truth, and are not vainglorious nor governed by their passions.

Mythology Used by Demons to Imitate Christ

54. But those who deliver the myths invented by the poets offer no proof to the youths who learn them³²⁸—and we proceed to prove that they have been told by the power of the wicked demons to deceive and lead astray the human race. For when they heard it proclaimed through the prophets that the Christ was to come, and that the ungodly among men and women would be punished by fire, they caused many to be called sons of Zeus, thinking that they would be able to cause people to believe that the statements about Christ were marvelous tales, like the assertions of poets. And these things were said both among the Greeks and among all nations where they [the demons] heard the prophets proclaiming that Christ would be especially believed in. But that in hearing what was said through the prophets they did not understand it accurately, but imitated, like people in error, what was said concerning our Christ, we will make plain. The prophet Moses, then, was, as we have said before, older than all writers, and through him, as we have also said before, it was thus predicted: "A ruler will not depart from Judah nor the leader from His thighs, until He comes for whom it is reserved; and He will be the expectation of the nations, binding His foal to the vine, washing His robe in the blood of the grape."³²⁹ Therefore

when the demons heard these prophetic words they said that Dionysus had been the son of Zeus, and handed down that he was the discoverer of the vine, and they ascribe wine³³⁰ among his mysteries, and taught that, having been torn in pieces, he ascended into heaven. And since through the prophecy of Moses it had not been expressly signified whether He who was to come would be the Son of God, and whether, mounted on a foal, He would remain on earth or ascend into heaven, and because the name "foal" could signify either the foal of an ass or a horse, they, not knowing whether the predicted one would bring the foal of an ass or of a horse as the sign of His coming, nor whether He was the Son of God or of a man, as we said before,³³¹ said that Bellerophon, a man born of men, had himself gone up to heaven on the horse Pegasus. And when they heard it said through the other prophet Isaiah, that He would be born of a virgin, and would ascend into heaven by his own³³² [power], they caused Perseus to be spoken of. And when they knew what was said, as has been cited before, in the ancient prophecies, "Strong as a giant to run his course,"³³³ they said that Heracles was strong, and had traveled over the whole earth. And, again, when they learned that it had been predicted that He would heal every disease and raise the dead, they brought forward Asclepius.³³⁴

55. But in no instance, not even in the case of those called sons of Zeus, did they imitate the crucifixion; for they did not understand, as had been explained,³³⁵ that all the things said about it were put symbolically. Yet, as the prophet predicted, [this] is the greatest symbol of His power and rule, as also is shown from the things which fall under view. For consider all the things in the cosmos, whether without this form they could be governed or be interrelated.³³⁶ For the sea is not traversed except this token of victory,³³⁷ which is called a sail, remains safe in the ship; and the land is not ploughed without it; likewise diggers and craftsmen do not do their work except with tools which have this form. And the human form differs from that of the irrational animals in nothing else than in its being erect and having the hands stretched out, and having on the

face extending from the forehead what is called the nose, through which there is breath for the living creature—and this shows no other form than that of the Cross.³³⁸ And so it was said through the prophet, "The breath before our face is Christ the Lord."³³⁹ And the power of this form is shown by your own symbols on what are called standards³⁴⁰ and trophies,³⁴¹ to the accompaniment of which all your state processions are made, using these as the signs of your rule and power, even though you do so without knowing. And with this form you set up the images of your deceased emperors,³⁴² and you name them gods by inscriptions.³⁴³ Since, then, we have urged you both by reason and by the visible form, as far as we can, we know that now we are blameless even though you disbelieve; for our part is done and finished.

56. But the wicked demons were not satisfied with saying before the appearance of Christ that those who were said to be sons of Zeus were born of him; but after He had appeared and been among people, and when they learned how He had been proclaimed by the prophets and knew that He should be believed on and looked for by every nation, they again, as we proved before,³⁴⁴ put forward others, Simon and Menander from Samaria, who did mighty works of magic and deceived many and still keep them deceived. For even among yourselves, as we said before, Simon was in the imperial city of Rome under Claudius Caesar and so greatly astonished the Sacred Senate and the Roman people,³⁴⁵ that he was thought to be a god and was honored, like the others whom you honor as gods, with a statue. So we ask that the Sacred Senate and your people may be judges with you of our plea, that if anyone be ensnared by that man's teachings, he may learn the truth and be able to escape error; and, if you will, destroy the statue.
57. Nor can the wicked demons persuade men and women that there is no burning for the punishment of the ungodly, just as they could not effect that Christ should be hidden when He came. But this only can they do, that they who live contrary to reason, and were subject to passions in wicked customs and are deluded, should kill and hate us; whom we not only do not

hate, but, as is proved, pity and try to persuade them to repent. For we are not afraid of death, since it is certain we must surely die; and there is nothing new, but everything is the same in this dispensation of things;³⁴⁶ and if satiety befalls those who enjoy even one year of these things,³⁴⁷ in order that they may be free from suffering and want they ought to pay heed to our teachings. But if they believe that there is nothing after death, but declare that those who die pass into unconsciousness, then they become our benefactors when they set us free from the sufferings and necessities of this life,³⁴⁸ and prove themselves to be wicked and inhuman and prejudiced. For they kill us with no intention of delivering us, but cut us off that we may be deprived of life and pleasure.

58. And, as we said before,³⁴⁹ the wicked demons have put forward Marcion of Pontus, who is even now teaching people to deny that God is the Maker of all things in heaven and earth and that the Christ predicted through the prophets is His Son, and proclaims another god besides the Demiurge of all and likewise another son. Many are persuaded by him³⁵⁰ as if he alone knew the truth, and laugh at us, though they have no proof of the things they say, but are snatched away irrationally as lambs by a wolf,³⁵¹ and become the prey of godless teaching and of demons. For those who are called demons strive for nothing else than to take away people from God who made them and from Christ His First-begotten; and those who cannot raise themselves above the earth they have pinned down by [the worship of] earthly things and the works of men's hands;³⁵² and they even trip up³⁵³ those who devote themselves to the contemplation of things divine, unless they have a wise prudence and a pure and passionless life, and drive them into ungodliness.

Plato Dependent on Moses

59. And that you may learn that it was from our teachers—we mean from the Word through the prophets—that Plato took his statement that God made the Universe by changing form-

less matter, hear the precise words spoken through Moses, who, as shown above, was the first prophet and older than the Greek writers; through whom the prophetic Spirit, signifying how and from what God fashioned the Universe, spoke thus: "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. And the earth was invisible and unfurnished, and darkness was over the abyss; and the Spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said, let there be light. And it was so." So that both Plato and his followers and we ourselves have learned, and you may learn, that the whole Universe came into being by the Word of God out of the substratum spoken of before by Moses.³⁵⁴ And that which the poets call Erebus³⁵⁵ we know was formerly spoken of by Moses.

60. And in the physiological³⁵⁶ discussion concerning the Son of God in Plato's *Timaeus*, when he says, "He placed him like a *Chi* in the universe,"³⁵⁷ he borrowed similarly from Moses; for in the writings of Moses it is recorded how at that time, when the Israelites went out of Egypt and were in the wilderness, they encountered poisonous beasts, both vipers and asps, and every kind of snake, which were killing the people; and that by the inspiration and influence which came from God, Moses took brass and made the figure of a cross and placed it over the holy tent, and said to the people, "If you look on this form and believe, you will be saved by it." And when this was done he recorded that the snakes died, and it is handed down that the people thus escaped death.³⁵⁸ Plato, reading these things and not accurately understanding, nor realizing that it was the figure of a cross, but thinking it was a *Chi*, said that the power next to the first God was placed *Chi-wise* in the universe.³⁵⁹ And as to his speaking of a third, since he read, as we said before, that which was spoken by Moses, "the Spirit of God moved over the waters." For he gives the second place to the logos who is with God, who, he said, was placed *Chi-wise* in the universe, and the third to the Spirit³⁶⁰ who was said to be borne over the water, saying, "And the third around the third."³⁶¹ And hear how the prophetic Spirit signified through Moses that there would be a conflagration. He spoke thus: "Ever-

living fire will descend and will devour even to the abyss below."³⁶² It is not, then, that we hold the same opinions as others, but that all speak in imitation of ours. Among us therefore these things are heard and learned from those who do not even know the forms of the letters, who are uneducated and barbarous in speech, but wise and believing in mind—some even blind³⁶³ and deprived of sight; so that you can understand that these things are not the product of human wisdom, but are spoken by the power of God.³⁶⁴

The Christian Sacraments

61. I will also explain³⁶⁵ the manner in which we dedicated ourselves to God when we were made new through Christ, since if we left this out in our exposition we would seem to falsify something.³⁶⁶ As many as are persuaded and believe that the things we teach and say are true, and undertake to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and ask God with fasting for the remission of their past sins, while we pray and fast with them.³⁶⁷ Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are born again in the same manner of rebirth by which we ourselves were born again,³⁶⁸ for they then receive washing in water in the name of God the Father and Master of all, and of our Savior, Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.³⁶⁹ For Christ also said, "Except you are born again, you will not enter into the Kingdom of heaven."³⁷⁰ Now it is clear to all that it is impossible for those who have once come into being to enter into their mothers' wombs. And it is said through Isaiah the prophet, as we wrote before, in what manner those who have sinned and repent shall escape from their sins. He thus spoke: "Wash, become clean, put away evil doings from your souls, learn to do good, judge the orphan and plead for the widow, and come and let us reason together, says the Lord. And though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool, and though they be as crimson, I will make them white as snow. But if you will not listen to me, a sword will devour you; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken these things."³⁷¹ And we have learned from the Apostles this reason for this [rite].³⁷²

Since at our first birth we were born of necessity without our knowledge, from moist seed³⁷³ by the intercourse of our parents with each other, and were brought up in bad habits and wicked behavior; in order that we should not remain children of necessity and ignorance, but of free choice and knowledge, and obtain remission of the sins formerly committed,³⁷⁴ there is named at the water over him who has chosen to be born again, and has repented of his sinful acts, the name of God the Father and Master of all; they who lead to the washing the one who is to be washed call on this [name] alone.³⁷⁵ For no one can give a name to the ineffable God; and if anyone should dare say there is one, he raves with a hopeless insanity.³⁷⁶ And this washing is called illumination,³⁷⁷ as those who learn these things are illuminated in the mind. And he who is illuminated is washed in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who through the prophets foretold all the things about Jesus.³⁷⁸

62. And the demons, indeed, having heard this washing proclaimed through the prophet, arranged that those who enter their temples and are about to approach them to offer libations and burnt offerings, should also sprinkle themselves;³⁷⁹ and they cause them also to wash themselves completely as they approach, before they enter into the sanctuaries where their images are. And the order, too, given by the priests to those who enter into the temples and to those who serve them [i.e., the demons], to remove their shoes,³⁸⁰ the devils imitated when they learned what happened to Moses, the prophet mentioned before. For at that time when Moses was ordered to go down into Egypt and to lead out the people of the Israelites who were there, as he was tending the sheep of his maternal uncle in the land of Arabia,³⁸¹ our Christ conversed with him in the form of fire out of a bush, and said, "Unloose your sandals and come near and hear."³⁸² But when he had unloosed them and drawn near he heard that he was to go down into Egypt and lead out the people of the Israelites there; and he received mighty power from Christ who spoke to him in the form of fire, and went down and led out the people having

done great and marvelous things; which if you want to learn about, you will learn accurately from his writings.

63. And even now all the Jews teach that the nameless God spoke to Moses. Wherefore the prophetic Spirit, accusing them through Isaiah the prophet mentioned before, as we wrote before, said: "The ox knows his owner and the ass his master's crib, but Israel does not know me and my people do not understand."³⁸³ And Jesus the Christ, because the Jews did not know the nature of the Father and the Son, in like manner upbraided them and Himself said: "No one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father and those to whom the Son will reveal Him."³⁸⁴ Now the Word of God is His Son, as we have said before. But He is also called "Angel" and "Apostle";³⁸⁵ for He announces whatever we ought to know, and is sent forth to testify to what is announced, as Our Lord Himself also said: "He that hears me hears Him who sent me."³⁸⁶ This also will be made clear from the writings of Moses. For so it is written in them: "And the Angel of God spoke to Moses in a flame of fire out of the bush and said, I am He who is, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, the God of your fathers. Go down into Egypt and bring out my people."³⁸⁷ Those who wish to can learn what followed from this; for it is impossible to write down everything in these [pages]. But these words were spoken to prove that Jesus the Christ is Son of God and Apostle, being of old the logos, and appeared now in the form of fire, now in the image of bodiless creatures;³⁸⁸ but now having become man by the will of God for the human race He endured whatever sufferings the demons managed to have brought upon Him by the senseless Jews. Who though they have it clearly stated in the writings of Moses, "And the Angel of God spoke to Moses in a flame of fire in a bush and said, I am He who is, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," yet say that He who said these things was the Father and Demiurge of the Universe. Whence also the prophetic Spirit reproves them saying, "Israel does not know me, and the people has not understood me." And Jesus again, as we have

already shown, while He was with them said, "No one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father and those to whom the Son will reveal Him." Therefore the Jews being throughout of the opinion that the Father of the Universe had spoken to Moses, though He who spoke to Him was the Son of God, who is called both Angel and Apostle, are rightly censured both by the prophetic Spirit and by Christ Himself, since they knew neither the Father nor the Son. For those who affirm that the Son is the Father are shown neither to have known the Father, nor to know that the Father of the Universe has a Son; who being the logos and First-begotten is also God.³⁸⁹ And formerly He appeared in the form of fire and in the image of a bodiless being to Moses and to the other prophets; but now in the times of your rule, as we said before, He became man of a virgin according to the will of the Father for the salvation of those who believe in Him and endured both contempt and suffering, that by dying and rising again He might conquer death.³⁹⁰ And what was said out of the bush to Moses, "I am He who is, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob and the God of your fathers," signified that they though dead are yet in existence and are men and women belonging to Christ Himself.³⁹¹ For they were the first of all people who busied themselves with the search after God, Abraham being the Father of Isaac, and Isaac of Jacob, as Moses also wrote.

64. From what has been said you can understand how the demons, in imitation of what was said through Moses, contrived also to raise up the image of the so-called Kore over the springs of the waters saying that she was a daughter of Zeus. For Moses said, as we wrote before:³⁹² "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. And the earth was invisible and unfurnished, and the Spirit of God moved over the waters." In imitation, then, of what is said of the Spirit of God moving on the water they spoke of Kore, daughter of Zeus.³⁹³ And likewise behaving with trickery they spoke of Athena as a daughter of Zeus, not by sexual union, but, since they knew that God conceived and made the world through the logos,

they spoke of Athena as the first thought;³⁹⁴ which we consider to be very absurd, to bring forward the female form of an intellectual image. And likewise their actions condemn the others who are called sons of Zeus.

65. But we, after thus washing the one who has been convinced and has assented³⁹⁵ [to our instruction], lead him to those who are called brethren,³⁹⁶ where they are assembled; and we offer prayers in common for ourselves and for the one who has been illuminated and for all others everywhere, that we may be accounted worthy, having learned the truth, by our deeds also to be found good citizens and guardians of what is commanded, so that we may be saved with eternal salvation. Having ended the prayers we greet one another with a kiss.³⁹⁷ Then there is brought to the Ruler of the Brethren³⁹⁸ bread and a cup of water and [a cup] of wine mixed with water,³⁹⁹ and he taking them sends up praise and glory to the Father of the Universe through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and offers thanksgiving at some length for our being accounted worthy to receive these things from Him.⁴⁰⁰ When he has concluded the prayers and the thanksgiving, all the people present assent by saying, Amen. Amen in the Hebrew language signifies "so be it."⁴⁰¹ And when the Ruler has given thanks and all the people have assented, those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present a portion of the eucharistized⁴⁰² bread and wine and water, and they carry it away to those who are absent.⁴⁰³

66. And this food is called among us eucharist,⁴⁰⁴ of which no one is allowed to partake except one who believes that the things which we teach are true, and has received the washing that is for the remission of sins and for rebirth, and who so lives as Christ handed down.⁴⁰⁵ For we do not receive these things as common bread nor common drink;⁴⁰⁶ but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Savior having been incarnate by God's logos took both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that the food eucharistized through the word of prayer that is from Him, from which our blood and flesh are nourished by transformation, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who became incarnate.⁴⁰⁷ For the Apostles in the mem-

oirs composed by them, which are called Gospels,⁴⁰⁸ thus handed down what was commanded them: that Jesus took bread and having given thanks said: "Do this for my memorial, this is my body"; and likewise He took the chalice and having given thanks said: "This is my blood"; and gave it to them alone.⁴⁰⁹ Which also the wicked demons have imitated in the mysteries of Mithra and handed down to be done; for that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain words said over them in the secret rites of initiation, you either know or can learn.⁴¹⁰

67. And afterward we constantly remind each other of these things. And the wealthy come to the aid of the poor, and we are always together. Over all that we receive we bless the Maker of all through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit.⁴¹¹ And on the day called Sunday⁴¹² all who live in cities or in the country gather together in one place,⁴¹³ and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits.⁴¹⁴ Then when the reader has finished, the Ruler in a discourse instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things.⁴¹⁵ Then we all stand up together⁴¹⁶ and offer prayers; and, as we said before, when we have finished the prayer, bread is brought and wine and water, and the Ruler likewise offers up prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his ability,⁴¹⁷ and the people assent, saying the Amen; and the distribution and the partaking of the eucharistized elements is to each, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And those who prosper, and so wish, contribute what each thinks fit;⁴¹⁸ and what is collected is deposited with the Ruler, who takes care of the orphans and widows, and those who, on account of sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers who are sojourners among us, and in a word [He] is the guardian of all those in need.⁴¹⁹ But we all hold this common gathering on Sunday, since it is the first day, on which God transforming darkness and matter made the Universe,⁴²⁰ and Jesus Christ our Savior on the same day rose from the dead. For they crucified Him on the day before Saturday,⁴²¹ and on the day after Saturday, He appeared to His Apostles and dis-

ciples and taught them these things⁴²² which we have passed on to you also for your consideration.

Conclusion

68. And if our account seems to you reasonable and true, respect it; but if it seems foolish to you, despise it as nonsense, and do not decree death against those who have done no wrong, as against enemies. For we forewarn you that you will not escape the coming judgment of God, if you continue unjust; and we ourselves cry out "What is pleasing to God, let that be done."⁴²³ And though from a letter of the great and illustrious Emperor Hadrian, your father, we could demand that you order judgment to be given as we have asked, yet we have made this address⁴²⁴ and explanation, not on the grounds of Hadrian's decision, but because we know that what we ask is just. And we have subjoined the copy of Hadrian's letter, so that you may know that we are speaking the truth about this. And here is the copy:

HADRIAN TO MINUCIUS FUNDANUS⁴²⁵

I have received the letter addressed to me by your predecessor Serenius Granianus, a most honorable man; and I am unwilling to pass over this report in silence, lest innocent persons be disturbed and occasions be given to the informers to practice villainy. Accordingly, if the provincials will so far support this petition of theirs as to accuse the Christians in some court of law, I do not forbid them from doing so. But I will not allow them to make use of mere requests and outcries.⁴²⁶ For it is far more just, if anyone desires to bring an accusation, that you give judgment upon it. If therefore, anyone brings an accusation, and gives proof that the said persons do anything contrary to the laws, you will punish them in proportion to the offenses. And this, by Hercules,⁴²⁷ you must give special heed to, that if anyone through mere calumny bring accusation against any of these persons, you will punish him with more severe penalties in proportion to his offense.

THE SECOND APOLOGY

1. O Romans, what has recently¹ happened in your city under Urbicus,² and what is likewise being done everywhere by the governors unreasonably, have compelled me to compose these arguments³ for your sakes, who are of like passion and are our brothers, though you are ignorant of the fact and repudiate it on account of the splendor of your position. For everywhere, whoever is corrected by father, or neighbor, or child, or friend, or brother, or husband, or wife, on account of a fault, for being stubborn, for loving pleasure and being difficult to urge to what is right—except those who have been persuaded that the unjust and intemperate will be punished in eternal fire, but that the virtuous and those who lived as Christ will dwell with God in an existence free from suffering [we say those who have become Christians]—these and the wicked demons who hate us, and who keep such people as these in subjection to themselves, and serve them as judges, incite them, as rulers moved by evil spirits, to put us to death.⁴ But in order that the cause of everything that has taken place under Urbicus may become quite plain to you, I will tell what has been done.

An Outrage

2. A certain woman lived with an intemperate husband, she herself also having once been intemperate. But when she came to the knowledge of the teachings of Christ she became sober-minded and tried to persuade her husband in like manner to be temperate, bringing forward the teachings, and assuring him that there will be punishment in eternal fire inflicted on those who do not live temperately and in conformity to right reason.⁵ But he, continuing in the same extravagances, alienated his wife from him by his deeds. For she, considering it wicked to live any longer as a wife with a husband who sought in every