

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

way means of pleasure contrary to the law of nature and in violation of what is right, wished to be divorced from him.

And when she was entreated earnestly by her friends,⁶ who advised her still to continue with him, with the thought that some time or other her husband might show hope of amendment, she did violence to her own inclinations and remained with him. But since her husband had gone to Alexandria, and was reported as to be conducting himself worse than ever—that by continuing in matrimonial connection with him, and by sharing his table and bed, she might not become a sharer also in his evils and impieties—she gave him what is called a bill of divorce,⁷ and was separated from him. But this noble husband of hers—while he should have been rejoicing that those deeds which before she committed without hesitation with the servants and hirelings, when she delighted that he too should give up the same—when she had separated from him since he refused to alter his ways, brought an accusation against her, saying that she was a Christian. And she presented a paper to the emperor⁸ requesting that first she should be allowed to arrange her affairs, and afterward make her defense against the accusation, when her affairs were set in order; and this was granted. And her erstwhile husband, since he was now no longer able to prosecute her, directed his assaults against a certain Ptolemaeus, whom Urbicus punished,⁹ who had been her teacher of Christian doctrines—and this he did in the following manner. He persuaded a centurion who had cast Ptolemaeus into prison, and who was friendly to himself, to seize Ptolemaeus and interrogate him on this point alone—is he a Christian? And Ptolemaeus, being a lover of truth and not of a deceitful nor false nature, when he confessed that he was a Christian, was put in bonds by the centurion, and for a long period was punished in the prison. And at last when the man came to Urbicus, he was asked only this question—whether he was a Christian. And again, conscious of the good which he owed to the teaching which proceeded from Christ, he confessed the doctrine of divine virtue. For he who denies anything, either denies it because he has condemned it, or shrinks from confessing it, because he knows himself to be unworthy

of and alien to it; neither of which is that of the true Christian.¹⁰ And when Urbicus ordered him to be led away to punishment, a certain Lucius, who was also himself a Christian, seeing the unreasonable judgment which had thus been given, said to Urbicus: “What is the basis of this judgment? Why have you punished this man, not as an adulterer, nor fornicator, nor murderer, nor thief, nor robber, nor convicted of any crime at all, but as one who has only confessed that he is called by the name of Christian? This judgment of yours, O Urbicus, does not become the Emperor Pius, nor the philosopher-son of Caesar nor the Sacred Senate.”¹¹ And he said nothing else in answer to Lucius than this: “You also seem to me to be such a one.” And when Lucius answered, “Most certainly I am,” he again ordered him to be led away. And he gave thanks, knowing that he was delivered from such wicked rulers, and was going to the Father and King of the heavens.¹² And also a third having come forward was sentenced to be punished.

Justin Expects To Fall

3. I¹³ therefore am expecting to be plotted against and fixed to a rack by some of those named, or perhaps by Crescens,¹⁴ that lover of bravado and boasting. For the man is unworthy of the name of philosopher who publicly bears witness against us in matters which he does not understand, saying that Christians are godless and impious, and doing so to win favor with the deluded mob, and so please them. For if he runs us down without having read the teachings of Christ, he is thoroughly evil, and far worse than the inexperienced people, who often refrain from discussing or bearing false witness about matters they do not understand. Or, if he has read them and does not understand the majesty¹⁵ that is in them or, understanding it, acts so that he may not be suspected of being such [i.e., a Christian], he is far more base and thoroughly depraved, being conquered by vulgar and unreasonable opinion and fear. For I would have you know that I put to him certain questions¹⁶ on this subject, and questioned him, and found most convincingly that he truly knows nothing. And to show that I speak the truth I am ready, if these disputa-

tions have not been reported to you, to combat them again in your presence. And this would be a work worthy of a prince. But if my questions and his answers have been made known to you, you are already aware that he is acquainted with none of our matters; or if he is acquainted with them but through fear of those who might hear him does not dare to speak out, like Socrates, he proves himself, as I said before, no philosopher, but a lover of vainglory; at least he disregards the admirable saying of Socrates: "But a man must in no wise be honored before the truth."¹⁷ But it is impossible for a Cynic, who makes indifference his end, to know any good but indifference.¹⁸

God's Creation Good

4. But lest anyone say, "Go then all of you and commit suicide, and pass even now to God, and do not trouble us"¹⁹—I will tell you why we do not do so, but how, when examined, we make our confession without fear. We have been taught that God did not make the world aimlessly, but for the sake of the human race;²⁰ and we have stated before that He rejoices in those who imitate His nature, and is displeased with those who embrace what is worthless either in word or deed. If, then, we all commit suicide, we will become the cause, as far as in us lies, why no one should be born, or instructed in the divine teachings, or even why the human race should not exist; and if we so act, we ourselves will be acting in opposition to the will of God.²¹ But when we are accused, we do not deny [the accusation] because we are not conscious of any evil, but count it impious not to speak the truth in all things, which also we know is pleasing to God, and because we also now wish to free you from an unjust prejudice.

Angels and Demons

5. But if this thought should take possession of someone that if we confess God as our helper, we should not, as we say, be oppressed and persecuted by wicked people;²² this I will solve. God, when He had made the whole world, and subjected earthly things to men and women, and arranged the heavenly

elements²³ for the increase of fruits and change of the seasons, and ordered the divine law for them—these things also He made for people to see—and entrusted the care of men and women and of things under heaven to angels whom He appointed over them. But the angels transgressed this order, and were captivated by love of women, and produced children who are called demons.²⁴ And besides later they enslaved the human race to themselves, partly by magical writings, and partly by fears and punishments which they occasioned, and partly by teaching them to offer sacrifices and incense and libations,²⁵ which they needed after they were enslaved with lustful passions; and among people they sowed murders, wars, adulteries, intemperate deeds, and every evil.²⁶ Whence also the poets and mythologists, not knowing that it was the angels and those demons who had been begotten by them that did these things to men and women and cities and nations, which they related, ascribed them to God Himself, and to those who were His offspring, and to the offspring of those who were called His brothers. For whatever name each of the angels had given to himself and to his children, by that name they called them.²⁷

God and the Logos

6. But to the Father of all, who is unbegotten, a name is not given. For by whatever name He is called, He has as His elder, the one who gives Him the name. But these words Father, and God, and Creator, and Lord and Master, are not names, but appellations²⁸ derived from His good deeds and works. But His Son, who is alone properly called Son, the logos who is with God and is begotten before the creation,²⁹ when in the beginning God created and set in order everything through Him, is called Christ, with reference to His being anointed and God's ordering all things through Him;³⁰ this name itself also containing an unknown significance, just as the title "God" is not a name, but the intuition implanted in human nature³¹ of an inexpressible reality. But "Jesus," His name as man and Savior, also has significance.³² For He was made man, as we said before,³³ having been

conceived according to the will of God the Father, for the sake of believing men and women, and for the destruction of the demons. And now you can learn this from your own observation. For numberless demoniacs throughout the whole world, and in your city—many of our Christian people exorcising them in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have healed and do heal, rendering helpless and driving the possessing demons out of the men, though they could not be cured by all the older exorcists, and those who used incantations and drugs.³⁴

God Spares the World for the Christians

7. Wherefore God delays causing the confusion and destruction of the whole world, by which the wicked angels and demons and people will no longer exist, because of the seed of the Christians, who know that they are the cause of preservation in nature.³⁵ Since if it were not so, it would not have been possible for you to do and be impelled to these things by evil spirits; but the fire of judgment would descend³⁶ and utterly dissolve all things, even as formerly the flood left no one but one only with his family who is called by us Noah, and by you Deucalion,³⁷ from whom again such vast numbers have sprung, some of them evil and others good. For in the manner just described we say there will be the conflagration, but not as the Stoics [say], according to the doctrine of the permutation of all things into one another, which appears most degrading.³⁸ But neither do we affirm that it is by fate that people do what they do, or suffer what they suffer, but that each by free choice³⁹ acts rightly or sins; and it is according to the working of wicked demons that earnest people, such as Socrates and the like, suffer persecution and are in bonds, while Sardanapalus,⁴⁰ Epicurus, and the like appear blessed in abundance and glory. The Stoics, not knowing this, maintained that all things take place according to the necessity of fate. But since God made the race of angels and men in the beginning with free will, in eternal fire they will justly suffer the punishment of whatever sins they have committed. And this is the nature of all that is made—to be capable

of vice and virtue. For neither would any of them be praiseworthy unless there was also power to turn to both. And this also is shown by those people everywhere who have made laws and conducted philosophy according to right reason, by their agreeing to do some things and refrain from others. Even the Stoic philosophers, in their doctrine of morals, steadily pay deference to the same things, so that it is evident that they are not right in what they say about principles and incorporeal things.⁴¹ For whether they will say that human actions come to pass according to fate, or whether they maintain that God is nothing else than the things which are ever turning and altering and dissolving into the same things, they will appear to have had an understanding only of destructible things,⁴² and to have looked on God Himself as emerging both in part and in whole in every wickedness; or that neither vice nor virtue is anything, which is contrary to every sound idea, reason, and sense.

Those Who Followed Reason Are Persecuted

8. And those of the Stoic school, since they were honorable at least in their ethical teaching, as were also the poets in some particulars, on account of a seed of logos implanted in every race of men and women,⁴³ were, we know, hated and put to death, as for instance Heraclitus mentioned before and, among those of our own time, Musonius and others.⁴⁴ For, as we intimated, the demons have always effected that all those who ever so little strived to live by logos and to shun vice be hated. And it is not astonishing that the demons are proved to cause those to be much worse hated who lived not by a part only from logos, the Sower, but by the knowledge and contemplation of the whole logos, who is Christ. And they, having been shut up in eternal fire, will suffer their just punishment and penalty. For if they are already overthrown by men and women through the name of Jesus Christ,⁴⁵ this is an intimation of the punishment in eternal fire which is to be inflicted on themselves and those who serve them. For so did both the prophets foretell, and Jesus our own teacher teach.

The Coming Judgment

9. And that no one should say what is said by those who are thought to be philosophers, that our threats that the wicked are punished in eternal fire are big words and bugbears, and that we wish people to live virtuously through fear, and not because such a life is good and pleasant—I will answer this briefly, that if this is not so, God does not exist; or if He exists He does not care for men and women, and neither virtue nor vice is anything, and, as we said before,⁴⁶ lawgivers unjustly punish those who disobey good commandments. But since these [i.e., the lawgivers] are not unjust, nor their Father who teaches by the *logos* to do the same things as they require, those who agree with them are not unjust either.⁴⁷ And if one objects that the laws of men and women are different, and says that with some, one thing is considered good, another evil, while with others what seemed bad to the first is thought good, and what seemed good is thought bad, let him listen what we say to this.⁴⁸ We know that the wicked angels appointed laws conformable to their own wickedness, in which the people who are like them delight; and right reason,⁴⁹ having come, proved that not all opinions nor all teachings are good, but that some are evil, while others are good. Wherefore I will declare the same and similar things to such people as these, and if need be, they will be spoken of more in due course. But at present I return to the subject.

The Whole Logos

10. What we have, then, appears to be greater than all human teaching, because the whole rational principle became Christ, who appeared for our sake, body, and reason, and soul.⁵⁰ For whatever either lawgivers or philosophers uttered well, they elaborated according to their share of *logos* by invention and contemplation. But since they did not know all that concerns *logos*, who is Christ, they often contradicted themselves. And those who by human birth were more ancient than Christ, when by reason they tried to contemplate and investigate real-

ity, were brought before the tribunals as impious persons and busybodies. And Socrates, who was more forcible in this direction than all of them, was accused of the very same crimes as ourselves.⁵¹ For they said that he was introducing new divinities, and did not consider those to be gods whom the state recognized. But he cast out from the state both Homer and the rest of the poets,⁵² and taught people to reject the wicked demons and those who did the things which the poets related; and he exhorted them to become acquainted with the God who was to them unknown,⁵³ by means of investigation of reason, saying "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."⁵⁴ But these things our Christ did through His own power. For no one trusted in Socrates so as to die for this doctrine. But in Christ, who was partially known even by Socrates [for He was and is the *logos* who is in every person, and who foretold the things that were to come to pass both through the prophets and in His own person, when He had assumed our nature, and taught these things], not only philosophers and scholars believed, but also artisans and people entirely uneducated,⁵⁵ despising both glory, and fear, and death; since it is the power of the ineffable Father, and not mere vessels of human reason.⁵⁶

Discipline and Probation

11. But neither would we be put to death, nor would wicked people and demons be more powerful than us, were not death a debt due from every person who has been born. Wherefore we give thanks when we pay this debt. And we judge it to be right and proper to relate here, for the sake of Crescens⁵⁷ and those who rave as he does, what is said by Xenophon.⁵⁸ Heracles, says Xenophon, came to a place where three ways met, and found Virtue and Vice, who appeared to him in the form of women: Vice, in a luxurious dress, and with a seductive expression rendered blooming by such ornaments, immediately seductive to the eyes, said to Heracles that if he would follow her, she would always enable him to pass his life in pleasure and be adorned with the most graceful ornaments, such

as were then upon her own person; and Virtue, who was of squalid look and dress, said, if you obey me you will adorn yourself not with ornament nor beauty that passes away and perishes, but with everlasting and precious graces.⁵⁹ And we are persuaded that everyone, who flees from what is superficially good and follows what is reckoned hard and foolish, finds happiness awaiting him. For Vice, veiling her actions in the beauties which properly belong to Virtue and are genuine [though only by imitation of incorruptible things, for she possesses and can produce nothing which is incorruptible], enslaves groveling people, clothing Virtue in the ugliness which properly belongs to herself. But those who understand the beauties belonging to true existence become themselves incorruptible by means of Virtue.⁶⁰ And this every sensible person ought to think both of Christians and of athletes,⁶¹ and of those who did what the poets relate of the so-called gods, concluding as much from our contempt of death, from which even men and women flee.

The Way Christians Regard Death

12. For I myself too, when I was delighting in the teachings of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw them fearless of death, and of all other things which are counted fearful, saw that it was impossible that they could be living in wickedness and pleasure. For what sensual or intemperate person, or whoever counts it good to feast on human flesh,⁶² could welcome death that he might be deprived of his enjoyments, and would not rather always continue the present life, and try to escape the observation of the rulers; and much less would he denounce himself when the consequence would be death? This also the wicked demons have now effected by evil people.⁶³ For when they had put some to death on account of the accusations falsely brought against us, they also dragged to the torture our slaves, either children or weak women, and by dreadful torments forced them to admit those incredible actions which they themselves openly perpetrate;⁶⁴ about which we are the less concerned, because none of these actions are really ours,

and we have the unbegotten and ineffable God as witness both of our thoughts and deeds. For why did we not even publicly profess that these were the things which we held to be good, and prove that these are the divine philosophy, saying that the mysteries of Kronos⁶⁵ are performed when we slay a man, and that when we drink our fill of blood, as it is said we do, we are doing what you perform before that idol you honor, and on which you sprinkle the blood not only of irrational animals, but also of men and women,⁶⁶ making a libation of the blood of the slain by the hand of the most illustrious and noble person among you? And imitating Jupiter and the other gods in sodomy and shameless intercourse with women,⁶⁷ might we not bring as our apology the writings of Epicurus and the poets? But because we persuade people to avoid such instruction, and all who practice them and imitate such examples as now we have tried to persuade you in this discourse, we are assailed in every kind of way. But we are not concerned, since we know that God is a just observer of all. But would that even now⁶⁸ someone would mount a lofty rostrum, and shout with a tragic voice, "Be ashamed, be ashamed, you who charge the guiltless with those deeds which you yourselves openly commit, and who ascribe things which refer to yourselves and to your gods to those who have no part in them. Be converted, become wise."⁶⁹

The Logos Sows Seeds in Humanity

13. For I myself, perceiving the wicked disguise which the evil demons had cast over the divine doctrines of the Christians, in order to avert others from joining them, laughed both at those who framed these falsehoods, and at the disguise itself, and at popular opinion. And I confess that I both pray⁷⁰ and with all my strength strive to be found a Christian; not because the teachings of Plato are different from those of Christ, but because they are not in every respect equal, as neither are those of the others, Stoics, and poets, and historians. For each person spoke well, according to the part present in him of the divine logos, the Sower, whenever he saw what was related to him [as a

person].⁷¹ But they who contradict themselves on the more important points appear not to have possessed the hidden⁷² understanding and the irrefutable knowledge. Therefore, whatever things were rightly said among all people⁷³ are the property of us Christians. For next to God, we worship and love the logos who is from the unbegotten and ineffable God,⁷⁴ since also He became man for our sakes, that, becoming a partaker of our sufferings, He might also bring us healing. For all the writers were able to see realities darkly, through the presence in them of an implanted seed of logos. For the seed and imitation of something, imparted according to capacity, is one thing, and another is the thing itself, the part possession and imitation of which is effected according to the grace coming from Him.⁷⁵

A Prayer

14. And we therefore ask you to publish this petition,⁷⁶ appending what you think right, that our opinions may be known to others, and that these persons may have a fair chance of being freed from erroneous notions and ignorance of good, who by their own fault are subject to punishment; that so these things may be published to men and women. Because it is in the nature of man to know good and evil,⁷⁷ and by their condemning us, whom they do not understand, for actions which they say are wicked, and by delighting in the gods which did such things, and even now require similar actions from people, and by inflicting on us death or imprisonment or some other such punishment, as if we were guilty of these things, they condemn themselves, so that there is no need of other judges.⁷⁸

His Writings Not Injurious

15. And I despised the wicked and deceitful teaching of Simon among my own race.⁷⁹ And if you publish this [officially],⁸⁰ we will make it manifest to all, that, if possible, they may be converted; for we composed this treatise for this end alone. And our doctrines are not shameful, according to sober judgment, but indeed are more lofty than every human philosophy; and

if not so, they are at least unlike the doctrines of the Sotadists, and Philaenidians, and Dancers, and Epicureans,⁸¹ and such other teachings of the poets, which all are allowed acquaintance with, both as acted and as written. And from now on we will be silent, having done as much as we could, and having added the prayer that all people everywhere may be counted worthy of the truth.⁸² And would that you also, in a manner becoming piety and philosophy, would for your own sakes judge justly!⁸³