

Introductory Note to the Epistle Concerning the Martyrdom of Polycarp



Internal evidence goes far to establish the credit which Eusebius lends to this specimen of the martyrologies, certainly not the earliest if we accept that of Ignatius as genuine. As an encyclical of one of “the seven churches” to another of the same Seven, and as bearing witness to their aggregation with others into the unity of “the Holy and Catholic Church,” it is a very interesting witness, not only to an article of the creed, but to the original meaning and acceptance of the same. More than this, it is evidence of the strength of Christ perfected in human weakness; and thus it affords us an assurance of grace equal to our day in every time of need. When I see in it, however, an example of what a noble army of martyrs, women and children included, suffered in those days “for the testimony of Jesus,” and in order to hand down the knowledge of the Gospel to these boastful ages of our own, I confess myself edified by what I read, chiefly because I am humbled and abashed in comparing what a Christian used to be, with what a Christian is, in our times, even at his best estate.

That this Epistle has been interpolated can hardly be doubted, when we compare it with the unvarnished specimen, in Eusebius. As for the “fragrant smell” that came from the fire, many kinds of wood emit the like in burning; and, apart from Oriental warmth of colouring, there seems nothing incredible in the narrative if we except “the dove” (chap. xvi.), which, however, is probably a corrupt reading,⁸³ as suggested by our translators. The blade was thrust into the martyr’s *left side*; and this, opening the heart, caused the outpouring of a flood, and not a mere trickling. But, though Greek thus amended is a plausible conjecture, there seems to have been nothing of the kind in the copy quoted by Eusebius. On the other hand, note the truly catholic and scriptural testimony: “We love the martyrs, but the Son of God we worship: it is impossible for us to worship any other.”

Bishop Jacobson assigns more than fifty pages to this martyrology, with a Latin version and abundant notes. To these I must refer the student, who may wish to see this attractive history in all the light of critical scholarship and, often, of admirable comment.

The following is the original Introductory Notice:—

The following letter purports to have been written by the Church at Smyrna to the Church at Philomelium, and through that Church to the whole Christian world, in order to give a succinct account of the circumstances attending the martyrdom of Polycarp. It is the earliest of all the Martyria, and has generally been accounted both the most interesting and authentic. Not a few, however, deem it interpolated in several passages, and some refer

83 See an ingenious conjecture in Bishop Wordsworth’s *Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, p. 318, C.

it to a much later date than the middle of the second century, to which it has been commonly ascribed. We cannot tell how much it may owe to the writers (chap. xxii.) who successively transcribed it. Great part of it has been engrossed by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* (iv. 15); and it is instructive to observe, that some of the most startling miraculous phenomena recorded in the text as it now stands, have no place in the narrative as given by that early historian of the Church. Much discussion has arisen respecting several particulars contained in this Martyrium; but into these disputes we do not enter, having it for our aim simply to present the reader with as faithful a translation as possible of this very interesting monument of Christian antiquity.



The Encyclical Epistle of the Church at Smyrna Concerning the Martyrdom of the Holy Polycarp

The Church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to the Church of God sojourning in Philomelium,⁸⁴ and to all the congregations⁸⁵ of the Holy and Catholic Church in every place: Mercy, peace, and love from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.



84 Some read, "Philadelphia," but on inferior authority. Philomelium was a city of Phrygia.

85 The word in the original is ποροικίαις, from which the English "parishes" is derived.

Chapter I.—Subject of which we write.

We have written to you, brethren, as to what relates to the martyrs, and especially to the blessed Polycarp, who put an end to the persecution, having, as it were, set a seal upon it by his martyrdom. For almost all the events that happened previously [to this one], took place that the Lord might show us from above a martyrdom becoming the Gospel. For he waited to be delivered up, even as the Lord had done, that we also might become his followers, while we look not merely at what concerns ourselves but have regard also to our neighbours. For it is the part of a true and well-founded love, not only to wish one's self to be saved, but also all the brethren.

Chapter II.—The wonderful constancy of the martyrs.

All the martyrdoms, then, were blessed and noble which took place according to the will of God. For it becomes us who profess⁸⁶ greater piety than others, to ascribe the authority over all things to God. And truly,⁸⁷ who can fail to admire their nobleness of mind, and their patience, with that love towards their Lord which they displayed?—who, when they were so torn with scourges, that the frame of their bodies, even to the very inward veins and arteries, was laid open, still patiently endured, while even those that stood by pitied and bewailed them. But they reached such a pitch of magnanimity, that not one of them let a sigh or a groan escape them; thus proving to us all that those holy martyrs of Christ, at the very time when they suffered such torments, were absent from the body, or rather, that the Lord then stood by them, and communed with them. And, looking to the grace of Christ, they despised all the torments of this world, redeeming themselves from eternal punishment by [the suffering of] a single hour. For this reason the fire of their savage executioners appeared cool to them. For they kept before their view escape from that fire which is eternal and never shall be quenched, and looked forward with the eyes of their heart to those good things which are laid up for such as endure; things “which ear hath not heard, nor eye seen, neither have entered into the heart of man,”⁸⁸ but were revealed by the Lord to them, inasmuch as they were no longer men, but had already become angels. And, in like manner, those who were condemned to the wild beasts endured dreadful tortures, being stretched out upon beds full of spikes, and subjected to various other kinds of torments, in order that, if it were possible, the tyrant might, by their lingering tortures, lead them to a denial [of Christ].

86 Literally, “who are more pious.”

87 The account now returns to the illustration of the statement made in the first sentence.

88 [1 Cor. ii. 9.](#)

Chapter III.—The constancy of Germanicus. The death of Polycarp is demanded.

For the devil did indeed invent many things against them; but thanks be to God, he could not prevail over all. For the most noble Germanicus strengthened the timidity of others by his own patience, and fought heroically⁸⁹ with the wild beasts. For, when the proconsul sought to persuade him, and urged him⁹⁰ to take pity upon his age, he attracted the wild beast towards himself, and provoked it, being desirous to escape all the more quickly from an unrighteous and impious world. But upon this the whole multitude, marvelling at the nobility of mind displayed by the devout and godly race of Christians,⁹¹ cried out, “Away with the Atheists; let Polycarp be sought out!”



89 Or, “illustriously.”

90 Or, “said to him.”

91 Literally, “the nobleness of the God-loving and God-fearing race of Christians.”

Chapter IV.—Quintus the apostate.

Now one named Quintus, a Phrygian, who was but lately come from Phrygia, when he saw the wild beasts, became afraid. This was the man who forced himself and some others to come forward voluntarily [for trial]. Him the proconsul, after many entreaties, persuaded to swear and to offer sacrifice. Wherefore, brethren, we do not commend those who give themselves up [to suffering], seeing the Gospel does not teach so to do.⁹²

92 [Comp. Matt. x. 23.](#)

Chapter V.—The departure and vision of Polycarp.

But the most admirable Polycarp, when he first heard [that he was sought for], was in no measure disturbed, but resolved to continue in the city. However, in deference to the wish of many, he was persuaded to leave it. He departed, therefore, to a country house not far distant from the city. There he stayed with a few [friends], engaged in nothing else night and day than praying for all men, and for the Churches throughout the world, according to his usual custom. And while he was praying, a vision presented itself to him three days before he was taken; and, behold, the pillow under his head seemed to him on fire. Upon this, turning to those that were with him, he said to them prophetically, "I must be burnt alive."

Chapter VI.—Polycarp is betrayed by a servant.

And when those who sought for him were at hand, he departed to another dwelling, whither his pursuers immediately came after him. And when they found him not, they seized upon two youths [that were there], one of whom, being subjected to torture, confessed. It was thus impossible that he should continue hid, since those that betrayed him were of his own household. The Irenarch⁹³ then (whose office is the same as that of the Cleronomus⁹⁴), by name Herod, hastened to bring him into the stadium. [This all happened] that he might fulfil his special lot, being made a partaker of Christ, and that they who betrayed him might undergo the punishment of Judas himself.

93 It was the duty of the Irenarch to apprehend all seditious troublers of the public peace.

94 Some think that those magistrates bore this name that were elected by lot.

Chapter VII.—Polycarp is found by his pursuers.

His pursuers then, along with horsemen, and taking the youth with them, went forth at supper-time on the day of the preparation⁹⁵ with their usual weapons, as if going out against a robber.⁹⁶ And being come about evening [to the place where he was], they found him lying down in the upper room of⁹⁷ a certain little house, from which he might have escaped into another place; but he refused, saying, “The will of God⁹⁸ be done.”⁹⁹ So when he heard that they were come, he went down and spake with them. And as those that were present marvelled at his age and constancy, some of them said. “Was so much effort¹⁰⁰ made to capture such a venerable man?”¹⁰¹ Immediately then, in that very hour, he ordered that something to eat and drink should be set before them, as much indeed as they cared for, while he besought them to allow him an hour to pray without disturbance. And on their giving him leave, he stood and prayed, being full of the grace of God, so that he could not cease¹⁰² for two full hours, to the astonishment of them that heard him, insomuch that many began to repent that they had come forth against so godly and venerable an old man.

95 That is, on Friday.

96 Comp. *Matt.* xxvi. 55.

97 Or, “in.”

98 Some read “the Lord”

99 Comp. *Matt.* vi. 10; *Acts* xxi. 14.

100 Or, “diligence.”

101 Jacobson reads, “and [marvelling] that they had used so great diligence to capture,” etc.

102 Or, “be silent.”

Chapter VIII.—Polycarp is brought into the city.

Now, as soon as he had ceased praying, having made mention of all that had at any time come in contact with him, both small and great, illustrious and obscure, as well as the whole Catholic Church throughout the world, the time of his departure having arrived, they set him upon an ass, and conducted him into the city, the day being that of the great Sabbath. And the Irenarch Herod, accompanied by his father Nicetes (both riding in a chariot¹⁰³), met him, and taking him up into the chariot, they seated themselves beside him, and endeavoured to persuade him, saying, "What harm is there in saying, Lord Cæsar,¹⁰⁴ and in sacrificing, with the other ceremonies observed on such occasions, and so make sure of safety?" But he at first gave them no answer; and when they continued to urge him, he said, "I shall not do as you advise me." So they, having no hope of persuading him, began to speak bitter¹⁰⁵ words unto him, and cast him with violence out of the chariot,¹⁰⁶ insomuch that, in getting down from the carriage, he dislocated his leg¹⁰⁷ [by the fall]. But without being disturbed,¹⁰⁸ and as if suffering nothing, he went eagerly forward with all haste, and was conducted to the stadium, where the tumult was so great, that there was no possibility of being heard.



103 Jacobson deems these words an interpolation.

104 Or, "Cæsar is Lord," all the mss. having κύριος instead of κύριε, as usually printed.

105 Or, "terrible."

106 Or, "cast him down" simply, the following words being, as above, an interpolation.

107 Or, "sprained his ankle."

108 Or, "not turning back."

Chapter IX.—Polycarp refuses to revile Christ.

Now, as Polycarp was entering into the stadium, there came to him a voice from heaven, saying, “Be strong, and show thyself a man, O Polycarp!” No one saw who it was that spoke to him; but those of our brethren who were present heard the voice. And as he was brought forward, the tumult became great when they heard that Polycarp was taken. And when he came near, the proconsul asked him whether he was Polycarp. On his confessing that he was, [the proconsul] sought to persuade him to deny [Christ], saying, “Have respect to thy old age,” and other similar things, according to their custom, [such as], “Swear by the fortune of Cæsar; repent, and say, Away with the Atheists.” But Polycarp, gazing with a stern countenance on all the multitude of the wicked heathen then in the stadium, and waving his hand towards them, while with groans he looked up to heaven, said, “Away with the Atheists.”¹⁰⁹ Then, the proconsul urging him, and saying, “Swear, and I will set thee at liberty, reproach Christ;” Polycarp declared, “Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He never did me any injury: how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?”

109 Referring the words to the heathen, and not to the Christians, as was desired.

Chapter X.—Polycarp confesses himself a Christian.

And when the proconsul yet again pressed him, and said, “Swear by the fortune of Cæsar,” he answered, “Since thou art vainly urgent that, as thou sayest, I should swear by the fortune of Cæsar, and pretendest not to know who and what I am, hear me declare with boldness, I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn what the doctrines¹¹⁰ of Christianity are, appoint me a day, and thou shalt hear them.” The proconsul replied, “Persuade the people.” But Polycarp said, “To thee I have thought it right to offer an account [of my faith]; for we are taught to give all due honour (which entails no injury upon ourselves) to the powers and authorities which are ordained of God.¹¹¹ But as for *these*, I do not deem them worthy of receiving any account from me.”¹¹²

110 Or, “an account of Christianity.”

111 Comp. Rom. xiii. 1–7; Tit. iii. 1.

112 Or, “of my making any defence to them.”

Chapter XI.—No threats have any effect on Polycarp.

The proconsul then said to him, "I have wild beasts at hand; to these will I cast thee, except thou repent." But he answered, "Call them then, for we are not accustomed to repent of what is good in order to adopt that which is evil;¹¹³ and it is well for me to be changed from what is evil to what is righteous."¹¹⁴ But again the proconsul said to him, "I will cause thee to be consumed by fire, seeing thou despisest the wild beasts, if thou wilt not repent." But Polycarp said, "Thou threatenest me with fire which burneth for an hour, and after a little is extinguished, but art ignorant of the fire of the coming judgment and of eternal punishment, reserved for the ungodly. But why tarriest thou? Bring forth what thou wilt."

113 Literally, "repentance from things better to things worse is a change impossible to us."

114 That is, to leave this world for a better.

Chapter XII.—Polycarp is sentenced to be burned.

While he spoke these and many other like things, he was filled with confidence and joy, and his countenance was full of grace, so that not merely did it not fall as if troubled by the things said to him, but, on the contrary, the proconsul was astonished, and sent his herald to proclaim in the midst of the stadium thrice, "Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian." This proclamation having been made by the herald, the whole multitude both of the heathen and Jews, who dwelt at Smyrna, cried out with uncontrollable fury, and in a loud voice, "This is the teacher of Asia,¹¹⁵ the father of the Christians, and the overthrower of our gods, he who has been teaching many not to sacrifice, or to worship the gods." Speaking thus, they cried out, and besought Philip the Asiarch¹¹⁶ to let loose a lion upon Polycarp. But Philip answered that it was not lawful for him to do so, seeing the shows¹¹⁷ of wild beasts were already finished. Then it seemed good to them to cry out with one consent, that Polycarp should be burnt alive. For thus it behooved the vision which was revealed to him in regard to his pillow to be fulfilled, when, seeing it on fire as he was praying, he turned about and said prophetically to the faithful that were with him, "I must be burnt alive."

115 Some read, "ungodliness," but the above seems preferable.

116 The Asiarchs were those who superintended all arrangements connected with the games in the several provinces.

117 Literally, "the baiting of dogs."

Chapter XIII.—The funeral pile is erected.

This, then, was carried into effect with greater speed than it was spoken, the multitudes immediately gathering together wood and fagots out of the shops and baths; the Jews especially, according to custom, eagerly assisting them in it. And when the funeral pile was ready, Polycarp, laying aside all his garments, and loosing his girdle, sought also to take off his sandals,—a thing he was not accustomed to do, inasmuch as every one of the faithful was always eager who should first touch his skin. For, on account of his holy life,¹¹⁸ he was, even before his martyrdom, adorned¹¹⁹ with every kind of good. Immediately then they surrounded him with those substances which had been prepared for the funeral pile. But when they were about also to fix him with nails, he said, “Leave me as I am; for He that giveth me strength to endure the fire, will also enable me, without your securing me by nails, to remain without moving in the pile.”



118 Literally, “good behaviour.”

119 Some think this implies that Polycarp’s skin was believed to possess a miraculous efficacy.

Chapter XIV.—The prayer of Polycarp.

They did not nail him then, but simply bound him. And he, placing his hands behind him, and being bound like a distinguished ram [taken] out of a great flock for sacrifice, and prepared to be an acceptable burnt-offering unto God, looked up to heaven, and said, “O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of Thee, the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous who live before thee, I give Thee thanks that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and this hour, that I should have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup¹²⁰ of thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, through the incorruption [imparted] by the Holy Ghost. Among whom may I be accepted this day before Thee as a fat¹²¹ and acceptable sacrifice, according as Thou, the ever-truthful¹²² God, hast foreordained, hast revealed beforehand to me, and now hast fulfilled. Wherefore also I praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, along with the everlasting and heavenly Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, with whom, to Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and to all coming ages. Amen.”¹²³

120 Comp. Matt. xx. 22, Matt. xxvi. 39; Mark x. 38.

121 Literally, “in a fat,” etc., [or, “in a rich”].

122 Literally, “the not false and true God.”

123 Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 15) has preserved a great portion of this Martyrium, but in a text considerably differing from that we have followed. Here, instead of “and,” he has “in the Holy Ghost.”

Chapter XV.—Polycarp is not injured by the fire.

When he had pronounced this *amen*, and so finished his prayer, those who were appointed for the purpose kindled the fire. And as the flame blazed forth in great fury,¹²⁴ we, to whom it was given to witness it, beheld a great miracle, and have been preserved that we might report to others what then took place. For the fire, shaping itself into the form of an arch, like the sail of a ship when filled with the wind, encompassed as by a circle the body of the martyr. And he appeared within not like flesh which is burnt, but as bread that is baked, or as gold and silver glowing in a furnace. Moreover, we perceived such a sweet odour [coming from the pile], as if frankincense or some such precious spices had been smoking¹²⁵ there.

124 Literally, "a great flame shining forth."

125 Literally, "breathing."

Chapter XVI.—Polycarp is pierced by a dagger.

At length, when those wicked men perceived that his body could not be consumed by the fire, they commanded an executioner to go near and pierce him through with a dagger. And on his doing this, there came forth a dove,¹²⁶ and a great quantity of blood, so that the fire was extinguished; and all the people wondered that there should be such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect, of whom this most admirable Polycarp was one, having in our own times been an apostolic and prophetic teacher, and bishop of the Catholic Church which is in Smyrna. For every word that went out of his mouth either has been or shall yet be accomplished.

126 Eusebius omits all mention of the *dove*, and many have thought the text to be here corrupt. It has been proposed to read ἐπ' ἀριστερά, "on the left hand side," instead of περιστέρα, "a dove."

Chapter XVII.—The Christians are refused Polycarp's body.

But when the adversary of the race of the righteous, the envious, malicious, and wicked one, perceived the impressive¹²⁷ nature of his martyrdom, and [considered] the blameless life he had led from the beginning, and how he was now crowned with the wreath of immortality, having beyond dispute received his reward, he did his utmost that not the least memorial of him should be taken away by us, although many desired to do this, and to become possessors¹²⁸ of his holy flesh. For this end he suggested it to Nicetes, the father of Herod and brother of Alce, to go and entreat the governor not to give up his body to be buried, “lest,” said he, “forsaking Him that was crucified, they begin to worship this one.” This he said at the suggestion and urgent persuasion of the Jews, who also watched us, as we sought to take him out of the fire, being ignorant of this, that it is neither possible for us ever to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of such as shall be saved throughout the whole world (the blameless one for sinners¹²⁹), nor to worship any other. For Him indeed, as being the Son of God, we adore; but the martyrs, as disciples and followers of the Lord, we worthily love on account of their extraordinary¹³⁰ affection towards their own King and Master, of whom may we also be made companions¹³¹ and fellow-disciples!



127 Literally, “greatness.”

128 The Greek, literally translated, is, “and to have fellowship with his holy flesh.”

129 This clause is omitted by Eusebius: it was probably interpolated by some transcriber, who had in his mind 1 Pet. iii. 18.

130 Literally, “unsurpassable.”

131 Literally, “fellow-partakers.”

Chapter XVIII.—The body of Polycarp is burned.

The centurion then, seeing the strife excited by the Jews, placed the body¹³² in the midst of the fire, and consumed it. Accordingly, we afterwards took up his bones, as being more precious than the most exquisite jewels, and more purified¹³³ than gold, and deposited them in a fitting place, whither, being gathered together, as opportunity is allowed us, with joy and rejoicing, the Lord shall grant us to celebrate the anniversary¹³⁴ of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already finished their course,¹³⁵ and for the exercising and preparation of those yet to walk in their steps.

132 Or, "him."

133 Or, "more tried."

134 Literally, "the birth-day."

135 Literally, "been athletes."

Chapter XIX.—Praise of the martyr Polycarp.

This, then, is the account of the blessed Polycarp, who, being the twelfth that was martyred in Smyrna (reckoning those also of Philadelphia), yet occupies a place of his own¹³⁶ in the memory of all men, insomuch that he is everywhere spoken of by the heathen themselves. He was not merely an illustrious teacher, but also a pre-eminent martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, as having been altogether consistent with the Gospel of Christ. For, having through patience overcome the unjust governor, and thus acquired the crown of immortality, he now, with the apostles and all the righteous [in heaven], rejoicingly glorifies God, even the Father, and blesses our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of our souls, the Governor of our bodies, and the Shepherd of the Catholic Church throughout the world.¹³⁷

136 Literally, "is alone remembered."

137 Several additions are here made. One ms. has, "and the all-holy and life-giving Spirit;" while the old Latin version reads, "and the Holy Spirit, by whom we know all things."

Chapter XX.—This epistle is to be transmitted to the brethren.

Since, then, ye requested that we would at large make you acquainted with what really took place, we have for the present sent you this summary account through our brother Marcus. When, therefore, ye have yourselves read this Epistle,¹³⁸ be pleased to send it to the brethren at a greater distance, that they also may glorify the Lord, who makes such choice of His own servants. To Him who is able to bring us all by His grace and goodness¹³⁹ into his everlasting kingdom, through His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, to Him be glory, and honour, and power, and majesty, for ever. Amen. Salute all the saints. They that are with us salute you, and Evarestus, who wrote this Epistle, with all his house.

138 Literally, "having learned these things."

139 Literally, "gift."

Chapter XXI.—The date of the martyrdom.

Now, the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom on the second day of the month Xanthicus just begun,¹⁴⁰ the seventh day before the Kalends of May, on the great Sabbath, at the eighth hour.¹⁴¹ He was taken by Herod, Philip the Trallian being high priest,¹⁴² Statius Quadratus being proconsul, but Jesus Christ being King for ever, to whom be glory, honour, majesty, and an everlasting throne, from generation to generation. Amen.

140 The translation is here very doubtful. Wake renders the words μηνὸς ἰσταμένου, “of the *present* month.”

141 Great obscurity hangs over the chronology here indicated. According to Usher, the Smyrnæans began the month Xanthicus on the 25th of March. But the seventh day before the Kalends of May is the 25th of April. Some, therefore, read Ἀπριλλίων instead of Μαίωv. The great Sabbath is that before the passover. The “eighth hour” may correspond either to our 8 a.m. or 2 p.m.

142 Called before (chap. xii.) *Asiarch*.

Chapter XXII.—Salutation.

We wish you, brethren, all happiness, while you walk according to the doctrine of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; with whom be glory to God the Father and the Holy Spirit, for the salvation of His holy elect, after whose example¹⁴³ the blessed Polycarp suffered, following in whose steps may we too be found in the kingdom of Jesus Christ!

These things¹⁴⁴ Caius transcribed from the copy of Irenæus (who was a disciple of Polycarp), having himself been intimate with Irenæus. And I Socrates transcribed them at Corinth from the copy of Caius. Grace be with you all.

And I again, Pionius, wrote them from the previously written copy, having carefully searched into them, and the blessed Polycarp having manifested them to me through a revelation, even as I shall show in what follows. I have collected these things, when they had almost faded away through the lapse of time, that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me along with His elect into His heavenly kingdom, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be glory for ever and ever. Amen.



143 Literally, “according as.”

144 What follows is, of course, no part of the original Epistle.