

Ε

Τάδε καὶ ἡ πέμπτη περιέχει βίβλος τῆς
'Εκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

- Α Ὅσοι καὶ ὅπως κατὰ Οὐῆρον ἐπὶ τῆς Γαλλίας
τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας διεξῆλθον ἀγῶνα.
Β Ὡς οἱ θεοφιλεῖς μάρτυρες τοὺς ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ
διαπεπτωκότας ἐθεράπευον δεξιούμενοι.
Γ Ὅποια τῷ μάρτυρι Ἀττάλῳ δι' ὀνείρου
γέγονεν ἐπιφάνεια.
Δ Ὅπως οἱ μάρτυρες τὸν Εἰρηναῖον δι' ἐπι-
στολῆς παρετίθεντο.
Ε Ὡς Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Καίσαρι ταῖς τῶν
ἡμετέρων εὐχαῖς οὐρανόθεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπακούσας
ᾔσεν.
Σ Ἐπὶ τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐπισκοπευσάντων κατάλογος.
Ζ Ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν τότε καιρῶν διὰ τῶν
πιστῶν δυνάμεις ἐνηργοῦντο παράδοξοι.
Η Ὅπως ὁ Εἰρηναῖος τῶν θείων μνημονεύει
γραφῶν.
Θ Οἱ κατὰ Κόμοδον ἐπισκοπεύσαντες.
Ι Περὶ Πανταίνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου.
ΙΑ Περὶ Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως.
ΙΒ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκόπων.
ΙΓ Περὶ Ῥόδωνος καὶ ἧς ἐμνημόνευσεν κατὰ
Μαρκίωνα διαφωνίας.

CONTENTS OF BOOK V

*The contents of the fifth book of the History
of the Church are as follows :*

- I. The number and behaviour of those who in the time of Verus underwent in Gaul the struggle for religion.
- II. How the martyrs, beloved of God, gave the hand of fellowship and healing to those who had fallen in the persecution.
- III. The vision which appeared in a dream to the martyr Attalus.
- IV. How the martyrs commended Irenaeus by a letter.
- V. How God sent rain from heaven to Marcus Aurelius Caesar in response to the prayers of the Christians.
- VI. The list of those who were bishops in Rome.
- VII. How even until those times strange miracles were wrought by the faithful.
- VIII. How Irenaeus quotes the divine Scriptures.
- IX. Those who were bishops under Commodus.
- X. On Pantaenus the philosopher.
- XI. On Clement of Alexandria.
- XII. On the bishops in Jerusalem.
- XIII. On Rhodo and the dissensions which he mentions among the Marcionites.

- ΙΔ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φρύγας ψευδοπροφητῶν.
 ΙΕ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Βλάστον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γενομένου σχίσματος.
 ΙΣ Ὅσα περὶ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ψευδοπροφητῶν μνημονεύεται.
 ΙΖ Περὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ ὧν συνέταξε λόγων.
 ΙΗ Ὅσα καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς κατὰ Φρύγας ἀπήλεγξεν καὶ τίνων ἐμνημόνευσεν.
 ΙΘ Σεραπίωνος περὶ τῆς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἵρέσεως.
 Κ Ὅσα Εἰρηναῖος τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης σχισματικοῖς ἐγγράφως διείλεκται.
 ΚΑ Ὅπως ἐπὶ Ῥώμης Ἀπολλώνιος ἐμαρτύρησεν.
 ΚΒ Τίνες κατὰ τοὺτους ἐπίσκοποι ἐγνωρίζοντο.
 ΚΓ Περὶ τοῦ τότε κινήεντος ἀμφὶ τοῦ πάσχα ζητήματος.
 ΚΔ Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν διαφωνίας.
 ΚΕ Ὅπως τοῖς πᾶσι μία ψῆφος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα συνεφωνήθη.
 ΚΣ Ὅσα τῆς Εἰρηναίου φιλοκαλίας καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς κατῆλθεν.
 ΚΖ Ὅσα καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν τηνικάδε συνηκμακόντων.
 ΚΗ Περὶ τῶν τὴν Ἀρτέμωνος αἵρεσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προβεβλημένων οἰοί τε τὸν τρόπον γεγονάσιν καὶ ὅπως τὰς ἀγίας γραφὰς διαφθεῖραι τετολμήκασιν.

- XIV. On the Montanist¹ false prophets.
 XV. About the schism at Rome under Blastus.
 XVI. The tradition concerning Montanus and those who were false prophets together with him.
 XVII. On Miltiades and the treatises which he composed.
 XVIII. How Apollonius also refuted the Montanists and the quotations which he made.
 XIX. Of Serapion on Montanism.
 XX. The discussions of Irenaeus in writing with the schismatics at Rome.
 XXI. How Apollonius was martyred in Rome.
 XXII. What bishops were famous in these times.
 XXIII. On the paschal controversy which was then active.
 XXIV. On the division in Asia.
 XXV. How unanimous decision was reached concerning Easter.
 XXVI. How much of the eloquent work of Irenaeus has come down to us.
 XXVII. How much also of the others who flourished with him at that time.
 XXVIII. On those who at the beginning put forward the heresy of Artemon, what manner of men they were, and how they have dared to corrupt the holy Scriptures.

¹ Literally "Among Phrygians" but this is one of the usual names of the Montanists, and passed into Latin as "Catafrygae."

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος 1
 Σωτήρ ἐπὶ ὄγδοον ἔτος ἡγήσάμενος τελευτᾷ τὸν
 βίον· τοῦτον δωδέκατος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων
 Ἐλεύθερος διαδέχεται, ἔτος δ' ἦν ἑπτακαδέκατον
 αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου Οὐήρου· ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τινα
 μέρη τῆς γῆς σφοδρότερον ἀναρριπισθέντος τοῦ
 καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμοῦ, ἐξ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν κατὰ πόλεις
 δῆμων μυριάδας μαρτύρων διαπρέψαι στοχασμῶ
 λαβεῖν ἔνεστιν ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἐν ἔθνος συμβεβη-
 κότων, αἱ καὶ γραφῇ τοῖς μετέπειτα παραδοθῆναι,
 ἀλήστου μνήμης ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπάξια ὄντα, συμ-
 βέβηκεν. τῆς μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἐντελεστάτης 2
 ὑφηγήσεως τὸ πᾶν σύγγραμμα τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων
 ἡμῶν κατατάσσεται συναγωγῇ, οὐχ ἱστορικὴν αὐτὸ
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικὴν περιέχον διήγησιν·
 ὅποσα γέ τοι τῆς παρούσης ἔχοιτο πραγματείας,
 ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀναλεξάμενος παραθήσομαι.
 ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἱστορικὰς ποιοῦμενοι διηγήσεις, 3
 πάντως ἂν παρέδωκαν τῇ γραφῇ πολέμων νίκας
 καὶ τρόπαια κατ' ἐχθρῶν στρατηγῶν τε ἀριστείας
 καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἀνδραγαθίας, αἵματι καὶ μυρίοις
 φόνοις παίδων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἔνεκεν
 περιουσίας μινανθέντων· ὁ δέ γε τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν 4

SOTER, the bishop of the church of Rome, ended his life in the eighth year of his rule. To him succeeded Eleutherus, the twelfth from the apostles, and it was the seventeenth year of the Emperor Antoninus Verus.¹ In this time the persecution of us in some parts of the world was rekindled more violently by popular violence in the cities, and, to judge from the events in one nation, myriads were distinguished by martyrdom. The story has chanced to be handed down in writing for posterity, and it is truly worthy of unceasing remembrance. Since the whole record of its complete treatment has been embodied in our collection of martyrs,² and contains not merely the narrative itself but also an exposition of doctrine, I will at present select and quote merely such points as belong to the present undertaking. Other writers of historical works have confined themselves to the written tradition of victories in wars, of triumphs over enemies, of the exploits of generals and the valour of soldiers, men stained with blood and with countless murders for the sake of children and country and other possessions; but it is wars most peaceful,

¹ That is, Marcus Aurelius. His seventeenth year was A.D. 177.

² That is, the *Acts of the Martyrs* which Eusebius collected. See Introduction, p. xxiii.

πολιτεύματος διγηγηματικὸς ἡμῖν λόγος τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν εἰρήνης εἰρηνικωτάτους πολέμους καὶ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας μάλλον ἢ πατρίδος καὶ μάλλον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἢ τῶν φιλητάτων ἀνδρισταμένους αἰωνίαις ἀναγράφεται στήλαις, τῶν εὐσεβείας ἀθλητῶν τὰς ἐνστάσεις καὶ τὰς πολυτλήτους ἀνδρείας τρόπαιά τε τὰ κατὰ δαιμόνων καὶ νίκας τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀοράτων ἀντιπάλων καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις στεφάνους εἰς αἰώνιον μνήμην ἀνακηρύττων.

Ι. Γαλλία μὲν οὖν ἡ χώρα ἦν, καθ' ἣν τὸ τῶν 1 ἐπλησμένων συνεκροτεῖτο στάδιον, ἥς μητροπόλεις ἐπίσημοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν αὐτόθι διαφέρουσαι βεβόηται Λούγδουνος καὶ Βιέννα, δι' ὧν ἀμφοτέρων τὴν ἅπασαν χώραν πολλῷ τῷ ρεύματι περιρρέων ὁ Ῥοδανὸς ποταμὸς διέξεισιν. τὴν 2 οὖν περὶ τῶν μαρτύρων γραφὴν αἱ τῇδε διαφανέσταται ἐκκλησίαι ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν διαπέμπονται, τὰ παρ' αὐταῖς πραχθέντα τοῦτον ἀνιστοροῦσαι τὸν τρόπον, παραθήσομαι 3 δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν φωνάς· “οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λουγδούνῳ τῆς Γαλλίας παροικοῦντες δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἡμῖν πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν ἀδελφοίς· εἰρήνη καὶ χάρις καὶ δόξα ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.”

Εἶτα τούτοις ἐξῆς ἕτερα προοιμιασάμενοι, τὴν 4 τοῦ λόγου καταρχὴν ποιοῦνται ἐν τούτοις· “τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος τῆς ἐνθάδε θλίψεως καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ὀργὴν καὶ ὅσα ὑπέμειναν οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες, ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς οὐθ' ἡμεῖς εἰπεῖν ἱκανοὶ οὔτε μὴν γραφῇ περιληφθῆναι

waged for the very peace of the soul, and men who therein have been valiant for truth rather than for country, and for piety rather than for their dear ones, that our record of those who order their lives according to God will inscribe on everlasting monuments: it is the struggles of the athletes of piety and their valour which braved so much, trophies won from demons, and victories against unseen adversaries, and the crowns at the end of all, that it will proclaim for everlasting remembrance.

I. Gaul was the country in which was prepared the stage for these events. Its capital cities, famous and more renowned than the others in the district, were Lyons and Vienne, through both of which passes the river Rhone, flowing in an ample stream through the whole district. The distinguished churches of this country sent the document about the martyrs to the churches in Asia and Phrygia, in this way recording what happened among them, and I will quote their words: “The servants sojourning in Vienne and Lyons in Gaul to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as you. Peace, grace, and glory from God the Father and Jesus Christ, our Lord.”

Then after other prefatory remarks they begin their narrative thus: “The greatness of the persecution here, and the terrible rage of the heathen against the saints, and the suffering of the blessed martyrs, are more than we can narrate accurately, nor can they be put down in writing. For with all

δυνατόν. παντὶ γὰρ σθένει ἐνέσκηψεν ὁ ἀντικεί- 5
μενος, προοιμιαζόμενος ἤδη τὴν ἀδεῶς μέλλουσαν
ἔσεσθαι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήλθεν,
ἐθίζων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προγυμνάζων κατὰ τῶν
δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε μὴ μόνον οἰκιῶν καὶ
βαλανείων καὶ ἀγορᾶς εἶργεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
καθόλου φαίνεσθαι ἡμῶν τινα αὐτοῖς ἀπειρῆσθαι
ἐν ὁποίῳ δήποτε τόπῳ. ἀντεστρατήγει δὲ ἡ 6
χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς ἐρρύετο,
ἀντιπαρέτασσε δὲ στύλους ἐδραίους δυναμένους
διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς πᾶσαν τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ πονηροῦ
εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐλκύσαι· οἱ καὶ ὁμοσε ἐχώρουν, πᾶν
εἶδος ὀνειδισμοῦ καὶ κολάσεως ἀνεχόμενοι· οἱ καὶ
τὰ πολλὰ ὀλίγα ἡγούμενοι ἔσπευδον πρὸς Χριστόν,
ὄντως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα
τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀπο-
καλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.

“Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου πανδημεῖ 7
σωρηδὸν ἐπιφερόμενα γενναίως ὑπέμενον, ἐπι-
βοήσεις καὶ πληγὰς καὶ συρμούς καὶ διαρπαγὰς
καὶ λίθων βολὰς καὶ συγκλείσεις καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα
ἡγριωμένῳ πλήθει ὡς πρὸς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους
φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, καὶ δὴ ἀναχθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν 8
ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χιλιάρχου καὶ τῶν προεσθηκότων τῆς
πόλεως ἐξουσιῶν ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους ἀνακρι-
θέντες καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες, συνεκλείσθησαν εἰς τὴν
εἰρκτὴν ἕως τῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρουσίας· μετ- 9
έπειτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἀχθέντων αὐτῶν ἀκείνου
πάσῃ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμότητι χρωμένου, Οὐέντιος
Ἐπάγαθος, εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, πλήρωμα ἀγάπης
τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον κεχωρηκώς,
οὗ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡκρίβωτο ἡ πολιτεία, ὥς
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his might the adversary attacked us, foreshadowing
his coming which is shortly to be, and tried every-
thing, practising his adherents and training them
against the servants of God, so that we were not
merely excluded from houses and baths and markets,
but we were even forbidden to be seen at all in any
place whatever. But against them the grace of God
did captain us; it rescued the weak, and marshalled
against them steadfast pillars of men able by patience
to draw to themselves all the attack of the enemy.
They came together and endured every kind of abuse
and punishment, they counted many things as few in
their zeal for Christ, and did indeed prove that the
sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be
compared with the glory which shall be revealed
to us.

“First they endured nobly all that was heaped upon
them by the mob, howls and stripes and dragging
about, and rapine and imprisonment and stoning,
and all things which are wont to happen at the
hands of an infuriated populace against its supposed
enemies and foes; then they were dragged into the
market-place by the tribune and by the chief
authorities of the city, were indicted and confessed,
and at last they were shut up until the coming of
the governor. Then they were brought before the
governor, and when he used all his cruelty against
them, then intervened Vettius Epagathus, one of
the brethren, filled with love towards God and
towards his neighbour, the strictness of whose life

Luke 1, 6

καίπερ ὄντα νέον συνεξισοῦσθαι τῇ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ζαχαρίου μαρτυρίᾳ· πεπόρευτο γοὺν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιώμασι τοῦ κυρίου ἁμειπτος καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον λειτουργίᾳ ἄοκνος, ζῆλον θεοῦ πολὺν ἔχων καὶ ζέων τῷ πνεύματι· τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ὢν, τὴν οὕτως καθ' ἡμῶν ἀλόγως γινομένην κρίσιν οὐκ ἐβάστασεν, ἀλλ' ὑπερηγανάκτησεν καὶ ἡξίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκουσθῆναι ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὅτι μηδὲν ἄθεον μηδὲ ἀσεβές ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸ βῆμα καταβοησάντων αὐτοῦ, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐπίσημος, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος μὴ ἀνασχομένου τῆς οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δικαίας προταθείσης ἀξιώσεως, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦτο πυθομένου εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶη Χριστιανός, τοῦ δὲ λαμπροτάτῃ φωνῇ ὁμολογήσαντος, ἀνελήφθη καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν κλῆρον τῶν μαρτύρων, παράκλητος Χριστιανῶν χρηματίσας, ἔχων δὲ τὸν παράκλητον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Ζαχαρίου, ὃ διὰ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἀγάπης ἐνεδείξατο, εὐδοκίσας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπολογίας καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖναι ψυχὴν· ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἔστιν γνήσιος Χριστοῦ θαυματοῦ, ἀκολουθῶν τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγῃ.

Luke 1, 67

1 John 3, 16

1 Thes. 2, 8

Rev. 14, 4

“Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ διεκρίνοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ φανεροὶ 11 καὶ ἔτοιμοι ἐγίνοντο πρωτομάρτυρες, οἳ καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἀνεπλήρουν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς μαρτυρίας, ἐφαίνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἔτι ἀσθενεῖς, ἀγῶνος μεγάλου 410

had gone so far that in spite of his youth his reputation was equal to that of the elder Zacharias.¹ He walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless and was unwearied in all ministrations to his neighbours, having much zeal toward God and being fervent in spirit. His character forbade him to endure the unreasonable judgement given against us, and, overcome with indignation, he asked to be heard himself in defence of the brethren to the effect that there was nothing atheistic or impious among us. He was howled down by those around the judgement-seat, for he was a man of position,² and the governor would not tolerate the just requests which he had put forward but merely asked if he were a Christian himself. He then confessed in clear tones and was himself taken into the ranks of the martyrs. He was called the ‘Comforter of Christians,’ but had the Comforter in himself, the spirit of Zacharias which he had shown by the fullness of his love when he chose to lay down even his own life for the defence of the brethren, for he was and he is³ a true disciple of Christ, and he follows the Lamb wheresoever he goes.

“The rest were then divided and the first martyrs were obviously ready, and they fulfilled the confession of martyrdom with all readiness, but some others appeared not to be ready, and failed in training and in strength, unable to endure the strain

¹ Zacharias the father of John the Baptist, as is shown by the allusion to Luke i. 6 in the following line.

² Apparently the meaning is that his social position made the crowd even more indignant at his advocacy of Christians.

³ It is almost incredible that this “is” was interpreted by Renan and others as showing that Vettius was not actually put to death.

τόνον ἐνεγκεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι· ὧν καὶ ἐξέτρωσαν
ὡς δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν· οἱ καὶ μεγάλην λύπην καὶ
πένθος ἀμέτρητον ἐνεποίησαν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν προ-
θυμίαν τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν μὴ συνελημμένων ἐνέκοψαν·
οἱ καίπερ πάντα τὰ δεινὰ πάσχοντες, ὁμῶς συμ-
παρήσαν τοῖς μάρτυσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο
αὐτῶν, τότε δὲ οἱ πάντες μεγάλως ἐπτοθήθημεν
διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς ὁμολογίας, οὐ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας
κολάσεις φοβούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἀφορῶντες
καὶ τὸ ἀποπεσεῖν τινα δεδιότες. συνελαμβάνοντο
μέντοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν οἱ ἄξιοι τὸν ἐκείνων
ἀναπληροῦντες ἀριθμὸν, ὥστε συλλεγῆναι ἐκ τῶν
δύο ἐκκλησιῶν πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους καὶ δι'
ὧν μάλιστα συνεστήκει τὰ ἐνθάδε· συνελαμβάνοντο
δὲ καὶ ἔθνικοί τινες οἰκέται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐπεὶ
δημοσία ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀναζητεῖσθαι πάντας
ἡμᾶς· οἱ καὶ κατ' ἐνέδραν τοῦ σατανᾶ, φοβηθέντες
τὰς βασάνους ὡς τοὺς ἁγίους ἔβλεπον πάσχοντας,
τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρορμώντων αὐτοὺς,
κατεψεύσαντο ἡμῶν θυέστεια δείπνα καὶ Οἰδιπο-
δείους μίξεις καὶ ὅσα μῆτε λαλεῖν μῆτε νοεῖν θέμις
ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἴ τι τοιοῦτο πώποτε
παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο. τούτων δὲ φημισθέντων,
πάντες ἀπεθριώθησαν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὥστε καὶ εἴ τις
τὸ πρότερον δι' οἰκειότητα ἐμετρίαζον, τότε
μεγάλως ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ διεπρίνοντο ἐφ' ἡμῖν·
ἐπληροῦτο δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰρημένον
ὅτι ἐλεύσεται καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας ἑμᾶς
δόξει λατρείαν προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ. ἐνταῦθα λοιπὸν
ὑπεράνω πάσης ἐξηγήσεως ὑπέμενον κολάσεις οἱ
ἅγιοι μάρτυρες, φιλοτιμουμένου τοῦ σατανᾶ καὶ

Acts 7, 54

John 16, 2

of a great conflict, and about ten in number failed, as those born out of due time. They caused us great grief and immeasurable mourning, and hindered the zeal of the others who had not been arrested. Yet they, although suffering all the terrors, nevertheless remained with the martyrs and did not desert them. But at that point we were all greatly terrified by uncertainty as to their confession, not fearing the threatened punishment but looking towards the end and afraid lest some one should fall away. Yet day by day those who were worthy went on being arrested, completing their number, so as to collect from the two churches all the zealous and those through whom the life of the locality was kept together. There were also arrested certain heathen slaves of our members, since the governor had publicly commanded that we should all be prosecuted, and these by the snare of Satan, fearing the tortures which they saw the saints suffering, when the soldiers urged them, falsely accused us of Thyestean feasts and Oedipodean intercourse,¹ and things which it is not right for us either to speak of or to think of or even to believe that such things could ever happen among men. When this rumour spread all men turned like beasts against us, so that even if any had formerly been lenient for friendship's sake they then became furious and raged against us, and there was fulfilled that which was spoken by our Lord that 'the time will come when whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.' Then at last the holy martyrs endured sufferings beyond all description, for Satan was striving to wring some

¹ According to Greek mythology Thyestes had unconsciously eaten his children and Oedipus had married his mother.

1 Tim. 3, 15

δι' ἐκείνων ῥηθῆναι τι τῶν βλασφημίων· ὑπερ- 17
 βεβλημένως δὲ ἐνέσκηψεν ἡ ὀργὴ πᾶσα καὶ ὄχλου
 καὶ ἡγεμόνος καὶ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Σάγκτον τὸν
 διάκονον ἀπὸ Βιέννης καὶ εἰς Μάτουρον, νεο-
 φύτιστον μὲν, ἀλλὰ γενναῖον ἀγωνιστὴν, καὶ εἰς
 Ἀτταλον Περγάμηνον τῷ γένει, στῦλον καὶ
 ἐδραῖωμα τῶν ἐνταῦθα αἰὲ γεγονότα, καὶ εἰς
 Βλανδῖναν, δι' ἧς ἐπέδειξεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅτι τὰ παρὰ
 ἀνθρώποις εὐτελῆ καὶ αἰετὴ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα
 φαινόμενα μεγάλης καταξιοῦται παρὰ θεῷ δόξης
 διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην τὴν ἐν δυνάμει δεικνυ- 18
 μένην καὶ μὴ ἐν εἰδῇ καυχωμένην. ἡμῶν γὰρ
 πάντων δεδιώτων καὶ τῆς σαρκίως δεσποίνης
 αὐτῆς, ἥτις ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν μαρτύρων μία ἀγωνί-
 στρια, ἀγωνιώσης μὴ οὐδὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν δυνήσεται
 παρρησιάσασθαι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές τοῦ σώματος, ἡ
 Βλανδῖνα τοσαύτης ἐπληρώθη δυνάμεως, ὥστε
 ἐκλυθῆναι καὶ παρεθῆναι τοὺς κατὰ διαδοχὰς
 παντὶ τρόπῳ βασανίζοντας αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἑωθινῆς
 ἕως ἑσπέρας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας ὅτι νενίκηθη- 19
 ναι μηδὲν ἔχοντες μηκέτι ὁ ποιήσωσι αὐτῇ, καὶ
 θανμάξω ἐπὶ τῷ παραμένειν ἔμπνουν αὐτῇ,
 παντὸς τοῦ σώματος περιεργωγὸς καὶ ἡνεωγ-
 μένου, καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι ἐν εἶδος στρεβλώσεως
 ἱκανὸν ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐχ ὅτι
 γε τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα. ἀλλ' ἡ μακαρία ὡς 19
 γενναῖος ἀθλητῆς ἀνεύαζεν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ καὶ
 ἦν αὐτῆς ἀνάληψις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἀναλγησία
 τῶν συμβαινόντων τὸ λέγειν ὅτι 'Χριστιανὴ εἰμι
 καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν φαῦλον γίνεται.'

“Ὁ δὲ Σάγκτος καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερβεβλημένως 20
 καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα ἄνθρωπον πάσας τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων

blasphemy even from them, and all the fury of the
 mob and of the governor and of the soldiers was
 raised beyond measure against Sanctus, the deacon
 from Vienne, and against Maturus, who was a novice
 but a noble contender, and against Attalus, a Per-
 gamene by race, who had always been a pillar and
 support of the Christians there, and against Blandina,
 through whom Christ showed that things which are
 mean and obscure and contemptible among men are
 vouchsafed great glory with God because of the love
 towards him shown in power and not boasted of in
 appearance. For while we were all afraid, and her
 human mistress, who was herself one of the con-
 tenders among the martyrs, was in distress lest she
 should not be able, through the weakness of her
 body, to be bold enough even to make confession, Blandina
 was filled with such power that she was
 released and rescued from those who took turns in
 torturing her in every way from morning until even-
 ing, and they themselves confessed that they were
 beaten, for they had nothing left to do to her, and
 they marvelled that she still remained alive, seeing
 that her whole body was broken and opened, and
 they testified that any one of these tortures was
 sufficient to destroy life, even when they had not
 been magnified and multiplied. But the blessed
 woman, like a noble athlete, kept gaining in vigour
 in her confession, and found comfort and rest and
 freedom from pain from what was done to her by
 saying, 'I am a Christian woman and nothing wicked
 happens among us.'

"Sanctus also himself endured nobly, beyond
 measure or human power, all the ill-treatment of

αἰκίας γενναίως ὑπομένων, τῶν ἀνόμων ἐλπίζοντων
 διὰ τὴν ἐπιμονὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βασάνων
 ἀκούσεσθαι τι παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ δεόντων, τοσαύτη
 ὑποστάσει ἀντιπαρετάξατο αὐτοῖς, ὥστε μήτε τὸ
 ἴδιον κατειπεῖν ὄνομα μήτε ἔθνους μήτε πόλεως
 ὅθεν ἦν, μήτε εἰ δούλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἶη· ἀλλὰ πρὸς
 πάντα τὰ ἐπερωτώμενα ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ
 φωνῇ 'Χριστιανὸς εἰμι'. τοῦτο καὶ ἀντὶ ὀνόματος
 καὶ ἀντὶ πόλεως καὶ ἀντὶ γένους καὶ ἀντὶ παντός
 ἐπαλλήλως ὠμολόγει, ἄλλην δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν
 αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ φιλονεικία μεγάλη τοῦ 21
 τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ τῶν βασανιστῶν ἐγένετο πρὸς
 αὐτόν, ὥστε ὁπότε μηκέτι μηδὲν εἶχον ὁ ποιήσωσιν
 αὐτῷ, τὸ τελευταῖον χαλκᾶς λεπίδας διαπύρους
 προσεκόλλων τοῖς τρυφερωτάτοις μέλεσι τοῦ σώ-
 ματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκαίετο, αὐτὸς δὲ 22
 παρέμενεν ἀνεπίκαμπτos καὶ ἀνένδοτος, στερρὸς
 πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ὑπὸ τῆς οὐρανόυ πηγῆς τοῦ
 ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἐξιόντος ἐκ τῆς νηδύος τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ δροσιζόμενος καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενος· τὸ 23
 δὲ σωματίον μάρτυς ἦν τῶν συμβεβηκότων, ὅλον
 τραῦμα καὶ μώλωψ καὶ συνεσπασμένον καὶ ἀπο-
 βεβληκὸς τὴν ἀνθρώπειον ἔξωθεν μορφὴν, ἐν ᾧ
 πάσχων Χριστὸς μεγάλας ἐπετέλει δόξας, καταργῶν
 τὸν ἀντικείμενον καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπο-
 τύπωσιν ὑποδεικνύων ὅτι μηδὲν φοβερόν ὅπου
 πατὴρ ἀγάπη, μηδὲ ἀλγινόν ὅπου Χριστοῦ δόξα.
 τῶν γὰρ ἀνόμων μεθ' ἡμέρας πάλιν στρεβλούντων 24
 τὸν μάρτυρα καὶ νομιζόντων ὅτι οἰδοῦνται καὶ
 φλεγμανόντων τῶν σωματίων, εἰ τὰ αὐτὰ προσ-
 ἐνέγκοιεν κολαστήρια, περιέσονται αὐτοῦ, ὁπότε
 οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφὴν ἠνείχετο, ἥ ὅτι

men, for though the wicked hoped through per-
 sistence and the rigour of his tortures to wring from
 him something wrong, he resisted them with such
 constancy that he did not even tell his own name,
 or the race or the city whence he was, nor whether
 he was slave or free, but to all questions answered
 in Latin, 'I am a Christian.' This he said for name
 and city and race and for everything else, and the
 heathen heard no other sound from him. For this
 reason the governor and the torturers were very
 ambitious to subdue him, so that when they had
 nothing left at all to do to him at last they fastened
 plates of heated brass to the tenderest parts of his
 body. His limbs were burning, but he continued
 himself unbending and unyielding, firm in his con-
 fession, refreshed and strengthened by the heavenly
 spring of the water of life which proceeds forth from
 the body of Christ. His body was a witness to his
 treatment; it was all one wound and bruise,
 wrenched and torn out of human shape, but Christ
 suffering in him manifested great glory, overthrowing
 the adversary and showing for the example of the
 others how there is nothing fearful where there is
 the love of the Father nor painful where there is the
 glory of Christ. For when the wicked after some
 days again tortured the martyr they thought that
 they might overcome him now that his body was
 swollen and inflamed if they applied the same
 tortures, seeing that he could not even endure to be

ἐναποθανὼν ταῖς βασάνοις φόβον ἐμποιήσειεν τοῖς λοιποῖς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτο συνέβη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν δόξαν ἀνθρώπων ἀνέκυψεν καὶ ἀνωρθώθη τὸ σωματίον ἐν ταῖς μετέπειτα βασάνοις, καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν ἀπέλαβεν τὴν προτέραν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν μελῶν, ὥστε μὴ κόλασιν, ἀλλ' ἵασιν διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν δευτέραν στρέβλωσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.

“Καὶ Βιβλίδα δέ, μίαν τῶν ἡρνημένων, ἥδη 25 δοκῶν ὁ διάβολος καταπεπωκέναι, θελήσας δέ καὶ διὰ βλασφημίας κατακρῖναι, ἦγεν ἐπὶ κόλασιν, ἀναγκάζων εἰπεῖν τὰ ἄθεα περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς εὐθραυστον ἦδη καὶ ἀνανδρον· ἥ δὲ ἐν τῇ στρεβλώσει ἀνένηψεν 26 καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου ἀνεγρηγόρησεν, ὑπομνησθεῖσα διὰ τῆς προσκαίρου τιμωρίας τὴν αἰώνιον ἐν γεέννῃ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀντείπεν τοῖς βλασφήμοις, φήσασα ‘πῶς ἂν παιδία φάγοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοί, οἷς μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζώων αἷμα φαγεῖν ἐξόν;’ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Χριστιανὴν ἐαυτὴν ὠμολόγει καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ τῶν μαρτύρων προσετέθη.

“Καταργηθέντων δὲ τῶν τυραννικῶν κολα- 27 στηρίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν μακαρίων ὑπομονῆς, ἐτέρας μηχανὰς ὁ διάβολος ἐπενόει, τὰς κατὰ τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῷ χαλεπωτάτῳ χωρίῳ συγκλείσεις καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ διατάσεις τῶν ποδῶν, ἐπὶ πέμπτῳ διατεινομένων τρύπημα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰκίας, ὅσας εἰώθασιν ὀργιζόμενοι ὑπουργοὶ καὶ ταῦτα διαβόλου πλήρεις διατιθέναι τοὺς ἐγκλεισμένους· ὥστε ἀποπνιγῆναι τοὺς πλείστους ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ, ὅσους γε ὁ κύριος οὕτως ἐξελθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἐπιδεικνύων τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ βασανισθέντες πικρῶς ὥστε 28

touched by the hand, or that by dying under torture he would put fear into the rest. Yet not only did nothing of this kind happen, but, beyond all human expectation, he raised himself up and his body was straightened in the subsequent tortures, and he regained his former appearance and the use of his limbs, so that through the grace of Christ the second torturing became not torment but cure.

“Biblis, too, one of those who had denied, did the devil bring to torture (thinking that he had already swallowed her up and wishing to condemn her through blasphemy as well), to force her to say impious things about us, as though she were already broken and weak. But she recovered under torture, and, as it were, woke up out of deep sleep, being reminded through this transitory punishment of the eternal torments in hell, and contradicted the blasphemers, saying, ‘How would such men eat children, when they are not allowed to eat the blood even of irrational animals?’ And after this she confessed herself a Christian and was added to the ranks of the martyrs.

“But when the tyrant’s torments had been brought to naught by Christ through the endurance of the blessed saints, the devil thought of other devices, imprisonment in the jail in darkness and in the most horrible place, and stretching their feet in the stocks, separated to the fifth hole, and the other outrages which angry warders filled with the devil are accustomed to inflict on the prisoners. Thus most of them were strangled in the prison, being all those whom the Lord had chosen thus to depart manifesting his glory. Some were tortured so cruelly

δοκεῖν μηδὲ τῆς πάσης θεραπείας τυχόντας ἔτι ζῆσαι δύνασθαι, παρέμενον ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ, ἔρημοι μὲν τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελείας, ἀναρρωννύμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ κυρίου καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενοι καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς παρορμῶντες καὶ παραμυθούμενοι· οἱ δὲ νεαροὶ καὶ ἄρτι συνειλημμένοι, ὧν μὴ προκατήκιστο τὰ σώματα, τὸ βάρος οὐκ ἔφερον τῆς συγκλείσεως, ἀλλ' ἐνδον ἐναπέθνησκον.

“Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ποθινός, ὁ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς 29 ἐπισκοπῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ πεπιστευμένος, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη τῆς ἡλικίας γεγινώς καὶ πάνυ ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι, μόλις μὲν ἐμπνέων διὰ τὴν προκειμένην σωματικὴν ἀσθένειαν, ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας πνεύματος ἀναρρωννύμενος διὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην τῆς μαρτυρίας ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐσύρετο, τοῦ μὲν σώματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γῆρας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου λελυμένου, τηρουμένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵνα δι' αὐτῆς Χριστὸς θριαμβεύσῃ· ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα 30 κομισθεὶς, παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξουσιῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπιβοήσεις παντοίας ποιουμένων ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπεδίδου τὴν καλὴν μαρτυρίαν. ἀνεταζόμενος δὲ 31 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τίς εἴη Χριστιανῶν ὁ θεός, ἔφη ‘ἐὰν ᾖς ἄξιος, γνώσῃ’· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀφειδῶς ἐσύρετο καὶ ποικίλας ἔπασχε πληγὰς, τῶν μὲν σύνεργυς χερσὶν καὶ ποσὶν ἐνυβριζόντων παντοίως, μηδὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν αἰδουμένων αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ μακράν, ὃ μετὰ χεῖρας ἕκαστος εἶχεν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων, πάντων δὲ ἡγουμένων μεγάλως πλημμελεῖν καὶ ἀσεβεῖν, εἴ τις ἀπολειφθεῖη τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσελγείας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν

that it seemed impossible for them to live even if they had had every care, yet survived in the prison, bereft of human attention but strengthened by the Lord and given power in body and soul, and looking after and comforting the rest. But the younger ones, who had lately been arrested, whose bodies had not become accustomed to it, did not endure the burden of confinement but died in prison.

“The blessed Pothinus, who had been entrusted with the ministry of the bishopric at Lyons, was over ninety years old and very weak physically. He was scarcely breathing through the physical weakness which had already come upon him, but was strengthened by zeal of spirit through urgent desire of martyrdom. He was dragged before the judgement-seat, and although his body was weakened by old age and disease, his soul was kept in him in order that through it Christ might triumph. He was brought by soldiers to the judgement-seat; the local authorities accompanied him, and all the populace, uttering all kinds of howls at him as though he was Christ himself, but he gave noble testimony. When asked by the governor, Who was the God of the Christians, he said, ‘If you are worthy, you will know.’ And then he was dragged about without mercy, and suffered many blows; for those who were near ill-treated him with feet and hands and in every way, without respect even for his old age, and those who were at a distance each threw at him whatever he had at hand, and all thought that it would be a great transgression and impiety to omit any abuse against him. For they thought that in

ᾧοντο οὕτως ἐκδικήσων. καὶ μόγις ἐμπνέων
 ἐρρίφη ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ καὶ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἀπέψυξεν.
 Ἔνταῦθα δὴ μεγάλη τις οἰκονομία θεοῦ 32
 ἐγίνετο καὶ ἔλεος ἀμέτρητον ἀνεφαίνετο Ἰησοῦ,
 σπανίως μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι γεγονός, μὴ ἀπο-
 λειπόμενον δὲ τῆς τέχνης Χριστοῦ. οἱ γὰρ κατὰ 33
 τὴν πρώτην σύλληψιν ἕξαρνοι γενόμενοι συν-
 εκλείοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ μετείχον τῶν δεινῶν· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ὄφελός τι αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐξάρνησις
 ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὁμολογοῦντες ὁ καὶ ἦσαν,
 συνεκλείοντο ὡς Χριστιανοί, μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης αἰτίας
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιφερομένης, οὗτοι δὲ λοιπὸν ὡς ἀνδρο-
 φόνου καὶ μαριοὶ κατείχοντο, διπλότερον παρὰ
 τοὺς λοιποὺς κολαζόμενοι. ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ ἐπ- 34
 εκούφιζεν ἡ χαρὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς τῶν
 ἐπηγγελμένων καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγάπη
 καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πατρικόν, τούτους δὲ τὸ συνειδὸς
 μεγάλως ἐτιμωρεῖτο, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς
 ἅπασιν κατὰ τὰς παρόδους διαδήλους τὰς ὄψεις
 αὐτῶν εἶναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱλαροὶ προήεσαν, δόξης 35
 καὶ χάριτος πολλῆς ταῖς ὄψεσιν αὐτῶν συγκεκρα-
 μένης, ὥστε καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ κόσμον εὐπρεπῇ περι-
 κεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς νύμφη κεκοσμημένη ἐν κροσσω-
 τοῖς χρυσοῖς πεποικιλμένοις, τὴν εὐωδίαν ὀδωδότες
 ἅμα τὴν Χριστοῦ, ὥστε ἐνίοις δοῖαι καὶ μύρω
 κοσμικῶ κεχρίσθαι αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ κατηφέεις καὶ
 ταπεινοὶ καὶ δυσειδεῖς καὶ πάσης ἀσχημοσύνης
 ἀνάπλειοι, προσέτι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὀνειδιζό-
 μενοι ὡς ἀγενεῖς καὶ ἄνθρωποι, ἀνδροφόνων μὲν
 ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες, ἀπολωλεκότες δὲ τὴν πάντιμον
 καὶ ἑνδοξον καὶ ζωοποιὸν προσηγορίαν. ταῦτα
 δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ θεωροῦντες ἐστηρίχθησαν, καὶ οἱ

this way they would vindicate their gods. And he was thrown into prison scarcely breathing and after two days yielded up the ghost.

"Then a great dispensation of God was given, and the measureless mercy of Jesus was so manifested, as has rarely happened among the brethren, but is not beyond the skill of Christ. For those who at the first arrest had denied were imprisoned themselves and shared in the terrors, for this time not even their denial was any advantage to them; but those who confessed what they were were imprisoned as Christians, no other accusation being brought against them, the others however were held as murderers and foul persons and punished twice as much as the rest. For the burden of the former was lightened by the joy of martyrdom and the hope of the promises, and by love towards Christ and by the Spirit of the Father; but the latter were greatly punished by their conscience so that they were conspicuous among all the rest by their faces when they were taken out. For the one went forth gladly; glory and great grace were mingled on their faces, so that they wore even their fetters as a becoming ornament, like a bride adorned with golden lace of many patterns, and they were perfumed with the sweet savour of Christ, so that some supposed that they had been anointed with worldly unguents; but the others were depressed and humble and wretched and filled with every kind of unseemliness, and in addition were insulted by the heathen as ignoble and cowardly; they had gained the accusation of murder, but had lost the name which is full of honour and glory and gives life. When the others saw this they were strengthened and those who

συλλαμβανόμενοι ἀδιστάκτως ὁμολόγουν, μηδὲ ἔννοιαν ἔχοντες διαβολικοῦ λογισμοῦ.”

Τούτοις μεταξύ τῶν ἐπειπόντες, αὐθις ἐπι- 36
φέρουσιν. “μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ λοιπὸν εἰς πᾶν εἶδος διηρεῖτο τὰ μαρτύρια τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτῶν. ἐκ διαφόρων γὰρ χρωμάτων καὶ παντοίων ἀνθῶν ἕνα πλέξαντες στέφανον προσήνεγκαν τῷ πατρί· ἔχρην δ’ οὖν τοὺς γενναίους ἀθλητὰς ποικίλον ὑπομεινάντας ἀγῶνα καὶ μεγάλως νικήσαντας ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον. ὁ 37
μὲν οὖν Μάτουρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος καὶ ἡ Βλανδῖνα καὶ Ἀτταλος ἤγοντο ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία εἰς τὸ δημόσιον καὶ εἰς κοινὸν τῶν ἔθνων τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας θέαμα, ἐπίτηδες τῆς τῶν θηριομαχίῶν ἡμέρας διὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους διδομένης. καὶ ὁ μὲν Μάτουρος καὶ 38
ὁ Σάγκτος αὐθις διήεσαν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ διὰ πάσης κολάσεως, ὡς μηδὲν ὅλως προπεπονθότες, μάλλον δ’ ὡς διὰ πλειόνων ἤδη κλήρων ἐκβεβια-
κότες τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες, ὑπέφερον πάλιν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν μαστίγων τὰς ἐκέισε εἰθισμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἐκκηθμοὺς καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα μαινό-
μενος ὁ δῆμος, ἄλλοι ἀλλαχόθεν, ἐπεβόων καὶ ἐπεκελεύοντο, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὴν σιδηρᾶν καθέδραν, ἐφ’ ἧς τηγανιζόμενα τὰ σώματα κνίσσης αὐτοὺς ἐνεφόρει. οἱ δ’ οὐδ’ οὕτως ἔλγον, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ 39
μᾶλλον ἐξεμαίνοντο, βουλόμενοι νικῆσαι τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπομονήν, καὶ οὐδ’ ὡς παρὰ Σάγκτου ἕτερόν τι εἰσήκουσαν παρ’ ἧν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εἴθιστο λέγειν τῆς ὁμολογίας φωνήν.

¹ Schwartz thinks with much probability that κοινόν is a gloss. If so, the meaning of the original would be “to the 424

were arrested confessed without hesitation and gave no thought to the arguments of the devil.”

After a few more sentences they go on again: “After this the testimony of their death fell into every kind of variety. For they wove various colours and all kinds of flowers into one wreath to offer to the Father, and so it was necessary for the noble athletes to undergo a varied contest, and after great victory to receive the great crown of immortality. Maturus and Sanctus and Blandina and Attalus were led forth to the wild beasts, to the public,¹ and to a common exhibition of the inhumanity of the heathen, for the day of fighting with beasts was specially appointed for the Christians. Maturus and Sanctus passed again through all torture in the amphitheatre as though they had suffered nothing before, but rather as though, having conquered the opponent in many bouts,² they were now striving for his crown, once more they ran the gauntlet in the accustomed manner, endured the worrying of the wild beasts, and everything which the maddened public, some in one way, some in another, were howling for and commanding, finally, the iron chair on which the roasting of their own bodies clothed them with its reek. Their persecutors did not stop even here, but went on growing more and more furious, wishing to conquer their endurance, yet gained nothing from Sanctus beyond the sound of the confession which he had been accustomed to make from the beginning.

public exhibition,” but it seems just possible that τὸ δημόσιον is used substantively.

² Literally, “lots,” but the word was used in a technical sense, for the gladiators used to draw lots as to who should fight. See the note of Valesius on this passage, and compare Lucian, *Hermotimus*. The opponent is Satan.

“Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, δι’ ἀγῶνος μεγάλου ἐπὶ πολὺ 40
 παραμενοῦσης αὐτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦσχατον ἐτύ-
 θησαν, διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἀντὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν
 τοῖς μονομαχίαις ποικιλίας αὐτοὶ θέαμα γενόμενοι
 τῷ κόσμῳ· ἡ δὲ Βλανδῖνα ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθεῖσα 41
 προῦκειτο βορὰ τῶν εἰσβαλλομένων θηρίων· ἡ καὶ
 διὰ τοῦ βλέπεσθαι σταυροῦ σχήματι κρεμαμένη
 διὰ τῆς εὐτόνου προσευχῆς πολλὴν προθυμίαν
 τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐνεποίει, βλέπόντων αὐτῶν ἐν
 τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ τῆς
 ἀδελφῆς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐσταυρωμένον, ἵνα πείσῃ
 τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτὸν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς
 Χριστοῦ δόξης παθὼν τὴν κοινωνίαν αἰεὶ ἔχει
 μετὰ τοῦ ζώντος θεοῦ. καὶ μηδενὸς ἀφαιμένου 42
 τότε τῶν θηρίων αὐτῆς, καθαιρεθεῖσα ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ξύλου ἀνελήφθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτήν, εἰς ἄλλον
 ἀγῶνα τηρουμένη, ἵνα διὰ πλειόνων γυμνασμάτων
 νικήσασα, τῷ μὲν σκολιῷ ὀφεί ἀπαραίτητον
 ποιήσῃ τὴν καταδίκην, προτρέψῃται δὲ τοὺς
 ἀδελφούς, ἡ μικρὰ καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητος
 μέγαν καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἀθλητὴν Χριστὸν ἐνδε-
 θυμένη, διὰ πολλῶν κλήρων ἐκβίασασα τὸν ἀντικεί-
 μενον καὶ δι’ ἀγῶνος τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στεψαμένη
 στέφανον.

“Ὁ δὲ Ἀτταλος καὶ αὐτὸς μεγάλως ἐξαιτηθεὶς 43
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου (καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὀνομαστός), ἔτοιμος
 εἰσῆλθεν ἀγωνιστῆς διὰ τὸ εὐσυνείδητον, ἐπειδὴ
 γνησίως ἐν τῇ Χριστιανῇ συντάξει γεγυμνασμένος
 ἦν καὶ αἰεὶ μάρτυς ἐγεγόνει παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀληθείας.
 καὶ περιαχθεὶς κύκλῳ τοῦ ἀμφιθέατρου, πίνακος 44
 αὐτὸν προάγοντος ἐν ᾧ ἐγγέγραπτο Ῥωμαῖστί
 ‘οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀτταλος ὁ Χριστιανός,’ καὶ τοῦ

“Thus after a long time, when their life still remained
 in them through the great contest, they were at last
 sacrificed, having been made a spectacle to the world
 throughout that day as a substitute for all the
 variations of gladiatorial contests; but Blandina was
 hung on a stake and offered as a prey to the wild
 beasts that were let in. She seemed to be hanging
 in the shape of a cross, and by her continuous prayer
 gave great zeal to the combatants, while they looked
 on during the contest, and with their outward eyes
 saw in the form of their sister him who was crucified
 for them, to persuade those who believe on him that
 all who suffer for the glory of Christ have for ever
 fellowship with the living God. Then when none of
 the beasts would touch her she was taken down
 from the stake and brought back into the jail, and
 was thus preserved for another contest, in order that
 by winning through more trials she might make
 irrevocable the condemnation of the crooked serpent,
 and might encourage the brethren; for small and
 weak and despised as she was, she had put on the
 great and invincible athlete, Christ; she had over-
 come the adversary in many contests, and through
 the struggle had gained the crown of immortality.

“But Attalus was himself loudly called for by the
 crowd, for he was well known. He went in, a ready
 combatant, for his conscience was clear, and he had
 been nobly trained in Christian discipline and had
 ever been a witness for truth among us. He was
 led round the amphitheatre and a placard was carried
 before him on which was written in Latin, ‘This is
 Attalus, the Christian.’ The people were very bitter

Is. 27, 1

Rom. 13, 14

Gal. 3, 27

δήμου σφόδρα σφριγώντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ, μαθὼν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθῆναι μετὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ ὄντων, περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ περιέμενεν τὴν ἀπόφασιν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου.

2 Peter 1, 8

“Ὁ δὲ διὰ μέσου καιρὸς οὐκ ἄργος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ 45 ἄκαρπος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτῶν τὸ ἀμέτρητον ἔλεος ἀνεφαίνετο Χριστοῦ· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ζώντων ἐζωοποιοῦντο τὰ νεκρά, καὶ μάρτυρες τοῖς μὴ μάρτυσιν ἐχαρίζοντο, καὶ ἐνεγένετο πολλή χαρὰ τῇ παρθένῳ μητρὶ, οὗς ὡς νεκροὺς ἐξέτρωσε, τούτους ζώντας ἀπολαμβάνουσα· δι' ἐκείνων γὰρ 46 οἱ πλείους τῶν ἡρηνυμένων ἀνεμετροῦντο καὶ ἀνεκϋύσκοντο καὶ ἀνεζωπυροῦντο καὶ ἐμάνθανον ὁμολογεῖν καὶ ζῶντες ἤδη καὶ τετονωμένοι προσήεσαν τῷ βήματι, ἐγγλυκαίνοντος τοῦ τὸν μὲν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ μὴ βουλομένου, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν χρηστευομένου θεοῦ, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν ἐπερωτηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. ἐπιστείλαντος 47 γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς μὲν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι, εἰ δὲ τιwes ἀρνοῦντο, τούτους ἀπολυθῆναι, τῆς ἐνθάδε πανηγύρεως (ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν συνερχομένων εἰς αὐτήν) ἀρχομένης συνεστάναι, ἀνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα θεατρίζων τοὺς μακαρίους καὶ ἐμπομπεύων τοῖς ὄχλοις· δι' ὃ καὶ πάλιν ἀνῆταξεν, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐδόκουν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων ἐσχηκέναι, τούτων ἀπέτεμνε τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐπεμπεν εἰς θηρία. ἐδοξάζετο δὲ μεγάλως ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ 48 τοῖς πρότερον ἀρνησαμένοις, τότε παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπόνοιαν ὁμολογοῦσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ οὗτοι ἀνητάζοντο ὡς δῆθεν ἀπολυθησόμενοι, καὶ ὁμο-

Ezek. 12, 23;
33, 11

against him, but when the governor learnt that he was a Roman, he commanded him to be put back with the rest, who were in the jail, about whom he had written to the emperor and was waiting for his reply.

“But the intervening time was not idle or fruitless for them but through their endurance was manifested the immeasurable mercy of Christ, for through the living the dead were being quickened and martyrs gave grace to those who had denied. And there was great joy to the Virgin Mother who had miscarried with them as though dead, and was receiving them back alive. For through them the majority of those who had denied were again brought to birth¹ and again conceived and quickened again, and learned to confess, and now alive and vigorous, made happy by God who wills not the death of the sinner, but is kind towards repentance, went to the judgement-seat, in order that they might again be interrogated by the governor. For Caesar had written that they should be tortured to death, but that if any should recant they should be let go, and at the beginning of the local feast (and this is widely attended by the concourse of all the heathen to it) the governor led them to the judgement-seat, making a show and spectacle of the blessed men to the mob. He accordingly examined them again, beheaded all who appeared to possess Roman citizenship, and sent the rest to the beasts. And Christ was greatly glorified by those who had formerly denied but then confessed contrary to the expectation of the people. For they were examined by themselves with the intention of then letting them

¹ The Greek text ἀνεμετροῦντο is meaningless. I have translated Schwartz's ἀνελαιούντο, “brought to birth,” though it is not quite satisfactory.

λογούντες προσετίθεντο τῷ τῶν μαρτύρων κλήρῳ·
 Matt. 22, 11-13 ἔμειναν δὲ ἔξω οἱ μηδὲ ἔχνος πώποτε πίστεως μηδὲ
 Rom. 2. 24 αἰσθησιν ἐνδύματος νυμφικοῦ μηδὲ ἔννοιαν φόβου
 θεοῦ σχόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτῶν
 John 17, 12 βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὁδόν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς
 ἀπωλείας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσ-
 ετέθησαν· ὧν καὶ ἀνεταζομένων, Ἀλέξανδρός τις, 49
 Φρυγῆ μὲν τὸ γένος, ἱατρός δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην,
 πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις διατρίψας καὶ
 Acts 4, 29-31 γνωστὸς σχεδὸν πᾶσιν διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπην
 καὶ παρρησίαν τοῦ λόγου (ἦν γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἄμειρος
 ἀποστολικοῦ χαρίσματος), παρεστὼς τῷ βήματι
 καὶ νεύματι προτρέπων αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν,
 φανερὸς ἦν τοῖς περιεστηκόσιν τὸ βῆμα ὥσπερ
 ὠδίνων. ἀγανακτήσαντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῷ 50
 τοὺς πρότερον ἡρνημένους αὐθις ὁμολογεῖν, κατε-
 βόησαν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὡς ἐκείνου τοῦτο ποιοῦντος,
 καὶ ἐπιστήσαντος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ ἀνετάσαντος
 αὐτὸν τίς εἶπεν, τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ὅτι 'Χριστιανός,'
 ἐν ὀργῇ γενόμενος κατέκρινεν αὐτὸν πρὸς θηρία.
 καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ εἰσῆλθεν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου,
 καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἀττάλον τῷ ὄχλῳ χαρίζομενος
 ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξέδωκε πάλιν πρὸς θηρία· οἱ καὶ διὰ 51
 πάντων διελθόντες τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ πρὸς
 κόλασιν ἐξηρημένων ὀργάνων καὶ μέγιστον ὑπο-
 μείναντες ἀγῶνα, τοῦσχατον ἐτύθησαν καὶ αὐτοί, τοῦ
 μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτε στενάξαντος μήτε γρυζαντός
 τι ὅλως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ καρδίαν ὁμιλοῦντος τῷ θεῷ,
 ὁ δὲ Ἀττάλος, ὅποτε ἐπὶ τῆς σιδηρᾶς ἐπετέθη 52
 καθέδρας καὶ περιεκαίετο, ἡνίκα ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 σώματος κνῖσα ἀνεφέρετο, ἔφη πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος
 τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ 'ἰδοὺ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου
 430

go, but confessed and were added to the ranks of the
 martyrs. Those indeed remained without who had
 never had any vestige of faith, nor perception of the
 bridal garment, nor idea of the fear of God, but even
 through their behaviour blasphemed the Way—they
 are the sons of perdition—but all the rest were
 added to the church. When they too were being
 examined a certain Alexander, a Phrygian by race
 and a physician by profession, who had lived in Gaul
 for many years and was known to almost every one
 for his love toward God and boldness of speech (for
 he was not without a share of the apostolic gift), stood
 by the judgement-seat and by signs encouraged them
 to confession, and seemed to those who were standing
 by as though he were in travail. But the crowd,
 angry that those who had formerly denied were
 confessing again, howled at Alexander as though he
 were responsible for this. The governor summoned
 him and asked him who he was, and when he said
 'a Christian,' he flew into a rage and condemned
 him to the beasts. And the next day he went into
 the arena together with Attalus; for to please the
 mob the governor had given Attalus back to the
 beasts. They passed through all the instruments of
 torture which were prepared in the amphitheatre,
 and endured a great contest. Finally they too were
 sacrificed. Alexander uttered neither groan nor
 moan at all, but conversed with God in his heart,
 and Attalus, when he was put on the iron chair and
 was being burned and the reek arose from his
 body, said to the crowd in Latin, 'Lo, this which

ἐσθίειν, ὃ ποιεῖτε ὑμεῖς· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίομεν οὔθ' ἑτερόν τι πονηρὸν πράσσομεν.' ἐπερωτώμενος δὲ τί ὄνομα ἔχει ὁ θεός, ἀπεκρίθη 'ὁ θεὸς ὄνομα οὐκ ἔχει ὡς ἄνθρωπος.'

“Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τῇ ἐσχάτῃ λοιπὸν ἡμέρᾳ 53 τῶν μονομαχιῶν ἡ Βλανδῖνα πάλιν εἰσεκομίζετο μετὰ καὶ Ποντικῷ, παιδαρίου ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν, οἱ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰσέγγοντο πρὸς τὸ βλέπειν τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν κόλασιν· καὶ ἡναγκάζοντο ὁμνῦναι κατὰ τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐμμένειν εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἐξουθενεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡγριώθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος, ὥς μήτε τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ παιδὸς οἰκτεῖραι μήτε τὸ γύναιον αἰδεσθῆναι, πρὸς 54 πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινὰ παρέβαλλον αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐν κύκλῳ διήγον κολάσεως, ἐπαλλήλως ἀναγκάζοντες ὁμόσαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυνάμενοι τοῦτο πράξαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ποντικός ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς παρωρμημένος, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη βλέπειν ὅτι ἐκείνῃ ἦν προτρεπομένη καὶ στηρίζουσα αὐτόν, πᾶσαν κόλασιν γενναίως ὑπομείνας ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα· ἡ δὲ μακαρία Βλανδῖνα πάντων ἐσχάτῃ, καθάπερ 55 μήτηρ εὐγενὴς παρορμήσασα τὰ τέκνα καὶ νικηφόρους προπέμψασα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀναμετρομένη καὶ αὐτῇ πάντα τὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἀγωνίσματα ἔσπευδεν πρὸς αὐτούς, χαίρουσα καὶ ἀγαλλωμένη ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ, ὡς εἰς νυμφικὸν δεῖπνον κεκλημένη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς θηρία βεβλημένη· καὶ μετὰ τὰς μαστίγας, μετὰ τὰ θηρία, μετὰ τὸ 56 τήγανον, τοῦσχατον εἰς γυρῶθον βληθεῖσα ταύρῳ παρεβλήθη, καὶ ἱκανῶς ἀναβληθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ ζῶου μηδὲ αἰσθησιν ἔτι τῶν συμβαινόντων ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐποχὴν τῶν πεπιστευμένων καὶ

you are doing is to eat men, but we neither eat men nor do anything else wicked.' And when he was asked what name God has, he replied, 'God has not a name as a man has.'

"In addition to all this, on the last day of the gladiatorial sports, Blandina was again brought in with Ponticus, a boy of about fifteen years old, and they had been brought in every day to see the torture of the others, and efforts were made to force them to swear by the idols, and the mob was furious against them because they had remained steadfast and disregarded them, so that there was neither pity for the youth of the boy nor respect for the sex of the woman. They exposed them to all the terrors and put them through every torture in turn, trying to make them swear, but not being able to do so. For Ponticus was encouraged by the Christian sister, so that even the heathen saw that she was exhorting and strengthening him, and after nobly enduring every torture he gave up his spirit. But the blessed Blandina, last of all, like a noble mother who had encouraged her children and sent them forth triumphant to the king, having herself endured all the tortures of the children, hastened to them, rejoicing and glad at her departure as though invited to a marriage feast rather than cast to the beasts. And after scourging, after the beasts, after the gridiron, she was at last put in a net and thrown to a bull. She was tossed about a long time by the beast, having no more feeling for what happened to her through her hope and hold on what had been en-

ὁμίλιαν πρὸς Χριστόν, ἐτύθη καὶ αὐτή, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογούντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅτι μηδεπώποτε παρ' αὐτοῖς γυνὴ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἔπαθεν.

“ Ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως κόρον ἐλάμβανεν αὐτῶν ἡ 57
μανία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ὀμότης. ὑπὸ γὰρ ἄγριου θηρὸς ἄγρια καὶ βάρβαρα φύλα ταραχθέντα δυσπαύστως εἶχεν, καὶ ἄλλην ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ ὕβρις αὐτῶν· τὸ γὰρ νενικη- 58
σθαι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδυσώπει διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἀνθρώ-
πινον ἐπιλογισμόν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐξέκαιεν αὐτῶν
τὴν ὀργὴν καθάπερ θηρίου, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ
τοῦ δήμου τὸ ὅμοιον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἄδικον ἐπιδεικ-
νυμένων μίσος, ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ ‘ὁ ἄνομος
ἀνομησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι.’
καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐναποπνιγέντας τῇ εἰρκτῇ παρ- 59
έβαλλον κυσίν, ἐπιμελῶς παραφυλάσσοντες νύκτωρ
καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ κηδευθῇ τις ὑφ' ἡμῶν· καὶ
τότε δὴ προθέντες τὰ τε τῶν θηρίων τὰ τε τοῦ
πυρὸς λείψανα, πῇ μὲν ἐσπαραγμένα, πῇ δὲ
ἡνθρακευμένα, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς σὺν
τοῖς ἀποτμήμασιν αὐτῶν ὡσαύτως ἀτάφους παρ-
εφύλαττον μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς ἐπιμελείας ἡμέραις
συχναῖς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεβριμοῦντο καὶ ἔβρυχον 60
τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ζητοῦντές τινα περισ-
σοτέραν ἐκδίκησιν παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, οἱ δὲ
ἐνεγέλων καὶ ἐπετώθαζον, μεγαλύνοντες ἅμα τὰ
εἰδῶλα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκείνοις προσάπτοντες τὴν
τούτων τιμωρίαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπιεικέστεροι καὶ κατὰ
ποσὸν συμπαθεῖν δοκοῦντες ὠνείδιζον πολὺ, λέ-
γοντες ‘ποῦ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τί αὐτοὺς ὥνησεν
ἡ θρησκεία, ἣν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐαυτῶν εἴλαντο ψυχῆς;
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνων τοιαύτην εἶχε τὴν ποικιλίαν, 61

trusted to her and her converse with Christ. And so she too was sacrificed, and the heathen themselves confessed that never before among them had a woman suffered so much and so long.

“Not even thus was their madness and cruelty to the saints satisfied, for, incited by a wild beast,¹ wild and barbarous tribes could scarcely stop, and their violence began again in a new way on the bodies; for that they had been conquered² did not shame them, because they had no human reason, but it rather inflamed their wrath as of a wild beast, and the governor and the people showed the like unrighteous hatred against us that the Scripture might be fulfilled, ‘Let him that is unlawful be unlawful still, and he that is righteous be righteous still.’ For those who had been strangled in the jail they threw to the dogs, and watched carefully night and day that none should be cared for by us. Then they threw out the remains left by the beasts and by the fire, torn and charred, and for many days watched with a military guard the heads of the rest, together with their trunks, all unburied. And some raged and gnashed their teeth at the remains, seeking some further vengeance from them, others laughed and jeered, glorifying their idols and ascribing to them the punishment of the Christians, and the gentler, who seemed to have a little sympathy, mocked greatly, saying, ‘Where is their god and what good to them was their worship, which they preferred beyond their lives?’ Their conduct thus

¹ That is, by the Devil.

² Because they had been unable to break the courage of the martyrs.

τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν μεγάλῳ καθειστήκει πένθει διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ σώματα κρύψαι τῇ γῇ· οὔτε γὰρ νύξ συνεβάλλετο ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῦτο οὔτε ἀργύρια ἐπειθεν οὔτε λιτανεία ἐδυσώπει, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ παρετήρουν, ὡς μέγα τι κερδανούντες, εἰ μὴ τούτοιον ταφῆς."

Τούτοις ἐξῆς μεθ' ἑτερά φασιν· "τὰ οὖν σώματα 62 τῶν μαρτύρων παντοίως παραδειγματισθέντα καὶ αἰθριασθέντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ, μετέπειτα καέντα καὶ αἰθαλωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνόμων κατεσαρώθη εἰς τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν πλησίον παραρρέοντα, ὅπως μηδὲ λείψανον αὐτῶν φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔτι. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον ὡς δυνάμενοι νικῆσαι τὸν θεὸν 63 καὶ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν, ἵνα, ὡς ἔλεγον ἐκεῖνοι, 'μηδὲ ἐλπίδα σχῶσιν ἀναστάσεως, ἐφ' ἣ πεποιθότες ξένην τινὰ καὶ καινὴν εἰσάγουσιν ἡμῖν θρησκείαν καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τῶν δεινῶν, ἐτοιμοὶ καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἦγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον· νῦν ἴδωμεν εἰ ἀναστήσονται καὶ εἰ δύναται βοηθηῆσαι αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξελέσθαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν.'"

II. Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν δεδηλωμένον αὐτο- 1 κράτορα ταῖς Χριστοῦ συμβέβηκεν ἐκκλησίαις, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἐνηργημένα εἰκότι λογισμῷ στοχάζεσθαι πάρεστιν. ἄξιον τούτοις ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυνάψαι γραφῆς λέξεις ἐτέρας, δι' ὧν τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ φιλόανθρωπον τῶν δεδηλωμένων μαρτύρων ἀναγέγραπται τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ῥήμασιν· "οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ζηλωταὶ 2 καὶ μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο, ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγάγατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ὥστε ἐν τοιαύτῃ δόξῃ ὑπάρχοντες καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ 436

varied, but in our circle great grief obtained, because we could not bury the bodies in the earth, for night did not avail us for this, nor did money persuade nor entreaty shame, but in every way they watched, as though they would make some great gain, that the bodies should not obtain burial."

Further on they say: "Thus the bodies of the martyrs, after having been exposed and insulted in every way for six days, and afterwards burned and turned to ashes, were swept by the wicked into the river Rhone which flows near by, that not even a relic of them might still appear upon the earth. And this they did as though they could conquer God and take away their rebirth in order, as they said, 'that they might not even have any hope of resurrection, through trusting in which they have brought in strange and new worship and despised terrors, going readily and with joy to death; now let us see if they will rise again, and if their God be able to help them and to take them out of our hands.'"

II. Such things happened to the churches of Christ under the emperor mentioned, and from them it is possible to form a reasonable conclusion as to what was done in the other provinces. It is worth while to add other statements from the same document, in which the gentleness and the kindness of the martyrs already mentioned have been set down in these very words. "And they carried so far their zeal and imitation of Christ, 'who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God,' that for all their glory, and though they had

οὐδὲ δις ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μαρτυρήσαντες καὶ ἐκ
θηρίων αὐθις ἀναληφθέντες καὶ τὰ καυτήρια καὶ
τοὺς μώλωπας καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἔχοντες περι-
κείμενα, οὐτ' αὐτοὶ μάρτυρας ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεκήρυττον
οὔτε μὴν ἡμῶν ἐπέτρεπον τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι
προσαγορεύειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' εἴ ποτέ τις ἡμῶν δι'
ἐπιστολῆς ἢ διὰ λόγου μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς προσεῖπεν,
ἐπέπλησσαν πικρῶς. ἡδέως γὰρ παρεχώρουν τὴν
τῆς μαρτυρίας προσηγορίαν τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ πιστῷ
καὶ ἀληθινῷ μάρτυρι καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ τῶν νεκρῶν
καὶ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπεμνησκον-
το τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων ἤδη μαρτύρων καὶ ἔλεγον
' ἐκεῖνοι ἤδη μάρτυρες, οὓς ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Χριστοῦ
ἡξίωσεν ἀναληφθῆναι, ἐπισφραγισάμενος αὐτῶν
διὰ τῆς ἐξόδου τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμολογοί
μέτριοι καὶ ταπεινοί,' καὶ μετὰ δακρύων παρ-
εκάλουν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς δεόμενοι ἵνα ἐκτενέις εὐχαὶ
γίνωνται πρὸς τὸ τελειωθῆναι αὐτούς. καὶ τὴν
μὲν δύναμιν τῆς μαρτυρίας ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυντο,
πολλὴν παρησίαν ἄγοντες πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τὴν
εὐγένειαν διὰ τῆς υπομονῆς καὶ ἀφοβίας καὶ
ἀτρομίας φανερὰν ἐποίουν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
ἀδελφούς τῶν μαρτύρων προσηγορίαν παρηγοῦντο,
ἐμπεπλησμένοι φόβου θεοῦ."

Rev. 3, 14
Rev. 1, 5
Acts 3, 15

Καὶ αὐθις μετὰ βραχεία φασίν· "ἐταπείνουν
ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν κραταίαν χεῖρα, ὑφ' ἧς ἱκανῶς
νῦν εἰσιν ὑψωμένοι. τότε δὲ πᾶσι μὲν ἀπελογοῦντο,
κατηγόρουν δὲ οὐδενός· ἔλυνον ἅπαντας, ἐδέσμευον

¹ Or "witness." The translation of all this passage is rendered difficult by the impossibility of translating the Greek word *μαρτυρ* by the same English word in all passages. "Martyr" has been adopted so far as possible but the sense of "witness" is much more present than it is in the English

testified not once or twice but many times, and had been taken back from the beasts and were covered with burns and scars and wounds, they neither proclaimed themselves as martyrs, nor allowed us to address them by this title. But if ever any one of us called them martyrs either in a letter or in speech they rebuked him sharply. For they gladly conceded the title of martyrdom to Christ, the faithful and true martyr¹ and first-born from the dead and author of the life of God. And they reminded us of the martyrs who had already passed away, and said 'they are already martyrs, whom Christ vouchsafed to be taken up at their confession, and sealed their witness by their departure, but we are lowly and humble confessors.'² And they besought the brethren with tears, begging that earnest prayers might be made for their consecration. The power of martyrdom they actually showed, having great boldness towards the heathen, and they made plain their nobleness by endurance and absence of fear or timidity; but the title of martyr they refused from the brethren, for they were filled with the fear of God."

A little further on they say: "They humbled themselves under the mighty hand and by it they have now been greatly exalted. At that time they made defence for all men, against none did they bring accusation; they released all and bound none;

word, for though it is used in a more or less technical sense, it does not as yet imply death.

² The sense must be as given above, but the Greek word does not appear to be used in this sense. It is corrected in later manuscripts to *ὁμολογηται*. Schwartz thinks that it is a primitive error for *ὁμολογο[ύνης ἐτ]*, and Wendland suggested *ὁμῶδουλοι*.

Acts 7, 60

δὲ οὐδένα· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ δεινὰ διατιθέντων
 ἡῦχοντο, καθάπερ Στέφανος ὁ τέλειος μάρτυς
 ‘κύριε, μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην.’
 εἰ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν λιθαζόντων ἐδέετο, πόσω μᾶλλον
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.”

Gal. 6, 4

Καὶ αὐθὺς φασὶ μεθ’ ἑτέρα· “οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ
 μέγιστος αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πόλεμος ἐγένετο
 διὰ τὸ γνήσιον τῆς ἀγάπης, ἵνα ἀποπνιχθεὶς ὁ θῆρ
 οὗς πρότερον ὤετο καταπεπωκέναι, ζῶντας ἐξεμέσῃ.
 οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβον καύχημα κατὰ τῶν πεπτωκότων,
 ἀλλ’ ἐν οἷς ἐπλεόναζον αὐτοί, τοῦτο τοῖς ἐνδεε-
 στέροις ἐπήρκουν μητρικὰ σπλάγχνα ἔχοντες, καὶ
 πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκχέοντες δάκρυα πρὸς τὸν
 πατέρα, ζῶν ἡτήσαντο, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς· ἦν γ’
 καὶ συνεμερίσαντο τοῖς πλησίον, κατὰ πάντα
 νικηφόροι πρὸς θεὸν ἀπελθόντες. εἰρήνην ἀγα-
 πήσαντες αἰεὶ καὶ εἰρήνην ἡμῖν παρεγγυήσαντες,
 μετ’ εἰρήνης ἐχώρησαν πρὸς θεόν, μὴ καταλιπόντες
 πόνον τῇ μητρὶ μηδὲ στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον τοῖς
 ἀδελφοῖς ἀλλὰ χαρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμόνοιαν
 καὶ ἀγάπην.” ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν μακαρίων ὁ
 ἐκείνων πρὸς τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας τῶν ἀδελφῶν
 στοργῆς ὠφελίμως προκείσθω τῆς ἀπανθρώπου
 καὶ ἀνηλεοῦς ἐνεκα διαθέσεως τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἀφειδῶς τοῖς Χριστοῦ μέλεσιν προσενηνεγμένων.

III. ‘Η δ’ αὐτῇ τῶν προειρημένων μαρτύρων ἡ
 γραφή καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ μνήμης ἀξίαν ἱστορίαν περι-
 ἔχει, ἣν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο φθόνος μὴ οὐχὶ τὰν

¹ The “beast” is the Devil, and those whom he had
 swallowed are those who had at first recanted; the hope of
 the confessors was to regain backsliders and so rescue them
 from the Devil’s maw.

² That is, the Church.

and they prayed for those who had inflicted torture,
 even as did Stephen, the perfect martyr, ‘Lord, lay
 not this sin to their charge.’ And if he prayed for
 those who were stoning him, how much more for the
 brethren?”

And again after other details, they say: “For their
 greatest contest, through the genuineness of their
 love, was this, that the beast¹ should be choked into
 throwing up alive those whom he had at first thought
 to have swallowed down. For they did not boast
 over the fallen, but from their own abundance
 supplied with a mother’s love those that needed,
 and shedding many tears for them to the Father,
 they prayed for life, and he gave it to them, and
 they divided it among their neighbours, and then
 departed to God, having in all things carried off the
 victory. They ever loved peace; peace they com-
 mended to us; and with peace they departed to
 God; for their mother² they left behind no sorrow,
 and for the brethren no strife and war, but glory,
 peace, concord, and love.” Let this profitable ex-
 tract suffice concerning the love of those blessed
 ones for their brethren who had fallen, for the sake
 of the inhuman and merciless disposition of those
 who after these events acted unsparingly to the
 members of Christ.³

III. The same document of the aforementioned
 martyrs contains also another story worthy of
 memory, and none could grudge our bringing it to

³ Eusebius wishes to emphasize the charity of these
 martyrs towards backsliders in contrast to the hardness of
 soul of his own contemporaries, notably the Donatists and
 Novatians.

ἐντευξομένων εἰς γνώσιν προθεῖναι· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως.
 Ἀλκιβιάδου γάρ τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν πάνυ αὐχμηρόν 2
 βιούντος βίον καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως τὸ πρότερον
 μεταλαμβάνοντος, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄρτω μόνῳ καὶ ὕδατι
 χρωμένου πειρωμένου τε καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ οὕτω
 διάγειν, Ἀττάλῳ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγῶνα ὃν ἐν
 τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ ἤνυσεν, ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι μὴ καλῶς
 ποιοίη ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ χρώμενος τοῖς κτίσμασι
 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄλλοις τύπον σκανδάλου ὑπολειπόμε-
 νος. πεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης πάντων ἀνέδην 3
 μετελάμβανεν καὶ ἡνυχάζει τῷ θεῷ· οὐ γὰρ
 ἀνεπίσκεπτοι χάριτος θεοῦ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ
 ἅγιον ἦν σύμβουλον αὐτοῖς. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὥδι
 ἐχέτω.

Τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μοντανὸν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ 4
 Θεόδοτον περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον τὴν
 περὶ τοῦ προφητεῦναι ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πολλοῖς
 ἐκφερομένων (πλείστα γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἄλλαι παρα-
 δοξοποιῖαι τοῦ θείου χαρίσματος εἰς ἔτι τότε
 κατὰ διαφόρους ἐκκλησίας ἐκτελούμεναι πίστιν
 παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦ κακείνους προφητεῦναι παρείχον)
 καὶ δὴ διαφωνίας ὑπαρχούσης περὶ τῶν δεδηλω-
 μένων, αὐθις οἱ κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφοὶ τὴν
 ἰδίαν κρίσιν καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐλαβῇ καὶ ὀρθο-
 δοξοτάτῃ ὑποτάττουσιν, ἐκθέμενοι καὶ τῶν παρ'
 αὐτοῖς τελειωθέντων μαρτύρων διαφόρους ἐπι-
 στολάς, ὥς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔτι ὑπάρχοντες τοῖς ἐπ'
 Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἀδελφοῖς διεχάραξαν, οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλευθέρῳ τῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ,
 τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἕνεκα πρεσβεύοντες.

the knowledge of those who are about to study.
 It runs thus: There was among them a certain
 Alcibiades, who was living a very austere life, and
 at first was not partaking of anything at all, but
 used merely bread and water and was trying to
 live thus even in the jail. But it was revealed to
 Attalus after the first contest which he underwent
 in the amphitheatre that Alcibiades was not doing
 well in not making use of the creations of God, and
 offering an example of offence¹ to others. Alcibiades
 was persuaded and began to partake of everything
 without restraint and gave thanks to God; for they
 were not without help from the grace of God but
 the Holy Spirit was their counsellor. Let this suffice
 for this point.

Just at that time the party of Montanus and
 Alcibiades and Theodotus in Phrygia began first to
 engender among many their views concerning
 prophecy (for the many other wonderful works of
 the grace of God which were still being wrought
 up to that time in divers churches produced the
 belief among many that they also were prophets),
 and when dissension arose about the persons men-
 tioned the brethren in Gaul again formulated their
 own judgement, pious and most orthodox, concerning
 them, subjoining various letters from the martyrs
 who had been consecrated among them, which letters
 while they were still in prison they had composed
 for the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, and also for
 Eleutherus, who was then bishop of the Romans,
 and so they were ambassadors for the sake of the
 peace of the churches.

¹ An "example of offence" because it might seem to
 support the heretical doctrine that matter is evil, as some
 Gnostics maintained.

IV. Οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες καὶ τὸν Εἰρηναῖον, πρεσ-
 βύτερον ἤδη τότε ὄντα τῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ παροικίας,
 τῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐπισκόπῳ συνίστων,
 πλείστα τῷ ἀνδρὶ μαρτυροῦντες, ὡς αἱ τοῦτον
 ἔχουσαι τὸν τρόπον δηλοῦσι φωναί· “χαίρειν ἐν 2
 θεῷ σε πάλιν εὐχόμεθα καὶ ἀεὶ, πάτερ Ἐλεύθερε.
 ταῦτά σοι τὰ γράμματα προετρεψάμεθα τὸν
 ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ κοινωνὸν Εἰρηναῖον διακομίσαι,
 καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἔχειν σε αὐτὸν ἐν παραθέσει,
 ζηλωτὴν ὄντα τῆς διαθήκης Χριστοῦ. εἰ γὰρ
 ᾗδε μιν τόπον τιμῇ δικαιοσύνην περιποιεῖσθαι, ὡς
 πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐν
 πρώτοις ἂν παρεθέμεθα.”

Rev. 1, 9

Τί δεῖ καταλέγειν τὸν ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ γραφῇ 3
 τῶν μαρτύρων κατάλογον, ἰδίᾳ μὲν τῶν ἀποτμήσει
 κεφαλῆς τετελειωμένων, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῶν θηρσὶν εἰς
 βορὰν παραβελημένων, καὶ αἰθῖς τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
 εἰρκτῆς κεκοιμημένων, τὸν τε ἀριθμὸν τῶν εἰς
 ἔτι τότε περιόντων ὁμολογητῶν; ὅτῳ γὰρ φίλον,
 καὶ ταῦτα ῥάδιον πληρέστατα διαγνῶναι μετὰ
 χεῖρας ἀναλαβόντι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ τῇ
 τῶν μαρτύρων συναγωγῇ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς γούν
 ἔφην, κατείλεκται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντωνίνου
 τοιαῦτα.

V. Τοῦτου δὲ ἀδελφὸν Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Καίσαρα 1
 λόγος ἔχει Γερμανοῖς καὶ Σαρμάταις ἀντιπαρα-
 ταττόμενον μάχῃ, δίψει πιεζομένης αὐτοῦ τῆς
 στρατιᾶς, ἐν ἀμνηχανίᾳ γενέσθαι· τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς
 Μελιτηνῆς οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος στρατιώτας
 διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο συνεστῶσας
 ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους παρατάξει γόνυ θέντας
 ἐπὶ γῇν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡμῶν τῶν εὐχῶν ἔθος ἐπὶ
 444

IV. Irenaeus also, who was at that time already
 a presbyter of the diocese at Lyons, the same
 martyrs commended to the afore-mentioned bishop
 of Rome, and gave him much good testimony, as
 is shown by words to the following effect: “Once
 more and always, Father Eleutherus, we wish you
 greeting in God. We have asked our brother and
 companion, Irenaeus, to bring this letter to you and
 we beg you to hold him in esteem, for he is zealous
 for the covenant of Christ. For had we known that
 rank can confer righteousness on anyone, we should
 first of all have recommended him as being a presbyter
 of the church, for that is his position.”

What need is there to transcribe the list of the
 martyrs in the above mentioned document, some
 consecrated by beheading, some cast out to be eaten
 by the wild beasts, others who fell asleep in the jail,
 and the number of the confessors which still sur-
 vived at that time? For whoever wishes can easily
 read the full account by taking the description which
 has been included in our collection of martyrs,¹ as
 I said before. Such were the events which happened
 under Antoninus.

V. It is said that when his brother, Marcus Aurelius
 Caesar, was engaging in battle with the Germans
 and Sarmatians, he was in difficulties, because his
 army was oppressed by thirst; but the soldiers of
 the legion which is called after Melitene,² knelt on
 the ground according to our own custom of prayer,
 in the faith which has sustained them from that time
 to this in their contests with their enemies, and turned

¹ See Introduction, p. xxiii.² Melitene is in eastern Cappadocia.