
Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου † THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP

INTRODUCTION

The Greek/Latin and English texts here presented are based on those published in: “*The Apostolic Fathers, Volume 2. Lake, Kirsopp, editor.* (London: William Heinemann Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912).” These were gleaned from the [Scaife Viewer website](#) (numerous minor corrections have been made). We also present the 1891 translation by J.B. Lightfoot (published posthumously) in a [separate file](#), as also the [Greek text](#) of Lightfoot’s transcription. Significant differences between the published Lake texts and Lightfoot’s are noted. On the sources of the texts presented, and their accuracy, please refer to the notes in [this document](#).

The *Martyrdom of Polycarp* is a document in the form of a letter written by the Church in Smyrna to the Church in Philomelium but it is addressed to a far wider audience.

The letter is preserved in five Greek manuscripts: *Codex Mosquensis* (which omits the opening paragraph), *Codex Barrochianus* (dating from the 11th Century), *Codex Mediceus* (10th Century) and two other MSS (*C. Parisinus* & *C. Vindobonensis*, 10th Century) that show signs of arbitrary revision; an earlier form of the Greek text is also presented by Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, 15). There are numerous Latin MSS that are, essentially, of two different forms: one appears to be a translation of Eusebius’ work and the other is a very loose paraphrase. The Syriac and Coptic texts available are translations of Eusebius’ account and not of the original document.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATES

The letter seems to have been written shortly after the actual martyrdom, which took place in 155/156 CE; it is stated in 20:2 that it was written by a member of the Smyrnaean church called Euarestus, but this person is not otherwise known; Chs 21–2 are notes added by later editors.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου - Προλογος

¹ Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις· ἔλεος, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

MART. POLY. – PROLOGUE

¹ The Church of God that sojourns in Smyrna, to the Church of God that sojourns in Philomelium and to all the brotherhoods of the Holy Catholic Church in every place. “Mercy, peace and love,” of God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied.

MART. POLY. PROLOGUE

¹ Lightfoot lacks the comma after ἔλεος and inserts καὶ after it; he also adds τοῦ (in brackets) before Κυρίου.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 1

¹ Ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὅστις ὡσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσεν τὸν διωγμὸν. σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντα τὰ προάγοντα ἐγένετο, ἵνα ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος ἄνωθεν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μαρτύριον. ² περιέμενεν γάρ, ἵνα παραδοθῆ, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος, ἵνα μιμηταὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα, μὴ μόνον σκοποῦντες τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς πέλας. ἀγάπης γὰρ ἀληθοῦς καὶ βεβαίας ἐστίν, μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν θέλειν σώζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

MART. POLY. 1

¹ We write to you, brethren, the story of the martyrs and the blessed Polycarp, who ended the persecution by his martyrdom as though adding his seal. For, all that had gone before happened in order that the Lord might show to us from above a martyrdom in accordance with the Gospel. ² For, he waited to be betrayed as also the Lord had done, that we too might become his imitators, not thinking of ourselves alone but also of our neighbours. For, it is the mark of true and steadfast love, not to wish that oneself may be saved alone, but all the brethren also.

MART. POLY. 1

¹ It is not clear whether *μαρτυρίας* & *μαρτύριον* ought to be translated as 'martyrdom' or as 'witness'; there is an untranslatable play on the words.

² Lightfoot has γάρ in place of γάρ and lacks the commas after ἐστίν & σώζεσθαι.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 2

¹ Μακάρια μὲν οὖν καὶ γενναῖα τὰ μαρτύρια πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότα. δεῖ γὰρ εὐλαβεστέρους ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχοντας τῷ θεῷ τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν ἀνατιθέναι. ² τὸ γὰρ γενναῖον αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπομονητικὸν καὶ φιλοδέσποτον τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειεν; οἱ μάλιστα μὲν καταξανθέντες, ὥστε μέχρι τῶν ἔσω φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν θεωρεῖσθαι, ὑπέμειναν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἐλεεῖν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον γενναιότητος ἐλθεῖν, ὥστε μήτε γρύξαι μήτε στενάξαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἐπιδεικνυμένους ἅπασιν ἡμῖν, ὅτι ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ βασανιζόμενοι τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεδήμουν οἱ γενναιότατοι μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μᾶλλον δέ, ὅτι παρεστῶς ὁ κύριος ὠμίλει αὐτοῖς. ³ καὶ προσέχοντες τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν κοσμικῶν κατεφρόνουν βασάνων, διὰ μιᾶς ὥρας τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ψυχρὸν τὸ τῶν ἀπηνῶν βασανιστῶν. πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ εἶχον φυγεῖν τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ μηδέποτε σβεννύμενον, καὶ τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀνέβλεπον τὰ τηρούμενα τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν ἀγαθὰ, ἃ οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη, ἐκείνοις δὲ ὑπεδείκνυτο

MART. POLY. 2

¹ Blessed, therefore, and noble are all the martyrdoms that have taken place according to the will of God; for, we must be very careful to assign the power over all to God. ² For, who would not admire their nobility and patience and love of their Master? For, some were torn by scourging until the mechanism of their flesh was seen even to the lower veins and arteries, and they endured so that even the bystanders pitied them and mourned. And some even reached such a pitch of nobility that none of them groaned or wailed, showing to all of us that at that hour of their torture the noble martyrs of Christ were absent from the flesh, or rather that the Lord was standing by and talking with them. ³ And, paying heed to the grace of Christ, they despised worldly tortures, by a single hour purchasing everlasting life. And the fire of their cruel torturers had no heat for them; for, they set before their eyes an escape from the fire that is everlasting and is never quenched; and, with the eyes of their heart they looked up to the good things that are preserved for those who have endured, which neither ear has heard nor eye has seen, nor has it entered into the heart of man; but it was shown by the Lord

MART. POLY. 2

¹ Light foot includes the τὰ before κατὰ in brackets.

² The word, γενναιότατοι, is omitted by *Codex Barroccianus* and *Codex Vindobonensis* (and by Lightfoot).

³ In place of ζωὴν (following *Codex Mosquensis* & Lake), Lightfoot has κόλασιν (following the majority of other *Greek MSS*); the reading of ζωὴν would have to be translated, 'buying off eternal punishment', and this rendering of ἐξαγοραζόμενοι is doubtful.

ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, οἵπερ μηκέτι ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἄγγελοι ἦσαν. ⁴ ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ εἰς τὰ θηρία κατακριθέντες ὑπέμειναν δεινὰς κολάσεις, κήρυκας ὑποστρωννύμενοι καὶ ἄλλαις ποικίλων βασάνων ἰδέαις κολαζόμενοι, ἵνα, εἰ δυνηθεῖη, ὁ τύραννος διὰ τῆς ἐπιμόνου κολάσεως εἰς ἄρνησιν αὐτοὺς τρέψη. πολλὰ γὰρ ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ διάβολος.

to those who were no longer men but already angels. ⁴ And, in the same way, also those who were condemned to the beasts endured terrible torment, being stretched on sharp shells and buffeted with other kinds of various torments, that if it were possible the tyrant might bring them to a denial by continuous torture. For, the devil used many wiles against them.

⁴ Lightfoot has κριθέντες in place of κατακριθέντες.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 3

¹ Ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ θεῷ· κατὰ πάντων γὰρ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν. ὁ γὰρ γενναιοτάτος Γερμανικὸς ἐπερρώννυσεν αὐτῶν τὴν δειλίαν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπομονῆς· ὃς καὶ ἐπισήμως ἐθηριομάχησεν. βουλομένου γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου πείθειν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντος, τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ κατοικτεῖραι, ἑαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο τὸ θηρίον προσβιασάμενος, τάχιον τοῦ ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου βίου αὐτῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι βουλόμενος. ² ἐκ τούτου οὖν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, θαυμάσαν τὴν γενναιότητα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ θεοσεβοῦς γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἐπεβόησεν· Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους· ζητεῖσθω Πολύκαρπος.

MART. POLY. 3

¹ But thanks be to God; for, he had no power over any. For, the most noble Germanicus encouraged their fears by the endurance that was in him and he fought gloriously with the wild beasts. For, when the proconsul wished to persuade him and bade him have pity on his youth, he violently dragged the beast towards himself, wishing to be released more quickly from their unrighteous and lawless life. ² So, after this all the crowd, wondering at the nobility of the God-loving and God-fearing people of the Christians, cried out: "Away with the Atheists; let Polycarp be searched for."

MART. POLY. 3

¹ Lightfoot opens his translation with, "But thanks be to God; for, He verily prevailed against all."

² Lightfoot includes this verse as part of v. 1.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 4

¹Εἷς δέ, ὀνόματι Κόϊντος, Φρύξ προσφάτως ἐληλυθὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας, ἰδὼν τὰ θηρία ἐδειλίασεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ παραβιασάμενος ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τινὰς προσελθεῖν ἐκόντας. τοῦτον ὁ ἀνθύπατος πολλὰ ἐκλιπαρήσας ἔπεισεν ὁμόσαι καὶ ἐπιθῆσαι. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προδιδόντας ἑαυτούς, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

MART. POLY. 4

¹ But one, named Quintus, a Phrygian lately come from Phrygia, when he saw the wild beasts, turned coward. Now, it was he who had forced himself and some others to come forward of their own accord. Him the proconsul persuaded with many entreaties to take the oath and offer sacrifice. For this reason, therefore, brethren, we do not praise those who give themselves up, since the Gospel does not teach this.

MART. POLY. 4

¹ In place of 'turned coward', Lake has 'played the coward'.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 5

¹ Ὁ δὲ θαυμασιώτατος Πολύκαρπος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀκούσας οὐκ ἐταράχθη, ἀλλ' ἐβούλετο κατὰ πόλιν μένειν· οἱ δὲ πλείους ἔπειθον αὐτὸν ὑπεξελεῖν. καὶ ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς ἀγρίδιον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ διέτριβεν μετ' ὀλίγων, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ποιῶν ἢ προσευχόμενος περὶ πάντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν, ὅπερ ἦν σύνηθες αὐτῷ. ² καὶ προσευχόμενος ἐν ὄπτασίᾳ γέγονεν πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι αὐτόν, καὶ εἶδεν τὸ προσκεφάλαιον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ πυρὸς κατακαιόμενον· καὶ στραφεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· Δεῖ με ζῶντα καῆναι.

MART. POLY. 5

¹ But the most wonderful Polycarp, when he first heard it, was not at all disturbed but wished to remain in the city; but the majority persuaded him to go away quietly and he went out quietly to a farm, not far distant from the city, and stayed with a few companions, doing nothing but praying night and day for all, and for the Churches throughout the world, as was his custom. ² And, while he was praying, he fell into a trance three days before he was arrested and saw the pillow under his head burning with fire; and he turned and said to those who were with him, "I must be burnt alive."

MART. POLY. 5

¹ Lightfoot adds a comma after πόλεως.

² In place of καῆναι, here following *Codex Mosquensis*, most other Greek MSS have καυθῆναι.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 6

¹ Καὶ ἐπιμενόντων τῶν ζητούντων αὐτὸν μετέβη εἰς ἕτερον ἀγρίδιον, καὶ εὐθέως ἐπέστησαν οἱ ζητοῦντες αὐτόν· καὶ μὴ εὐρόντες συνελάβοντο παιδάρια δύο, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον βασανιζόμενον ὠμολόγησεν. ² ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον λαθεῖν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ προδιδόντες αὐτὸν οἰκεῖοι ὑπῆρχον, καὶ ὁ εἰρήναρχος, ὁ κεκληρωμένος τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα, Ἡρώδης ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔσπευδεν εἰς τὸ στάδιον αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἵνα ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον ἀπαρτίσῃ Χριστοῦ κοινωνὸς γενόμενος, οἱ δὲ προδόντες αὐτὸν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὑπόσχοιεν τιμωρίαν.

MART. POLY. 6

¹ And, as those searching for him persisted, he went to another farm; and those who were searching for him came up at once and, not finding him, they seized young slaves and one of them confessed under torture. ² For, it was impossible for him to remain hidden, since those who betrayed him were of his own house and the police captain who by chance had the same name, being called Herod, hastened to bring him to the arena, so he might fulfil his appointed lot, being made a partaker of Christ, while they who betrayed him should undergo the punishment of Judas.

MART. POLY. 6

¹ Lightfoot ends the verse with an *ano teleia* in place of the full stop. The literal translation of 'slaves' is 'children'.

² Lightfoot includes the text up to *οἰκεῖοι ὑπῆρχον* as part of v. 1.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 7

¹ Ἐχοντες οὖν τὸ παιδάριον, τῇ παρασκευῇ περὶ δείπνου ὥραν ἐξῆλθον διωγμῖται καὶ ἵππεις μετὰ τῶν συνήθων αὐτοῖς ὄπλων ὡς ἐπὶ ληστήν τρέχοντες. καὶ ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας συνεπελθόντες ἐκεῖνον μὲν εὖρον ἐν ὑπερώῳ κατακείμενον· κάκειθεν δὲ ἠδύνατο εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠβουλήθη εἰπῶν· Τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθω.² ἀκούσας οὖν παρόντας αὐτούς, καταβάς διελέχθη αὐτοῖς, θαυμαζόντων τῶν παρόντων τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐσταθές, καὶ εἰ τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἦν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι τοιοῦτον πρεσβύτην ἄνδρα. εὐθέως οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσεν παρατεθῆναι φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, ὅσον ἂν βούλωνται, ἐξητήσατο δὲ αὐτούς, ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτῷ ὥραν πρὸς τὸ προσεύξασθαι ἀδεῶς.³ τῶν δὲ ἐπιτρεψάντων, σταθεῖς προσηύξατο πλήρης ὦν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτως ὥστε ἐπὶ δύο ὥρας μὴ δύνασθαι σιγῆσαι καὶ ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, πολλοὺς τε μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον θεοπρεπῆ πρεσβύτην.

MART. POLY. 7

¹ Taking the slave, the police and cavalry went out on Friday about supper-time, with their usual arms, as if they were advancing against a brigand. And, late in the evening, they came up together against him and found him lying in an upper room. And he might have departed to another place but would not, saying, "The will of God be done." ² So, when he heard that they had arrived, he went down and talked with them, while those who were present wondered at his age and courage, and whether there was so much haste for the arrest of an old man of such a kind. Therefore, he ordered food and drink to be set before them at that hour, whatever they should wish, and he asked them to give him an hour to pray without hindrance. ³ To this they assented, and he stood and prayed – thus filled with the grace of God – so that, for two hours, he could not be silent, and those who heard were astounded and many repented that they had come against such a venerable old man.

MART. POLY. 7

- ¹ The phrase, ἐν ὑπερώῳ κατακείμενον, follows Eusebius (and Lake); *Codex Mosquensis* has ἐν τινι δωματίῳ ἐν ὑπερώῳ κατακείμενον and Lightfoot, following most other Greek MSS, has ἐν τινι δωματίῳ κατακείμενον ὑπερώῳ.
- ² Lightfoot has the αὐτούς before παρόντας and the καὶ before εἰ τοσαύτη in brackets.
- ³ Lightfoot includes this verse as part of v. 2.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 8

¹ Ἐπει δὲ ποτε κατέπαυσεν τὴν προσευχὴν, μνημονεύσας ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πώποτε συμβεβληκότων αὐτῷ, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐνδόξων τε καὶ ἀδόξων καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ὥρας ἐλθούσης τοῦ ἐξιέναι, ὄνω καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἤγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὄντος σαββάτου μεγάλου. ² καὶ ὑπήντα αὐτῷ ὁ εἰρήναρχος Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Νικήτης, οἱ καὶ μεταθέντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν καροῦχαν ἔπειθον παρακαθεζόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες· Τί γὰρ κακόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν· Κύριος καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐπιθῆσαι καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα καὶ διασώζεσθαι; ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς, ἐπιμερόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔφη· Οὐ μέλλω ποιεῖν, ὃ συμβουλευέτέ μοι. ³ οἱ δὲ ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ πείσαι αὐτὸν δεινὰ ῥήματα ἔλεγον αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καθήρουν αὐτόν, ὡς κατιόντα ἀπὸ τῆς καρούχας ἀποσῦραι τὸ ἀντικνήμιον. καὶ μὴ ἐπιστραφεῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν πεπονθὼς προθύμως μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπορεύετο, ἀγόμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον, θορύβου τηλικούτου ὄντος ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, ὡς μηδὲ ἀκουσθῆναί τινα δύνασθαι.

MART. POLY. 8

¹ Now, when he had at last finished his prayer, after remembering all who had ever even come his way, both small and great, high and low, and the whole Catholic Church throughout the world, the hour came for departure and they set him on an ass and led him into the city, on a great Sabbath day. ² And the police captain Herod and his father Niketas met him and removed him into their carriage, and sat by his side trying to persuade him and saying, "But what harm is it to say: Lord Caesar and to offer sacrifice, and so forth, and to be saved?" But he at first did not answer them but when, they continued, he said, "I am not going to do what you counsel me." ³ And they gave up the attempt to persuade him and began to speak fiercely to him, and turned him out in such a hurry that, in getting down from the carriage, he scraped his shin; and, without turning round, as though he had suffered nothing, he walked on promptly and quickly and was taken to the arena, while the uproar in the arena was so great that no one could even be heard.

MART. POLY. 8

- ¹ The 'great Sabbath' may have been the Jewish feast Purim, which, according to tradition, celebrates the triumph of the Jews in Persia over their enemies, as related in the book of Esther; or it may have been the Sabbath in the Passover week.
- ² The *καρούχαν* is the Latin *carucca*, a closed carriage used by ladies and high officials.
- ³ Lightfoot adds a comma after the opening *οἱ δὲ*, and several others throughout the verse.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 9

¹ Τῷ δὲ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ στάδιον φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο· Ἴσχυε, Πολύκαρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίζου. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδεὶς εἶδεν, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ παρόντες ἤκουσαν. καὶ λοιπὸν προσαχθέντος αὐτοῦ, θόρυβος ἦν μέγας ἀκουσάντων, ὅτι Πολύκαρπος συνείληπται.
² προσαχθέντα οὖν αὐτὸν ἀνηρώτα ὁ ἀνθύπατος, εἰ αὐτὸς εἶη Πολύκαρπος. τοῦ δὲ ὁμολογοῦντος, ἔπειθεν ἀρνεῖσθαι λέγων· Αἰδέσθητί σου τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς λέγειν· Ὁμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, μετανόησον, εἶπον· Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεῖ τῷ προσώπῳ εἰς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν ἐμβλέψας καὶ ἐπισείσας αὐτοῖς τὴν χεῖρα, στενάξας τε καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους.
³ ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ λέγοντος· Ὁμοσον, καὶ ἀπολύω σε, λοιδόρησον τὸν Χριστόν, ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος· Ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτη δουλεύω αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἠδίκησεν· καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου τὸν σῶσαντά με;

MART. POLY. 9

¹ Now, when Polycarp entered into the arena there came a voice from heaven, "Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man." And no one saw the speaker but our friends who were there heard the voice. And next he was brought up and there was a great uproar of those who heard that Polycarp had been arrested. ² Therefore, when he was brought forward, the proconsul asked him if he were Polycarp and, when he admitted it, he tried to persuade him to deny, saying, "Respect your age," and so forth, as they are accustomed to say, "Swear by the genius of Caesar, repent, say: Away with the Atheists;" but Polycarp, with a stern countenance looked on all the crowd of lawless heathens in the arena and, waving his hand at them, he groaned and looked up to heaven and said, "Away with the Atheists." ³ But, when the proconsul pressed him and said, "Take the oath and I will let you go; revile Christ," Polycarp said, "For eighty and six years have I been his servant, and he has done me no wrong, and how can I blaspheme my King who saved me?"

MART. POLY. 9

¹ Lightfoot lacks the comma after Πολύκαρπε.

² The word, τύχην, is the customary Greek for the oath (*per genium*, or sometimes *fortunam*), which Christians rejected.

³ For ἔτη δουλεύω αὐτῷ, Lightfoot reads ἔτη [ἔχω] δουλεύω[v] αὐτῷ. βασιλέα ('King') represents *imperator* not *rex*, and though it can hardly be translated 'Emperor' here, the antithesis to Caesar is clearly implied.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 10

¹ Ἐπιμένοντος δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος· Ὅμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἰ κενοδοξεῖς, ἵνα ὁμόσω τὴν καίσαρος τύχην, ὡς σὺ λέγεις, προσποιεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν με, τίς εἰμι, μετὰ παρρησίας ἄκουε· Χριστιανός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ θέλεις τὸν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον, δὸς ἡμέραν καὶ ἄκουσον.
² ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος· Πείσον τὸν δῆμον. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν· Σὲ μὲν κἂν λόγου ἠξίωσα· δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τεταγμέναις τιμὴν κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον, τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀπονέμειν· ἐκείνους δὲ οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι ἀξίους τοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς.

MART. POLY. 10

¹ But, when he persisted and said, “Swear by the genius of Caesar,” he answered, “If you vainly think I will swear by the genius of Caesar, as you say, and pretend you are ignorant of who I am, listen plainly: I am a Christian. But, if you wish to learn the doctrine of Christianity, fix a day, and listen.” ² The proconsul said, “Persuade the people.” But Polycarp said, “I should have held you worthy of discourse; for, we are taught to render honour, as is meet, if it hurts us not, to princes and authorities appointed by God. But, as for those, I do not count them worthy that a defence should be made to them.”

MART. POLY. 10

¹ Lightfoot has a comma in place of the *ano teleia* after λέγοντος.

² Light foot lacks τοῦ before θεοῦ.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 11

¹ Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Θηρία ἔχω, τούτοις σε παραβαλῶ, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Κάλει, ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω μετάνοια· καλὸν δὲ μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια. ² ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτόν· Πυρὶ σε ποιήσω δαπανηθῆναι, εἰ τῶν θηρίων καταφρονεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν· Πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς τὸ πρὸς ὥραν καιόμενον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον σβεννύμενον· ἀγνοεῖς γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ αἰωνίου κολάσεως τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. ἀλλὰ τί βραδύνεις; φέρε, ὃ βούλει.

MART. POLY. 11

¹ And the proconsul said, "I have wild beasts, I will deliver you to them, unless you repent." And he said, "Call for them; for, repentance from better to worse is not allowed us; but it is good to change from evil to righteousness." ² And he said again to him, "I will cause you to be consumed by fire, if you despise the beasts, unless you repent." But Polycarp said, "You threaten with the fire that burns for a time and is quickly quenched; for, you do not know the fire that awaits the wicked in the judgment to come and in everlasting punishment. But why are you waiting? Come, do what you will."

MART. POLY. 11

¹ Lightfoot has an *ano teleia* in place of the comma after *Κάλει*.

² In place of *ποιήσω*, Lightfoot has *ποιῶ* and he omits *εἶπεν* after *Πολύκαρπος*.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 12

¹ Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα λέγων θάρσους καὶ χαρᾶς ἐνεπίπλατο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἐπληροῦτο, ὥστε οὐ μόνον μὴ συμπεσεῖν ταραχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστῆναι, πέμψαι τε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κήρυκα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σταδίου κηρῦξαι τρίς· Πολύκαρπος ὠμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι. ² τούτου λεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος, ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων τῶν τὴν Σμύρναν κατοικούντων ἀκατασχέτῳ θυμῷ καὶ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ ἐπεβόα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατήρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν. ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεβόων καὶ ἠρώτων τὸν Ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον, ἵνα ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ λέοντα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια. ³ τότε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπιβοῆσαι, ὥστε τὸν Πολύκαρπον ζῶντα κατακαῦσαι. ἔδει γὰρ τὸ τῆς φανερωθείσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκεφαλαίου ὄπτασίας πληρωθῆναι, ὅτε ἰδὼν αὐτὸ καιόμενον προσευχόμενος εἶπεν ἐπιστραφεὶς τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πιστοῖς προφητικῶς· Δεῖ με ζῶντα καῆναι.

MART. POLY. 12

¹ And, saying these things and many more besides, he was inspired with courage and with joy, and his face was full of grace so that it not only did not fall with trouble at the things said to him but that the proconsul, on the other hand, was astounded and sent his herald into the midst of the arena to announce three times, "Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian." ² When this had been said by the herald, all the multitude of heathens and Jews living in Smyrna cried out with uncontrollable wrath and a loud shout, "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our Gods, who teaches many neither to offer sacrifice nor to worship." And, when they said this, they cried out and asked Philip the Asiarch to let loose a lion on Polycarp. But he said he could not legally do this, since he had closed the Sports. ³ Then they found it good to cry out with one mind that he should burn Polycarp alive; for, the vision that had appeared to him on his pillow must be fulfilled, when he saw it burning, while he was praying, and he turned and said prophetically to those of the faithful who were with him, "I must be burnt alive."

MART. POLY. 12

¹ Lightfoot has σταδίῳ in place of σταδίου.

² Lightfoot lacks the comma after ὁ δὲ ἔφη. The literal translation of 'Sports' is 'hunting'.

³ Lightfoot omits αὐτῷ after φανερωθείσης.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 13

¹ Ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσούτου τάχους ἐγένετο, θάττον ἢ ἐλέγετο, τῶν ὄχλων παραχρῆμα συναγόντων ἐκ τε τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ βαλανείων ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα, μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προθύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς ταῦτα ὑπουργούντων. ² ὅτε δὲ ἡ πυρκαϊὰ ἠτοιμάσθη, ἀποθέμενος ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ λύσας τὴν ζώνην ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ ὑπολύειν ἑαυτόν, μὴ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἕκαστον τῶν πιστῶν σπουδάζειν, ὅστις τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἄψηται· παντὶ γὰρ καλῶ ἀγαθῆς ἔνεκεν πολιτείας καὶ πρὸ τῆς μαρτυρίας ἐκεκόσμητο. ³ εὐθέως οὖν αὐτῷ περιετίθετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἡρμοσμένα ὄργανα. μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ προσηλοῦν, εἶπεν· Ἄφετέ με οὕτως· ὁ γὰρ δὸς ὑπομεῖναι τὸ πῦρ δώσει χωρὶς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐκ τῶν ἥλων ἀσφαλείας ἄσкулτον ἐπιμεῖναι τῇ πυρᾷ.

MART. POLY. 13

¹ All this happened with such great speed, quicker than words can tell, and the crowd collected and prepared wood and faggots from the workshops and baths and the Jews were most zealous in assisting, as is their way. ² Now, when the fire was ready, he took off his clothes, loosened his girdle, and tried also to take off his shoes, though he did not do this before because all the faithful were zealous about who might first touch his flesh. For, he was treated with respect for his noble life, even before his testimony. ³ So, at once, he was tied to the instruments made for the fire; but, when they were going to nail him also, he said, "Leave me thus; for, he who empowers me to endure the fire will allow me to remain in the flames unmoved even without the security you seek by the nails."

MART. POLY. 13

¹ In place of 'words can tell', Lake has 'it takes to tell'.

² Before παντὶ γὰρ, Lightfoot adds ἐν in brackets. The literal translation of 'noble life' is 'citizenship' but it is used here in a special sense of Christian life. Lightfoot ends the verse with, "even before his grey hairs came."

³ Lake has 'fastened' in place of 'tied'.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 14

¹Οἱ δὲ οὐ καθήλωσαν μὲν, προσέδησαν δὲ αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ποιήσας καὶ προσδεθείς, ὡσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος ἐκ μεγάλου ποιμνίου εἰς προσφοράν, ὀλοκαύτωμα δεκτὸν τῷ θεῷ ἡτοιμασμένον, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατῆρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν, ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως παντός τε τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων, οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιόν σου.² εὐλογῶ σε, ὅτι ἠξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβεῖν με μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἁγίου· ἐν οἷς προσδεχθεῖην ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον ἐν θυσίᾳ πίονι καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προητοίμασας καὶ προεφανέρωσας καὶ ἐπλήρωσας, ὁ ἀψευδῆς καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεός.³ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός, δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

MART. POLY. 14

¹ So they did not nail him but bound him; and he put his hands behind him and was bound, as a noble ram of a great flock, for an oblation, a burnt offering made ready and acceptable to God; he looked up to heaven and said, "O Lord God Almighty, Father of your beloved and blessed Child, Jesus Christ, through whom we have received full knowledge of you, the God of Angels and powers, and of all creation and the whole race of the righteous who live before you!"² I bless you for granting me this day and hour, so I may share, among the number of the martyrs, in the cup of your Christ, for resurrection to eternal life, both of soul and body in the immortality of the Holy Spirit. And may I, today, be received among them before you, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as you, the God who do not lie and are truth, have prepared beforehand, and shown forth, and fulfilled.³ For this reason, I also praise you for all things; I bless you, I glorify you through the everlasting and heavenly High Priest, Jesus Christ, your beloved Child, through whom be glory to you with him and the Holy Spirit, both now and for the ages that are to come. Amen.

MART. POLY. 14

- ¹ Before ἀγγέλων, Lightfoot adds [ὁ]. The use of παιδός ('Child') as applied to Jesus is rare and usually found in prayers; cf. Did 9:2, 1Cl 59:2 (the Prayer), and Ac 3:13, 26:4, 27:30. Here (as also in v. 3), it is clearly 'Child', though in Acts it may mean 'Servant', with reference to Is 53, *et cetera*.
- ² Eusebius omits σου after Χριστοῦ; Lightfoot has the word in brackets.
- ³ Lightfoot adds ἡ (in brackets) before δόξα and καὶ ἀεὶ (also in brackets) before καὶ εἰς.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 15

¹ Ἀναπέψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ πληρώσαντος τὴν εὐχὴν, οἱ τοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθρωποι ἐξῆψαν τὸ πῦρ. μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψάσης φλογός, θαῦμα εἶδομεν, οἷς ἰδεῖν ἐδόθη· οἱ καὶ ἐτηρήθημεν εἰς τὸ ἀναγγεῖλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ γενόμενα. ² τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καμάρας εἶδος ποιῆσαν, ὥσπερ ὀθόνη πλοίου ὑπὸ πνεύματος πληρουμένη, κύκλῳ περιετείχισεν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος· καὶ ἦν μέσον οὐχ ὡς σὰρξ καιομένη, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος ἢ ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν καμίνῳ πυρούμενος. καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντελαβόμεθα, ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοντος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τιμίων ἀρωμάτων.

MART. POLY. 15

¹ Now, when he had uttered his Amen and finished his prayer, the men in charge of the fire lit it and a great flame blazed up and we, to whom it was given to see, saw a marvel. And we have been preserved to report to others what happened. ² For, the fire made the likeness of a room, like the sail of a vessel filled with wind, and surrounded the body of the martyr as with a wall, and he was within it not as burning flesh but as bread that is being baked, or as gold and silver being refined in a furnace. And we perceived such a fragrant smell as the scent of incense or other costly spices.

MART. POLY. 15

¹ In place of 'uttered his Amen', Lightfoot has 'offered up the Amen'.

² Lightfoot includes the words, ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος, ἢ ὡς, in brackets.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 16

¹ Πέρας γοῦν ἰδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι μὴ δυνάμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, ἐκέλευσαν προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος, ἐξῆλθεν περιστερὰ καὶ πλῆθος αἵματος, ὥστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ καὶ θαυμάσαι πάντα τὸν ὄχλον, εἰ τοσαύτη τις διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἀπίστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν. ² ὧν εἷς καὶ οὗτος γεγόνει ὁ θαυμασιώτατος μάρτυς Πολύκαρπος, ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνη καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. πᾶν γὰρ ῥῆμα, ὃ ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτελειώθη καὶ τελειωθήσεται.

MART. POLY. 16

¹ So, at length, the lawless men, seeing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, commanded an executioner to go up and stab him with a dagger; and, when he had done this, there came forth a dove and a quantity blood, so that the fire was extinguished; and all the crowd marvelled that there was such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect. ² And of the elect was this man indeed one, the wonderful martyr, Polycarp, who in our days was found an apostolic and prophetic teacher, a bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna. For, every word that he uttered from his mouth was both fulfilled and will be fulfilled.

MART. POLY. 16

- ¹ The words, *περιστερὰ καὶ*, ('and a dove') are omitted by *Eusebius* and some emend to *περὶ στύρακα* ('round the sword-haft'); *Lightfoot* has them in brackets.
- ² *Lightfoot* has the name, *Πολύκαρπος*, in brackets and lacks the word *μάρτυς* preceding it. *καθολικῆς* ('Catholic') follows *Eusebius*; *Codex Mosquensis* and the *Latin MSS* read *ἁγίας* ('holy').

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 17

¹ Ὁ δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βίαςκανος καὶ πονηρός, ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἰδὼν τό τε μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν, ἔστεφανωμένον τε τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον ἀπενηνεγμένον, ἐπετήδευσεν, ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σωματίον αὐτοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ληφθῆναι, καίπερ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. ² ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν Νικήτην τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἄλκης, ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι, ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα· μή, φησὶν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον τοῦτον ἄρξωνται σέβεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον ὑποβαλλόντων καὶ ἐνισχυόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἳ καὶ ἐτήρησαν, μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν· ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτωλῶν, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα σέβεσθαι. ³ τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἕνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι.

MART. POLY. 17

¹ But the jealous and envious evil one who resists the family of the righteous, when he saw the greatness of his martyrdom, and his blameless career from the beginning, and that he was crowned with the crown of immortality, and had carried off the unspeakable prize, took care that not even his poor body should be taken away by us, though many desired to do this and to have fellowship with his holy flesh. ² Therefore, he put forward Niketas, the father of Herod, and the brother of Alee, to ask the Governor not to give his body, "Lest," he said, "they leave the crucified one and begin to worship this man." And they said this owing to the suggestions and pressure of the Jews, who also watched when we were going to take it from the fire; for, they do not know that we shall not ever be able either to abandon Christ, who suffered for the salvation of those who are being saved in the whole world, the innocent for sinners, or to worship any other. ³ For, him we worship as the Son of God but the martyrs we love as disciples and imitators of the Lord; and rightly, because of their unsurpassable affection toward their own King and Teacher. God grant that we too may be their companions and fellow disciples.

MART. POLY. 17

¹ Lightfoot lacks the comma after ἐπετήδευσεν.

² In place of Ἄλκης, Eusebius has Δάλκης.

³ Lightfoot has συγκοινωνοὺς in place of κοινωνοὺς.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 18

¹ Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ κεντυρίων τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενομένην φιλονεικίαν, θείσ αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, ἔκαυσεν.
² οὕτως τε ἡμεῖς ὕστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίον ὅστ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀπεθέμεθα, ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν. ³ ἔνθα ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ παρέξει ὁ κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἷς τε τὴν τῶν προηθληκότων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησίν τε καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν.

MART. POLY. 18

¹ Thus, when the centurion saw the opposition of the Jews, he put the body in the midst, as was their custom, and burnt it.
² So, afterwards, we took up his bones, more precious than precious stones and finer than gold, and put them where it was suitable. ³ There, the Lord will permit us to come together, according to our power in gladness and joy, and celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already contested and for the practice and training of those whose fate it shall be.

MART. POLY. 18

- ¹ In place of 'opposition of the Jews', Lake has 'contentiousness caused by the Jews'.
² Lightfoot includes the text of this verse as part of v. 1.
³ Note that this is v. 2 in Lightfoot's text (see #2).

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 19

¹Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὃς σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφίας δωδέκατος ἐν Σμύρνη μαρτυρήσας, μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων μᾶλλον μνημονεύεται, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι· οὐ μόνον διδάσκαλος γενόμενος ἐπίσημος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυς ἕξοχος, οὗ τὸ μαρτύριον πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν μιμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενόμενον. ²διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καταγωνισάμενος τὸν ἄδικον ἄρχοντα καὶ οὕτως τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον ἀπολαβὼν, σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ πᾶσιν δικαίοις ἀγαλλιώμενος δοξάζει τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εὐλογεῖ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν σωτῆρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ κυβερνήτην τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν καὶ ποιμένα τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

MART. POLY. 19

¹Such was the lot of the blessed Polycarp who, having with those from Philadelphia suffered martyrdom in Smyrna – twelve in all – is alone especially remembered by all men, so that he is spoken of in every place, even by the heathens. He was not only a famous teacher but also a notable martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, for it followed the Gospel of Christ. ²By his endurance, he overcame the unrighteous ruler and thus gained the crown of immortality; and he is glorifying God and the Almighty Father, rejoicing with the Apostles and all the righteous, and he is blessing our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of our souls, and Governor of our bodies, and the Shepherd of the Catholic Church throughout the world.

MART. POLY. 19

¹ Lightfoot has μᾶλλον in brackets.

² Codex Mosquensis lacks ἡμῶν and Lightfoot has it (and the earlier τὸν) in brackets.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 20

¹ Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἤξιώσατε διὰ πλειόνων δηλωθῆναι ὑμῖν τὰ γενόμενα, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίῳ μεμηνύκαμεν διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Μαρκίωνος. μαθόντες οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα ἀδελφοῖς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διαπέμψασθε, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δοξάζωσιν τὸν κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιῶντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων δούλων.

² Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι καὶ δωρεᾷ εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δόξα, τιμὴ, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. προσαγορεύετε πάντας τοὺς ἀγίους. ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν προσαγορεύουσιν καὶ Εὐάρεστος ὁ γράψας πανοικεῖ.

MART. POLY. 20

¹ You, indeed, asked that the events should be explained to you at greater length but we have, for the present, explained them in summary by our brother Marcion; therefore, when you have heard these things, send the letter to the brethren further on, that they also may glorify the Lord, who takes his chosen ones from his own servants.

² Now, to him who is able to bring us all in his grace and bounty, to his heavenly kingdom, through his only begotten Child, Jesus Christ, be glory, honour, might, and majesty for ever. Salute all the saints. Those who are with us, and Euarestus, who wrote the letter, with his whole house, greet you.

MART. POLY. 20

- ¹ In place of Μαρκίωνος, following *Codex Mosquensis*, other *Greek MSS* have Μάρκου and the *Latin texts* have Marcianum; Lightfoot emends to Μαρκιανοῦ. For ποιῶντα ἀπὸ, *Codex Mosquensis* (and Lightfoot) has ποιούμενον.
- ² For ἐπουράνιον, following *Codex Mosquensis*, other *Greek MSS* have αἰώνιον. For τοῦ μονογενοῦς παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, Lightfoot reads παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς. For δόξα (as *Codex Mosquensis*), other *Greek MSS* have ᾧ ἢ δόξα (cf. 21:1). This verse is really the end of the letter; what follows is a series of notes, which have been taken into the text.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 21

¹Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἰσταμένου, πρὸ ἑπτὰ καλανδῶν Μαρτίων, σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ, ὥρᾳ ὀγδόῃ. συνελήφθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀνθυπατεύοντος Στατίου Κοδράτου, βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα, τιμὴ, μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν. ἀμήν.

MART. POLY. 21

¹ Now, the blessed Polycarp was martyred on the second day of the first half of the month Xanthicus, the seventh before the kalends of March, a great Sabbath, at the eighth hour. He was arrested by Herod, when Philip of Tralles was High Priest, when Statius Quadratus was proconsul but Jesus Christ was reigning for ever, to whom be glory, honour, majesty, and an eternal throne, from generation to generation. Amen.

MART. POLY. 21

¹ The more correct spelling of Ξανθικοῦ, according to inscriptions, is Ξανδικοῦ (but note that the *delta* was/is pronounced like a voiced *theta*). The 'kalends of March' corresponds to 23rd February.

Μαρτυριον Πολυκαρπου 22

¹ Ἐρωσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, ἀδελφοί, στοιχοῦντας τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λόγῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ δόξα τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκλεκτῶν, καθὼς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, οὗ γένοιτο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἴχνη εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

² Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίου, μαθητοῦ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου, ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ. Ἐγὼ δὲ Σωκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐκ τῶν Γαίου ἀντιγράφων ἔγραψα. ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων.

³ Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ἔγραψα ἀναζητήσας αὐτά, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν φανερώσαντός μοι τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου, καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου κεκμηκότα, ἵνα κάμῃ συναγάγη ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

ΕΠΙΛΟΓΥΣ ΑΛΙΥΣ Ε ΞΟΔΙΞΕ ΜΟΣΘΥΕΝΣΙ ΔΕΣΣΕΡΙΠΤΥΣ

² Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίου συγγραμμάτων, ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ,

MART. POLY. 22

¹ We bid you God speed, brethren, who walk according to the Gospel, in the word of Jesus Christ (with whom be glory to God and the Father and the Holy Spirit), for the salvation of the Holy Elect, even as the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom, in whose footsteps may it be granted us to be found in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

² Gaius copied this account from the writing of Irenaeus, a disciple of Polycarp, and he lived with Irenaeus, and I, Socrates, wrote it out in Corinth, from the copies of Gaius. Grace be with you all.

³ And I, again, Pionius, wrote it down from the former writings, after searching for it, because the blessed Polycarp showed it me in a vision, as I will explain in what follows, and I gathered it when it was almost worn out by age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me together with his elect into his heavenly kingdom, to whom be the glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

AN ALTERNATIVE CONCLUSION FROM THE MOSCOW MANUSCRIPT

² This account Gaius copied from the writings of Irenaeus and he also had lived with Irenaeus, who was a disciple of the holy

MART. POLY. 22

¹ The whole of this verse is omitted by *Codex Mosquensis* and the *Latin MSS*; Lightfoot encloses it in brackets.

² Lightfoot includes the text from ἐγὼ δὲ Σωκράτης as a separate verse (v. 3) and new paragraph.

³ In place of vv. 2-3, *Codex Mosquensis* has the alternative conclusion given below. Note that this is v. 4 in Lightfoot's transcription.

² In place of 'writings', Lightfoot has 'papers'.

μαθητῆ γεγονότι τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου. ³ οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Πολυκάρπου γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πολλοὺς ἐδίδαξεν· οὗ καὶ πολλὰ συγγράμματα κάλλιστα καὶ ὀρθότατα φέρεται, ἐν οἷς μένεται Πολυκάρπου, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔμαθεν, ἱκανῶς τε πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἤλεγξεν καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα καὶ καθολικόν, ὡς παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ παρέδωκεν. ⁴ λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ὅτι συναντήσαντός ποτε τῷ ἁγίῳ Πολυκάρπῳ Μαρκίῳνος, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ λεγόμενοι Μαρκιωνισταί, καὶ εἰπόντος· Ἐπιγίνωσκε ἡμᾶς, Πολύκαρπε, εἶπεν αὐτὸς τῷ Μαρκίῳνι· Ἐπιγινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ σατανᾶ. ⁵ καὶ τοῦτο δὲ φέρεται ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Εἰρηναίου συγγράμμασιν, ὅτι ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ὥρα ἐν Σμύρνη ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ Πολύκαρπος, ἠκούσεν φωνὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ὑπάρχων ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης· Πολύκαρπος ἐμαρτύρησεν.

⁶ Ἐκ τούτων οὖν, ὡς προλέλεκται, τῶν τοῦ Εἰρηναίου συγγραμμάτων Γάιος μετεγράψατο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Γαίου ἀντιγράφων Ἰσοκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους ἀντιγράφων ἔγραψα κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου ζητήσας αὐτά, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου κεκμηκότα, ἵνα κάμῃ συναγάγῃ ὁ

Polycarp. ³ For this Irenaeus, being in Rome at the time of the martyrdom of the bishop Polycarp, instructed many, and many most excellent and orthodox treatises by him are in circulation. In these, he makes mention of Polycarp, saying that he had been taught by him, and he ably refuted every heresy, and he also handed down the ecclesiastical and catholic rule, as he had received it from the saint. ⁴ And he also mentions the fact that, once Marcion, from whom come the so-called Marcionites, met the holy Polycarp and said, "Recognise us, Polycarp," that he said in reply to Marcion, "Yes, indeed, I do recognise you: I recognise the firstborn of Satan!" ⁵ And the following statement is also made in the writings of Irenaeus, that at the very day and hour when Polycarp was being martyred in Smyrna, Irenaeus, who was in the city of Rome, heard a voice like a trumpet saying, "Polycarp has suffered martyrdom."

⁶ From these papers of Irenaeus, then, as has been stated already, Gaius made a copy; and, from the copy of Gaius, Isocrates made another copy in Corinth. And again I, Pionius, wrote from the copies of Isocrates, according to the revelation of the holy Polycarp, after searching for them, and gathering them together when they were almost worn out from age, that

³ Lightfoot adds αὐτοῦ before συγγράμματα.

⁴ Lightfoot reads τοῦ Σατανά in place of τοῦ σατανᾶ.

⁵ Lightfoot includes the text of vv. 3–5 as part of v. 2.

⁶ In Lightfoot's transcription, this is v. 3 but, therein, the text from Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν is a separate verse (v. 4).

κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me into his Heavenly Kingdom together with his Elect. To him be glory, with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.