The Personal Voice in Justin’s Apologies and Tatian’s Oration to the Greeks
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All translations from Minns and Parvis / Whittaker.

1. Oral devices in Justin: προσφώνησαν (‘address’, Just. Apol. 1 1); τί γὰρ δεῖ εἰδόθιν ὑμῖν λέγειν ... (‘for why should I say this to you who know full well ...’, Just. Apol. 1 9.2) etc. In Athenagoras: e.g. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ μοι ἀρχομένῳ ἀπολογεῖσθαι ... δειθήναι ὑμῖν ... ἵσσος ἢμῖν ἄκροστας γενέσθαι (‘As I begin my apologia I must ask you to be similar listeners as ...’, Athenag. Leg. 2.6). Contrast: τὴν ἀναγραφὴν συντάσσειν βούλομαι (‘I want to compose this text’, Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 35.1); γράφειν ... ἀρξάμενος (‘having begun to write ...’, Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 35.1); ταύθ’ ὑμῖν ... συνέταξα (‘I have composed these things for you’, Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 42).

2. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑν νοοῦμεν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν ἐχόμεν προφήτας μάρτυρας ...
Athenag. Leg. 7.3 (cf. 16.4: μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ Πλάτων ..., 17.2. Also 3.2.) μάρτυρας δὲ οὐ τοὺς οίκοι παραλήψομαι ... Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 31.1 (cf. 1.2). Cf. Just. Apol. 1 53.2. ὁ άνδρες Ἑλλήνες Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 1.1, 21.2, 25.2, 42.

3. οὐ γὰρ <ἐν> μελέτη λόγων ἀλλ’ ἐπιδείξει καὶ διδασκαλία ἐργῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα ... (We are not concerned with the exercise of eloquence but with the performance and teaching of deeds, Athenag. Leg. 33.4; cf. 11.4). Opposition of ‘sophists’ and ‘philosophers’: Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 40.1 (cf. 25.1, 35.1, 35.2).


6. οὖκ αἰτῶ τὴν ὑλὴν ἃ μὴ ἔχει, οὐδὲ παραλιπῶν τὸν θεὸν τὰ στοιχεῖα θεραπεύω ... (‘I do not ask of what it does not have; nor do I neglect God to serve the elements ...’, Athenag. Leg. 16.4). ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀμαθεῖς καὶ σκαιοὺς λέγω τοὺς ὀργηθέντας (‘I for my part regard even men who yield to anger and grief as ignorant and foolish ...’, Athenag. Leg. 21.2).

7. μαρτυρήσει μοι νῦν Ἐλευσίς ... (‘Next I call upon Eleusis for my witness ...’) ἐπανύσι τοῦ νῦν, ὦ Δάφνη ... (‘I commend you now, Daphne ...’) ... λέγετα μοι νῦν ὁ ἐκατηβόλος ... (‘let the far-shooter now tell me ...’, Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 8.4).

8. γελοῖον ἢν δὴ πράγμα (‘The thing would be ridiculous’, Just. Apol. 1 39.5; cf. 64.9); φιεῦδολογοῦμένων ταύτα καὶ τοῦ περιβλήματος κατεγέλασα (‘I laughed at those making false accusations and at their cloak ...’, Just. Apol. 2 13.1); γελάσαμι δ’ ἄν καὶ τοὺς μέχρι νῦν τοῖς δόγμασιν αὐτοῦ καταχωριμένους (‘His [the ancient philosopher’s] modern disciples too
are good for a laugh’, Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 2.2); gelyω καὶ τὴν Φερεκύδους γραολογίαν … (‘I have no more respect for Pherecydes’ old wives’ tales …’, Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 3.2); τίνι δὲ οὐ γελοίον εἶναι δόξει ... (‘Is it not utterly ridiculous that …’, Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 9.3); τὶς δὲ οὐκ ἂν γελάσειν ἀμαζόνας ... (‘Who would not laugh at you, claiming that the Amazons …’, Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 32.2); gelyō καὶ τὴν Μίκωνος ἐπιστήμην (‘And I ridicule the skill of Mico …’, Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 33.4).

9. Καῦν ὦν προσδοκῶ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ὑνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι καὶ ξύλῳ ἐμπαγήναι, ἢ κἂν ὑπὸ Κρίσκεντος τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ φιλόκομπου. (2) οὐ γὰρ φιλόσοφον εἰπεῖν ἄξον τὸν ἄνδρα, δὸς γε περὶ ὑπὸ μὴ ἐπίσταται δημοσίᾳ καταμαρτυρεῖ, ὡς ἀθέου καὶ ἁσέβων Ἑρωδοτοῦ ὄντων, πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἡδονὴν τῶν πολλῶν τῶν πεπληρωμένων ταῦτα πράττων. ... (4) Καὶ γὰρ προτάθητα με καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσατα αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλευθῆς τινὸς τοιαύτας καὶ μαθεῖν καὶ ἐλέγχας ὅτι ἀλήθης μηδὲν ἐπίσταται, εἰδέναι ύμᾶς Βουλόμας. (5) καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, εἰ μὴ ἀνηγχηθην ὑμῖν αἱ κοινωνίαι τῶν λόγων, ἐτοιμός καὶ ἔφθαιρον ύμῖν κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἐπιβουλευμάτων πάλιν· Βασιλικὸν δ’ ἢ καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον εἴη. (6) εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπιβουλοθηκαν ὑμῖν αἱ ἐπιβουλεύσεις μου καὶ αἱ ἐκείναις ἀποκρίσεις, φανερὸν ύμῖν ἐστίν ὅτι ύμᾶς ἐπίσταται. · ή εἰ καὶ ἐπίσταται, διὰ τοὺς ἄκουοντας δὲ ὡς τὸ μὴ λέγειν, ὡς προθέμεν, ὥς φιλόσοφος ἄλλας προκριός ἀνήρ δείκνυται, δός γε μηδὲ τὸ Σωκρατικὸν ἀξιέραστον ἐν τῷ ἀλλ’ ὄντι γε πρὸ τῆς ἀλήθειας συμπέφης ἀνήρ. (7) Αὐνανον δεῖ Κυνικῷ ἀδιαφορίαν τὸ τέλος προεμένω τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἰδέναι πλὴν ἀδιαφορίας.

And so I expect that I will be plotted against and fixed to wood by one of those mentioned, or at least by Crescens, that lover of empty noise and of empty praise. For it would not be right to call the man a lover of wisdom since, to gratify and please the erring multitude he publicly testifies about things of which he knows nothing, namely that the Christians are godless and impious ... For I would have you know that when I had been asked to solve questions put to me I in turn asked him certain questions and so discovered and demonstrated that in truth he knows nothing. And to show that I speak the truth, in the even that these exchanges have not been reported back to you, I am prepared to exchange questions with him again, even in your presence. This too would be a kingly task. But if my questions and his answers were made known to you, then it will be clear that he knows nothing. Or, if he does know but dares not speak for fear of those who would hear, the man is, as I have already said, proved to be a lover not of wisdom but of vainglory who does not honour even the saying of Socrates — which should be held dear: ‘But a man is in no way to be honoured in preference to the truth.’ (Just. Apol. 2 3 [= 8 Minns/Parvis]).

10. Κρίσκης γοῦν ὁ ἐννοετεύσας τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει παιδεραστία μὲν πάντας υπερήνεγκεν, φιλαργυρία δὲ πάνυ προσεχῆς ἦν. θανάτου δὲ ὁ καταφρονοῦν ὡς καὶ Ιουστίνον καθάπερ καὶ ἐμὲ χαῖρε ὡς κακῷ τῷ ἄνευ περιβαλεῖν πραγματεύσασθαι, διότι κηρύκτων τὴν ἀλήθειαν λίγους καὶ ἀπαθεώνας τοὺς φιλοσόφους συνήλεγεν.

Crescens at any rate who ‘nested’ in the great city surpassed all others in his passion for boys and was much addicted to avarice. He who advised contempt of death was so afraid of death that he set about involving Justin — as he did me too — in the death penalty as if it were an evil, because in preaching the truth he used to convict philosophers of being gluttons and cheats.
καὶ ἐμὲ ὡς Μ signo adnotationis in mg. posito: καὶ ἐμὲ οὖς P: καὶ ἐμὲ οἷον: μεγάλῳ Eusebius HE 4.16.9

11. ἐθος δ’ αὐτοῖς ἠστι μηδένα τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων θανάτῳ περιβάλλειν μηδ’ ἂν καταδικασθεὶς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τις φανή τιμωρίας ἀξίος …

It is also a custom of theirs that the king shall put no one of his subjects to death, not even if a man shall have been condemned to death and is considered deserving of punishment … (Diod. Sic. 3.5.2)

12. Acts of Justin and Companions: Musurillo, Acts of the Christian Martyrs pp. 43–61. ‘Even if the dearth of evidence binds the historian’s hands, it is necessary to consider the possibility that the majority of extant martyr acts date from the Decian period and beyond. These revised dates demonstrate that the work performed by ideologies of martyrdom is not yoked to any historically verifiable persecution.’ (Moss, C. R. 2012. Ancient Christian Martyrdom: Diverse Practices, Theologies, and Traditions. New Haven: 166).

13. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, τοῖς Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδάγμασι, διαβαλλόμενοι ἀκούων Χριστιανοὺς ὄρον δὲ ἀφόβους πρὸς θανάτον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀλλα νομίζομενα φοβερά, ἐνενόουν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φιληδονίᾳ υπάρχειν αὐτοὺς.

For when I myself took delight in the teachings of Plato I heard the Christians slandered and saw that they were fearless in the face of death and everything else thought fearful, and knew that it was impossible that they were involved in evil and the love of pleasure. (Just. Apol. 2 12.1)

14. ὁ πάντων δὲ αὐτῶν εὐτονώτερος πρὸς τοῦτο γενόμενος Σωκράτης τὰ αὐτὰ ἦμῖν ἐνεκλήθη, καὶ γὰρ ἔφασαν αὐτὸν καὶνα δαιμόνια εἰσφέρειν καὶ οὐς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς μὴ ἰγνεῖσαι αὐτὸν. (6) ὁ δὲ δαίμονας μὲν τοὺς φαύλους καὶ τοὺς πράξαντας ἢ ἔφασαν οἱ ποιηταὶ, ἐκβαλῶν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ Ὄμηρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς, παρατείνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίδαξε, πρὸς θεοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγνώστου αὐτοῖς διὰ λόγου ζητῆσεις ἐπίγνωσιν προὔτρπετο …

But Socrates, who was in this regard the most vigorous of them all was accused of the same things as we are, for they said of him also that be brought in new divinities, and that those whom the city recognised as gods he did not. But he, throwing Homer and the other poets out of the city, taught men to shun demons and those who did what the poets said, and urged them to knowledge, through rational enquiry, of the god who was unknown to them … (Just. Apol. 2 10.5–6)

15. Σωκράτει μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲς ἐπείσθη ὑπὲρ τοῦτο τοῦ δόγματος ἀποθνήσκειν, Χριστῷ δὲ τῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Σωκράτους ἀπὸ μέρους γνωσθέντι—λόγος γὰρ ἢν καὶ ἔστιν, ὦ ἐν παντὶ ὦν καὶ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προειπτό τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι καὶ δι’ ἐαυτοῦ, ὀμοιοπαθοῦς γενομένου καὶ διδάσκαντος ταῦτα—οὐ φιλόσοφοι οὐδὲ φιλόλογοι μόνον ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλὰ
Now while Socrates persuaded no one to die for this teaching, Christ, since he is the power of the inexpressible father and not the construct of human reason, did persuade not only philosophers and dialecticians but craftsmen and those altogether unskilled, who came to despise honour and fear and death. This was the Christ who was also known in part by Socrates, for he was and is the Logos which is in everything and he foretold through the prophets things that were going to happen, and when he became a sharer in our experiences he taught all this himself. (Just. Apol. 2 10.8)

16. Διὰ τι γὰρ, ἀνδρεὶς Ἑλληνες, ὠσπέρ ἐν πυγμῇ συγκρούειν βούλευσθε τὰς πολιτείας καθ’ ἡμῶν; καὶ εἰ μὴ τοὺς τινος νομίμους συγχρῆθαι βούλομαι, τίνος χάριν καθάπερ μιαρώτατος μεμίσημαι; προστάτει φόρους τελεῖν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐτοιμος παρέχειν. δουλεύειν ὁ δεσπότης καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν, τὴν δουλείαν γινώσκω. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπὸν ἄνθρωπίνως τιμητέον, φοβητέον δὲ μόνον τὸν θεὸν, ὅτις ἄνθρωπινος οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁρατός ὀφθαλμοῖς, οὐ τέχνη περιλήπτος, τοῦτον μόνον ἀνείθαί κελεύσμενος οὐ πεισθήσομαι, τεθνήξομαι δὲ μᾶλλον, ἵνα μὴ ψεύστης καὶ ἀχάριστος ἀποδειχθῶ.

Why, men of Greece, do you want to cause society to come to blows with us? If I refuse to take part in some people’s normal activities, why should I be hated as if I were utterly loathsome? The emperor orders me to pay taxes; I am ready to pay. The nobleman orders me to serve and do service; I acknowledge my obligation. Man is entitled to the honour to the degree appropriate for humanity, but only god is to be feared; he is not visible to human eyes nor in any way to be comprehended. Only if I am ordered to deny him will I disobey; I would rather be dead than shown up as an ungrateful liar. (Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 4.1)

17. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐ παρ’ ἄλλου μαθὼν ἐξεθέμην, πολλὴν δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσας γῆν καὶ τούτο μὲν σοφιστεύσας τὰ ὑμέτερα, τούτο δὲ τέχνας καὶ ἐπινοίας ἐγκυρήσας πολλαῖς, ἔσχατον δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐνδιατύρπας πόλει καὶ τὰς ἄδυτα ὑμών ὡς αὐτοῦ ἀνακομμαθείς ἀνδρίαντος ποικίλας καταμαθῶν. ύπερ ὁ δὲ ἄθοδος ἐστὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ τις πολλὰς τάμαυτοι κρατᾶν πειρώμαι, πάντων δὲ ὃν ἄντι τῶν πολλῶν, αὐτὸς ποίησωμαι τὴν κατάληψιν, τούτων καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν συντάσσειν βούλομαι. διὸς χαίρειν εὐτόνως καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλαυχίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ψυχρολογίᾳ *** δόγμασιν ἀσυναρτήτως, τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας ἀντεποιησάμην· ἦτος δὲ τρόπον ἐστι τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀρχιοτέρα, γράφειν μὲν ἄρξαμενος, διὰ δὲ (2) τὸ κατεπείγον τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ὑπερθέμενος, νῦν ὅτε καρφὸς περὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὴν δογμάτων λέγειν, *** πειράσωμαι. μὴ γὰρ δυσχεράντη τὴν ἡμετέραν παίδειαν μηδὲ φλωρίας καὶ βωμολογίας μεστὴν ἀντιλογίαν καθ’ ἡμᾶς πραγματεύσῃς λέγοντες· Τατιανος ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑπὲρ <τ> τὸ ἀπειρον τῶν φιλοσοφοσάντων πλήθος καινοτομεῖ τὰ βαρβάρων δόγματα.

All this I set down not from second-hand knowledge but after much travel. I followed your studies and came across many devices and many notions, and finally I spent time in the city of the Romans and got to know the varieties of statues which they brought home with them from you. For I do not try, as is the habit of most men, to strengthen my case with other men’s opinions; I want to compose an account of everything that I personally came to know. So having taken my leave of Roman arrogance and Athenian cold cleverness — incoherent
bases of doctrine — I sought out the philosophy which you consider barbarous. I began to describe the way in which this antedates your practices, but put it off because of the demands of my exposition. Now that I have time, I will try to speak about its doctrines. Do not get impatient with our culture and involve yourselves in fatuous and scurrilous controversy against us, saying “Tatian is going one better than the Greeks and the countless hordes of philosophers with his new-fangled barbarian doctrines!” (Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 35.1–2)

18. Cf. Pl. Ap. 21ε–22ε (δε’ δή ύμιν τὴν ἐμήν πλάνην ἐπιδεῖξαι, 22α). 23α: So as a result of this scrutiny, men of Athens, I incurred a great deal of enmity of a very harsh and grievous kind, so that from this there have arisen many slanders (Ἐκ ταυτησὶ δὴ τῆς ἐξετάσεως, ὡν ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀπέχθειαί μοι γεγόνασι καὶ οἶαι χαλεπώταται καὶ βαρύταται, ὡστε πολλὰς διαβολὰς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν γεγονέναι).

19. Ταῦθ’ ύμιν, ὡν ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, ὃ κατὰ βαρβάρους φιλοσοφῶν Τατιανὸς συνέταξα, γεννηθεὶς μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν Λασσυρίων γῆ, παιδευθεὶς δὲ πρώτον μὲν τὰ ὑμέτερα, δεύτερον δὲ ἀτινα νῦν κηρύττειν ἐπαγγέλλομαι. γινώσκων δὲ λοιπὸν τὸς ὁ θεός καὶ τὰς κατ’ αὐτὸν ποίησις, ἐπιθυμοῦν ἐμαυτὸν ύμῖν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάκρισιν τῶν δογμάτων παρίστημι μενούσης μοι τῆς κατὰ θεὸν πολιτείας ἀνεξαρνήτου.

All this, men of Greece, I have compiled for you — I, Tatian, a philosopher among the barbarians, born in the land of the Assyrians, and educated first in your learning and secondly in what I profess to preach. Well then, knowing who god is and what is his creation I offer myself to you, prepared for my doctrines to be examined while holding to my way of life in following god with no possibility of denial. (Tat. Or. Ad Gr. 42).

20. Τοιόνδε πέρας ἔσχε τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν περὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Χαρίκλειαν Ἀἰθιοπικῶν· ὃ συνέταξεν ἄνηρ Φοινίξ Ἐμισηνός, τῶν ἀφ’ Ἡλίου γένος, Θεοδοσίου παῖς Ἡλιόδωρος.

Such was the end of the composition ‘The Ethiopian Story of Theagenes and Charicleia’, composed by a Phoenician man from Emesa, from the race of the sun, Heliodorus the son of Theodosius. (Heliodorus 10.41.4).