1) The Martyrdom of Ptolemaeus and Lucius

JUSTIN MARTYR, SECOND APOLOGE 2

A certain woman lived with an intemperate husband; she herself, too, having formerly been intemperate. But when she came to the knowledge of the teachings of Christ she became sober-minded, and endeavoured to persuade her husband likewise to be temperate, citing the teaching of Christ, and assuring him that there shall be punishment in eternal fire inflicted upon those who do not live temperately and conformably to right reason. But he, continuing in the same excesses, alienated his wife from him by his actions. For she, considering it wicked to live any longer as a wife with a husband who sought in every way means of indulging in pleasure contrary to the law of nature, and in violation of what is right, wished to be divorced from him. And when she was over-persuaded by her friends, who advised her still to continue with him, in the idea that some time or other her husband might give hope of amendment, she did violence to her own feeling and remained with him. But when her husband had gone into Alexandria, and was reported to be conducting himself worse than ever, she – that she might not, by continuing in matrimonial connection with him, and by sharing his table and his bed, become a partaker also in his wickednesses and impieties – gave him what you call a bill of divorce, and was separated from him. But this noble husband of hers – while he ought to have been rejoicing that those actions which formerly she unhesitatingly committed with the servants and hirelings, when she delighted in drunkenness and every vice, she had now given up, and desired that he too should give up the same – when she had gone from him without his desire, brought an accusation against

Γυνὴ τις συνεβίου ἀνδρὶ ἀκολασταίνοντι, ἀκολασταίνουσα καὶ αὐτὴ πρὸτερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγματα ἐγνω, αὐτὴ ἐσωφρονίσθη καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὁμοίως σωφρονεῖν πειθέντε ἐπειράτο, τὰ διδάγματα ἀναφέρουσα, τὴν τε μέλλουσαν τοὺς ὁ πρὸ ὁς σωφρόνως καὶ μετὰ λόγιο ὅρθος βιοῦν ἔσεσθαι ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κόλασιν ἀπαγγέλλουσα. ὁ δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀσελγείας ἐπιμένει ἀπολυτίκια διὰ τῶν πράξεων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν γαμητὴν. ἀσεβὲς γὰρ ἡ γνωμένη τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ γυνὴ συγκατακλίνεσθαι ἀνδρὶ, παρὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πόρους ἡδονῆς ἐκ παντὸς πειρωμένων ποιεῖσθαι, τῆς συζυγίας χωρισθήναι ἐβουλήθη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξεδουσωπεύτο ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῆς, ἐτὶ προσεμένει συμβουλευτῶν, ὡς ἐκ ἀπλὰ μεταβολῆς ἢζοντος ποτὲ τοῦ ἀνδρός, βιαζόμενη ἑαυτὴν ἐπέμενεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ταύτης ἀνήρ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πορευθεῖς χαλεπύτερα πράττειν ἀπηγγέλθη, ὡς µὴ κοινωνίας τῶν ἁκικημάτων καὶ ἁσθενίματος γένηται, μένουσα ἐν τῇ συζυγίᾳ καὶ ὁμορίατος καὶ ὁμόκοιτος γινομένη, τὸ λεγόμενον παρ’ ὑμῖν ἡμείς δοῦσα ἐχώρισθή, ὥς καὶ καλὸς κάγαθος ταύτης ἀνήρ, δεόν αὐτὸν χαίρειν ὅτι ἡ πάλαι μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων εὐχερῶς ἐπράττε, μέθας χαίρουσα καὶ κακία πάση, τούτων μὲν τῶν πράξεως πέπαιντο καὶ αὐτὸν τό αὐτὰ παύσασθαι πράττοντα ἐβούλετο, µὴ βουλουμένῳ ἀπαλαγείς κατηγοριῶν πεποίηται, λέγων αὐτὴν Ἀλεξαπωνὴν εἶναι καὶ ἡ µὲν βιβλιδῶν σοι τῷ αὐτοκράτῳ ἀνέδωκεν, πρότερον συγχωρηθήναι αὐτῇ διοικήσασθαι τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἁξίουσα, ἔπεται ἀπολογισθοῦσα περὶ τοῦ κατηγορήματος μετὰ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς διοίκησιν καὶ συνεχώρησας τούτο. ὁ δὲ ταύτης ποτὲ ἀνήρ, πρὸς ἔκεινήν µὲν µὴ δυνάμενος τὰν ἐτὶ λέγειν,
her, affirming that she was a Christian. And she presented a paper to you, the Emperor, requesting that first she be permitted to arrange her affairs, and afterwards to make her defense against the accusation, when her affairs were set in order. And this you granted. And her one time husband, since he was now no longer able to prosecute her, directed his assaults against a man, Ptolemaeus, whom Urbicus punished, and who had been her teacher in the Christian doctrines. And this he did in the following way. He persuaded a centurion — who had cast Ptolemaeus into prison, and who was friendly to himself — to take Ptolemaeus and interrogate him on this sole point: whether he were a Christian? And Ptolemaeus, being a lover of truth, and not of a deceitful or false disposition, when he confessed himself to be a Christian, was bound by the centurion, and for a long time punished in the prison. And, at last, when the man came to Urbicus, he was asked this one question only: whether he was a Christian? And again, being conscious of his duty, and the nobility of it through the teaching of Christ, he confessed his discipleship in the divine virtue. For he who denies anything either denies it because he condemns the thing itself, or he shrinks from confession because he is conscious of his own unworthiness or alienation from it, neither of which cases is that of the true Christian. And when Urbicus ordered him to be led away to punishment, one Lucius, who was also himself a Christian, seeing the unreasonable judgment that had thus been given, said to Urbicus: What is the ground 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 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, the son of Cæsar, nor the sacred senate. 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 also to be led away. And he professed his thanks, knowing that he was delivered from such wicked rulers, and was going to the

pròs Πτολεμαίον τινα, ὃν Ὀὐρβίκος ἐκολάσατο, διδάσκαλον ἑκείνης τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενον, ἔτραπτε διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ τρόπου. ἐκατόνταρχον εἰς δεσμὰ ἐμβαλόντα τὸν Πτολεμαίον, φίλον αὐτῶ γέγορον, ἔπεισε λαβέσσαί τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἀνέρωτησα εἰ, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον, Χριστιανός ἐστιν. καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον, φιλαλήθῃ ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπατηλὸν οὔδε ψευδόλογον τὴν γνώμην ὄντα ὀμολογησάντα ἐαυτὸν εἰναὶ Χριστιανόν, ἐν δεσμὸς γενέσαι ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος πεποίηκεν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐκολάσατο. τελευταίων δὲ, ὅτε ἐπὶ Ὀὐρβίκον ἤχθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὁμοίως αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἔξητασθῇ, εἰ εἶ ἡμῶν Χριστιανός καὶ πάλιν, τὰ καλὰ ἕαυτῷ συνεπιστάμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαχῆς, τὸ διδασκάλειν τοῦ Θείας ἀρετῆς ὑμόλογησεν. ὁ γὰρ ἄρνομένων ὅτινenerima ἢ κατεγνωσμένως τοῦ πράγματος ἔξαρνος γίνεται, ἢ ἐαυτὸν ἀνάξιον ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ πράγματος τὴν ὑμόλογην φεύγει; ὃν οὐδὲν πρόσετι τῷ ἰληθινῷ Χριστιανῷ. καὶ τοῦ Οὐρβίκου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι Λούκιος τίς, καὶ αὐτός ὁ Χριστιανός, ὁρῶν τὴν ἄλογος οὕτως γενομένην κρίσιν, πρὸς τὸν Οὐρβίκον ἐφη Τίς ἢ αἰτία; τοῦ μήτε μοιχὸν μήτε πόρον μήτε ἀνδροφόνον μήτε λωποδύτην μήτε ἄρπαγα μήτε ἀπλῶς ἀδίκημα τι πράξαντα ἔλεγχομεν, ὅνομας δὲ Χριστιανοῦ προσωνυμιάν ὑμόλογον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ἐκολάσω; οὐ πρέπειν ἐπεξετείνεται αὐτοκράτορι οὔδε φιλόσοφος Καίσαρος παιδί οὔδε τῇ ἑρέφ τις συγκλήτων κρίνεις, ὃς Οὐρβίκης, καὶ οὐκοῦν ἄλλῳ ἀποκρινόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λούκιον ἔφη Δοκεῖς μοι καὶ σὺ εἶναι τοιοῦτος. καὶ Λούκιος φήμας τοῦ Μάλιστα, πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι ὑμόλογει, πονηρῶν δεσποτῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπιλλάχθαι γινώσκων καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα τόσον παρεύσην, καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τρίτος ἐπελθὼν κολασθῆναι προκεκτιμῆθη.
2) Justin and Crescens

I too, therefore, expect to be plotted against and fixed to the stake, by some of those I have named, or perhaps by Crescens, that lover of bravado and boasting; for the man is not worthy of the name of philosopher who publicly bears witness against us in matters which he does not understand, saying that the Christians are atheists and impious, and doing so to win favour with the deluded mob, and to please them. For if he assails us without having read the teachings of Christ, he is thoroughly depraved, and far worse than the illiterate, 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 majesty that is in them, or, understanding it, acts thus that he may not be suspected of being such [a Christian], he is far more base and thoroughly depraved, being conquered by illiberal and unreasonable opinion and fear. For I would have you to know that I proposed to him certain questions on this subject, and interrogated him, and found most convincingly that he, in truth, knows nothing. And to prove that I speak the truth, I am ready, if these disputations have not been reported to you, to conduct them again in your presence. And this would be an act 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 an opinionative man; at least he does not regard that Socratic and most admirable saying: But a man must in no way be honoured before the truth. But it is impossible for a Cynic, who makes indifference his end, to know any good but indifference.

Κάθως οὖν προδοκοῖ ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν ὄνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι καὶ ξύλῳ ἐμπαγχῆται, ἢ κἂν ὑπὸ Χρίσκεντος τοῦ φιλοφόρου καὶ φιλοκόμπου. οὐ γὰρ φιλόσοφον εἰπεῖν ἄξιον τὸν ἄνδρα, διὸ γε περὶ ἡμῶν ἡ μὴ ἐπιτίθεται δημοσία καταμαρτυρεῖ, ὡς ἀθέων καὶ ἀσεβῶν Χριστιανῶν ὄντων, πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἡδονήν τῶν πολλῶν τῶν πεπλανημένων ταῦτα πράττων. εἴτε γὰρ ἔντυχων τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγμασι κατατρέχει ἡμῶν, παμπόνηρος ἐστί καὶ ἰδιωτῶν πολὺ χείρων, σὺν λαλῶται πολλάκις περὶ ὑπὸ ὑποπτευθῆναι τοιοῦτος ταῦτα ποιεῖ, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀγεννῆς καὶ παμπόνηρος, ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀλόγου δόξης καὶ φόβου ἐλάττων ὡς καὶ γὰρ προθέντα με καὶ ἑρωτήσαντα αὐτοῦ ἑρωτήσεις τινὰς τοιαύτας καὶ μαθεῖν καὶ ἑλέγχει, ὁτι ἀληθῶς μηδὲν ἐπιτίθεται, εἰδικῶς ὑμῖν θολομαί. καὶ ὃ ἀλήθη λέγω, εἰ μὴ ἀνηρέχθησαν ἡμῖν αἱ κοινωνίας τῶν λόγων, ἔτοιμος καὶ ἢρ ὑμῖν κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἑρωτήσεων πάλιν βασιλικόν δ’ ἂν καὶ τούτῳ ἔργον εἴη, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἑγνώσθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ ἑρωτήσεις μου καὶ αἱ ἐκείνης ἀποκρίσεις, φανερὸν ὑμῖν ἢτιν ὑπὸ οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιτίθεται; ἢ εἰ καὶ ἐπιτίθεται, διὰ τούτως ἀκούονται δὲ τοῖς τολμᾶ λέγειν, ὦ όμως Σωκράτει ὡς προέφην, οὐ φιλόσοφος ἀλλὰ φιλόδοξος ἀνήρ δείκνυται, ὡς γε μὴ τὸ Ὀσκατικὸν ἀξέραστον ὑπὸ τιμῆ ἄλλη ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνήρ. ἀδόνατον δὲ Κυνικῷ, ἀδίκαρφον τὸ τέλος προθεμένως, τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἰδέναι πλὴν ἀδιαφορίας.
3) The Persecution of Christians

JUSTIN MARTYR, SECOND APOLOGY 1

Romans, the things which have recently happened in your city under Urbicus, and the things which are likewise being everywhere unreasonably done by the governors, have compelled me to frame this composition for your sakes, who are men of like passions, and brethren, though you know it not, and though you be unwilling to acknowledge it on account of your glorying in what you esteem dignities. For everywhere, whoever is corrected by father, or neighbour, or child, or friend, or brother, or husband, or wife, for a fault, for being hard to move, for loving pleasure and being hard to urge to what is right (except those who have been persuaded that the unjust and intemperate shall be punished in eternal fire, but that the virtuous and those who lived like Christ shall dwell with God in a state that is free from suffering — we mean, those who have become Christians), and the evil demons, who hate us, and who keep such men as these subject to themselves, and serving them in the capacity of judges, incite them, as rulers actuated by evil spirits, to put us to death.

KAİ TA ΧΘΕΣ ΔΕ KAI PΩHΝ EΝ TΗ PΩLЄ TΩΝ YΜΩΝ GENΩMENH EΠΙ OΔΡΒΙΚΟΥ,Ὁ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΥ, KAI TA PANTAXHΩν ΟΜΟΙΩς ὅΠΟΥ TΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΔΟΧΑΝΝΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΞΙΟΜΑΤΩΝ, ΤΗΝ ΔΩΒΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΛΩΓΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΝ ΠΟΙΗΑΣΑΙ. ΠΑΝΤΑΧΩν ΓΑΡ, ΒΕ ΑΝ ΨΩΦΡΟΝΙΣΧΗΤΑΙ ὙΠΟ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ Η ΓΕΙΤΩΝΟΥ Η ΤΕΚΝΟΥ Η ΦΙΛΟΥ Η ΆΔΕΛΦΟΥ ή ΆΝΔΡΟΥ ή ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΤ’ ἘΛΛΕΙΨΗΝ, ΧΩΡΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΙΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΔΙΚΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΟΛΑΣΤΟΥΣ ἘΝ ΑΙΩΝΙΑΙΝ ΠΥΡΙ ΚΟΙΛΑΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ, ΤΟΥΣ Δ’ ΕΝΑΡΕΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΜΟΙΩΧ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΒΙΩΣΑΝΤΩΝ ἘΝ ἈΠΑΘΕΙΑΙ ΣΥΝΓΕΝΕΣΑΙ ΤΟ ΘΕΟ (ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΝΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ), ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΔΥΣΜΕΤΑΘΕΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΗΔΟΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΣΚΙΝΝΗΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΩΝ ὈΡΜΗΣΑΙ. ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΦΑΥΛΟΙ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ, ἘΧΘΡΑΙΝΟΝΤΕΣ ἩΜῖΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣ ἘΧΟΝΤΕΣ ὩΠΟΧΕΙΡΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΤΡΕΥΟΝΤΑΣ, ΩΣ ΟΥΝ ἈΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝΤΑΣ, ΦΟΝΕΥΕΙΝ ἩΜᾶΣ ΠΑΡΑΘΕΝΑΙ.