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A
LIBRARY OF FATHERS.

OF THE

HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH,

ANTERIOR TO THE DIVISION OF THE EAST AND WEST:

TRANSLATED BY MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

L. V. 38 1



YET SHALL NOT THY TEACHERS BE REMOVED INTO A CORNER ANY MORE, BUT
THINE EYES SHALL SEE THY TEACHERS. *Isaiah xxx. 20.*

OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER,
F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.
MDCCCLIV.

TO XND
ABDOLAO

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v. 38

TO THE MEMORY
OF THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD
WILLIAM
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND,
FORMERLY REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
THIS LIBRARY
OF
ANCIENT BISHOPS, FATHERS, DOCTORS, MARTYRS, CONFESSORS,
OF CHRIST'S HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH,
UNDERTAKEN AMID HIS ENCOURAGEMENT,
AND
CARRIED ON FOR TWELVE YEARS UNDER HIS SANCTION,
UNTIL HIS DEPARTURE HENCE IN PEACE,
IS
GRATEFULLY AND REVERENTLY
INSCRIBED.

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THE
FESTAL EPISTLES
OF
S. A T H A N A S I U S,
BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA,
TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC,
WITH NOTES AND INDICES.

OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER ;
F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.
MDCCLIV.

BAXTER, PRINTER, OXFORD.

P R E F A C E.

THE Festal Epistles of S. Athanasius, as far as they are extant, are now, for the first time, presented to the English reader. In undertaking to superintend the publication of them, the Editor was, to some extent, aware of the difficulty of the task. In carrying it out, he has not hesitated to make numerous and important alterations in the translation as put into his hands, and not a few passages have been entirely re-modelled by him. He must, therefore, be held responsible for the errors contained in the following pages.

The translation had been prepared for the Press, and most of the notes written, when a German version by Professor Larsow made its appearance. To the general accuracy of this, the Editor bears his willing testimony. The English has been carefully compared with it, and several emendations have, in consequence, been introduced. On the other hand, a different rendering has been adopted in many cases, and errors have not unfrequently been corrected. Some of these will be found pointed out in the notes.

Considerable pains have been bestowed in collecting parallel passages from other undoubted works of S. Athanasius*; while, in more than one instance, evidence has been adduced bearing upon the authenticity of some treatises concerning which doubts have been entertained. The Scriptural references have, in all cases, been carefully

* The edition used is the Bened. Patavii 1777.

given, and any remarkable deviation from the received text noted.

Manifest errors of the Syriac translator have been shewn, and their origin sometimes detected. Any conjectural emendation has been scrupulously proposed as such. Whenever a difficulty has presented itself, the Editor has examined the original Ms. in the British Museum, and the result of this recension of the text will be found in the notes. It could not have been expected, notwithstanding the extreme care and the great learning displayed in the edition of the Syriac text, that it should be quite free from errors. They are, however, by no means numerous.

Another important feature in the present translation is, that it includes four more pages of the Syriac than have hitherto appeared, they having been discovered since the Syriac text was printed. For these, the public are indebted to the Rev. W. CURETON, whose courtesy in directing the Editor's attention to them, as well as in occasionally affording assistance in the progress of the work, is gratefully acknowledged^b.

For the Translation, the Editors have to express their acknowledgments to the Rev. HENRY BURGESS, LL.D. and Ph. D.

H. G. W.

Cambridge, May, 1854.

^b Since the English translation was printed, but before the preliminary matter was put to press, the Festal Letters have been reprinted, with a Latin translation, in the sixth volume of the *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca* by Cardinal Mai.

INTRODUCTION.

THE learned Montfaucon, in the preface to his edition of S. Athanasius, speaking of his lost works, says, 'Nulla, opinamur, jactura major quam epistolarum *ἱεραστικῶν*, aut Festalium. . . . Hoi, hci quam pungit dolor amissi Thesauri! quantum ad historiam, ad consuetudines Ecclesiarum, ad morum præcepta hinc lucis accederet! Et fortassis adhuc alicubi latent in Oriente.' The ardent wish and the latent hope thus long ago expressed, have at length received their accomplishment. The Festal Letters of S. Athan. after having escaped the fury of the Moslem, and survived the carelessness and ignorance of succeeding generations, have been brought to light by the industry and perseverance of our own age, rescued from the ravages of time, and transferred from a retired nook in the African desert to enrich the shelves of our great Library. They have not, indeed, reached us in the garb in which they were originally sent forth by their great author; still have they come down to us in one hallowed by its almost exclusively sacred character. Nor have they escaped mutilation; nevertheless, the portion that has been preserved will be gratefully accepted by all to whom the name of the great champion of the faith is held in honour, or any accession to our store of ecclesiastical literature valued.

It was in the year 1842, that Dr. Tattam, now Arch-deacon of Bedford, was so fortunate as to obtain from the monastery of S. Mary Deipara, in the valley of Scete, in the desert of Nitria, a valuable collection of Syriac Mss. of

great antiquity*. The valley in which this inestimable treasure had so long lain hid, had early become, from its calm and retired character, the refuge of pious penitents, who sought an abode in these lonely solitudes, apart from the tumult and cares of the world. Among the many distinguished saints who selected this spot for their seclusion may be mentioned Macarius, the pupil of the great Anthony, who here spent the greater part of a long life, and whose name, from having been given to one of the monasteries, was afterwards applied to the whole of the desert. The Mss. themselves, or a large proportion of them, had been brought from Mesopotamia, and deposited in the monastery by Moses of Nisibis, who presided over the monastery in the year 932; a fact which is recorded in many of the volumes, and which is also mentioned by J. S. Asseman, in the Preface to his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. More than one attempt had been made in the early part of the last century to procure the monastic library, but with only very partial success. D. Gabriel Eva, the Maronite, had ascertained that many Syriac, Arabic, and Egyptian Mss. were to be found in the monastery of the desert of Scete, and had acquainted the Pope Clement IX. with the fact. In consequence of this, Elias, a learned Syrian, and a near relative of Asseman, was sent to endeavour to obtain them. This was in the year 1707. Notwithstanding the utter neglect with which the Mss. were treated in the monastery, Elias was unable, by money or entreaties, to procure more than forty. These were added to the Library of the Vatican, not, however, before other difficulties had been surmounted. The vessel in which Elias was sailing down the Nile was wrecked, and though the volumes were recovered, it was not till they had suffered considerable damage from the water.

Afterwards, in the year 1715, J. S. Asseman himself

* For a full account of Dr. Tattam's visit to the monastery of S. Mary Deipara, and the manner in which he obtained the Mss. see an article in the *Quarterly Review*, No. CLIII. Dec. 1845.

set out from Rome on a visit to the monastery. The number of volumes there deposited had then, from one cause or another, been much diminished. He selected about a hundred; but even of these, with all his efforts, he was unable to carry away more than a small proportion. These, however, he speaks of as the most valuable.

The Mss. thus acquired by Dr. Tattam were consigned to the Library of the British Museum. Among them, Mr. Cureton soon discovered a portion of the Festal Letters of S. Athanasius, which he committed to the press. This portion, however, included only about one half of that now made public. For the remaining part of the Ms. we are indebted to the exertions of M. Augustus Pacho, a native of Alexandria, who, three or four years later, paid a visit to the same monastery, and succeeded in obtaining another considerable collection of Syriac Mss. some of which formed part of the volumes already secured by Dr. Tattam. Such was the case with regard to the Festal Letters of S. Athan. The latter portion thus acquired was likewise printed by Mr. Cureton, and published together with that previously printed, the sequence of the different parts (which was necessarily broken) being indicated by notes^b.

At an earlier period of the Church, Festal Letters had been sent by the Bishop of Alexandria, as we learn from Eusebius^c, who speaks of those sent by Dionysius, the thirteenth Bishop, [A.D. 247, to A.D. 265.] In them, according to the same authority, he had treated of the high character of the Paschal Festival, had argued the necessity for celebrating it after the time of the Vernal Equinox, and had moreover published a Canon to serve for eight years. A small fragment from the fourth of these Letters, consisting of exhortations to peace and good-will, is preserved in Damascen. Op. tom. ii. p. 753. The names by

^b Four more pages of the Syriac text, belonging to the tenth and eleventh Letters, which were afterwards found among the loose leaves, and which have not hitherto appeared

in print, will be found in the present volume. The Syriac text is contained in the Appendix.

^c Euseb. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 20.

which such Letters were designated are various. They were denominated *ἐπιστολαὶ ἑορταστικάι*, 'Festal Epistles'—not as treating of Christian festivals in general, but of the great Christian Festival of Easter in particular. So the heading to the chapter of Eusebius just referred to is, *περὶ τῶν ἑορταστικῶν Διονυσίου ἐπιστολῶν*, 'Of the Festal Epistles of Dionysius.' In the same way they were denominated *γράμματα πασχαλῖα*, 'Paschal Letters.' The name *ὁμιλίαι ἑορταστικάι*, 'Festal Homilies,' was also applied to them. Such is the title prefixed to the various discourses of S. Cyril on the subject. One of these, the twenty-fifth, concludes with an epistolary salutation. Such discourses were probably both sent as Letters, and publicly read as Homilies.

This early custom of the Bishop of Alexandria sending Festal Letters is thus spoken of by Cassian^d. *Intra Ægypti regionem mos iste antiquus traditione servatur, ut peracto epiphaniarum die, quem provinciæ illius sacerdotes vel Dominici baptismi, vel secundum carnem, nativitatis esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti solemnitatem, non bifarie, ut in occiduvis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitate concelebrant, epistolæ pontificis Alexandrini per universas diriguntur Ægypti ecclesias, quibus initium quadragesimæ, et dies paschæ, non solum per civitates omnes, sed etiam per universa monasteria designentur.* But it was not till the time of the Council of Nice, that the duty of notifying to the Christian Church the time at which Easter was to be celebrated was formally delegated to the Bishop of Alexandria. Among other matters there discussed, was the important question respecting the Paschal Festival. Together with the decision that the Roman method should be adopted throughout Christendom, it was determined that the calculation of the day from year to year should devolve on the Bishop of Alexandria, and that notice should be sent by him to the other Churches^e. The superior astronomical knowledge found in Egypt, doubtless

^d Cassian Collat. x. cap. 1.

^e Bingham, Ant. book ii. ch. xvi. §. 21.

formed one reason for the duty thus devolved on the Bishop of Alexandria. The words of Leo are to this effect^f: Sancti Patres studuerunt itaque occasionem hujus erroris auferre omnem hanc curam Alexandrino Episcopo delegantes (quoniam apud *Ægyptios* hujus supputationis antiquitus tradita esse peritia) per quem quotannis dies prædictæ solemnitatis Sedi Apostolicæ indicentur, cujus scriptis ad longinquiores ecclesias indicium generale percurreret. The fact here noted by Leo, that the Festal announcement was not confined to the Churches of Egypt, is also made clear by S. Athan. himself, who expressly speaks in the 18th Letter of his having sent the notice to the Romans. But another reason is doubtless to be sought in the important position the Primate of Alexandria held in the Christian Church. It was in virtue of this dignity that, as sole Metropolitan, he possessed, from ancient time, the exclusive privilege of ordaining Bishops in Egypt, Syria, and Pentapolis; a right confirmed to him by the sixth Canon of the same Council.

The term 'Pope,' which we find several times applied to S. Athan. in the index, and in the headings to the following Letters, was a title usually assigned to the Bishops of Alexandria, at least as early as the middle of the third century, and is still retained by them. The name of Patriarch, properly belonging to the Sec of Antioch, was assumed by, or bestowed upon, S. Cyril^g. We find it used by Socrates and the Council of Chalcedon^h.

But we are not without evidence, that the calculation of the Bishop of Alexandria was not always readily acquiesced in. On the contrary, the index for the twenty-first Letter, answering to the year 349, acquaints us with a contest that then existed on the subject. The Letter itself is not extant.

Some important errors concerning dates which have

^f Leo. Epist. ad Marolan. Op. ii. 113, where the dignity of the Bishop of Alexandria is further illustrated.

^g Vid. Neale's Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church, Gen. Intr. vol. i. p. §. 6.

^h Bingham Ant. book ii. ch. xvii.

hitherto existed, are corrected by the present work. S. Alexander was the Bishop of Alexandria at the time of the Council of Nice. He had himself been present at it, and on his return to his diocese, in conformity with the decree of the Council, forwarded a Paschal Letter. This is not extant, though the fact of his having written one is placed beyond a doubt. This was for the year 328. The index to the following Letters furnishes us with this information, together with an exact account of the date of the death of Alexander, and the elevation of S. Athanasius to the Episcopate. According to this authority, S. Alexander died on the 22d of Pharmuthi, (April 17,) A.D. 328, in which year Easter was celebrated on the 16th of Pharmuthi, (April 11.) S. Athanasius succeeded him after the Paschal festival on the 14th of Pauni, in the first year of the Indiction, when Januarius and Justus were Consuls, i. e. June 8th, A.D. 328. The first Paschal Letter then of S. Athan. is that for the following year, (A.D. 329,) and which is the first here presented to the reader. The information thus afforded, consistent as it is in all its parts, will doubtless correct the erroneous opinions previously entertained, according to which an earlier date is assigned to the elevation of S. Athan. to the see of Alexandria¹.

The genuineness and authenticity of the following Epistles are clearly established. That they are a translation, and a close translation, of the Festal Letters of S. Athan. which he was known to have written, is proved by the previously existing fragments of the original Greek, which appear in

¹ Fleury says, that S. Alexander of Alexandria died five months after his return home, on Monday the twenty-second of the Egyptian month Bermouda (Pharmuthi), which is the seventeenth of April, in the year 326. Again, the ordination of S. Athanasius was not until the twenty-seventh of December, in the year 326, for he hid himself a long time; and it was necessary to assemble all the Bishops from the provinces depending upon Alexandria. The month and the day of the month here given, as the date of

the death of S. Alexander—which is also the day on which he is commemorated in the Æthiopic calendar—are correct: the other dates are erroneous. The mistakes on this point seem to have arisen from the incorrect length of duration assigned to the Council of Nice. The year 328 for the death of S. Alex. is not inconsistent with the words of S. Athan. who says of him, *ὄπω γὰρ πέντε μῆνες παρήλθον, καὶ ὁ μὲν μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος τετελεύτηκεν.* Apol. cont. Ar. p. 140. §. 59.

their proper places in the Syriac translation[†]. Other collateral proofs will be found among the notes that accompany the English translation.

The question with regard to the *number* of Letters thus written by S. Athan. has also hitherto been considered doubtful. His care and diligence in the discharge of his duty is made clear by various passages in the Letters; nor can we suppose he ever omitted sending the notice, unless compelled by necessity. Even when in exile, we find him obtaining means for transmitting the customary Paschal notification. The first Letter he sent was, as we have seen, for the year 329. The last of which we have any knowledge is the forty-fifth in order, not existing indeed in the Syriac version, (which is imperfect at the end,) but still rescued from entire oblivion, by a short fragment of it preserved in Cosmas Indicopleustes. Forty-five is also the number contained in the index. The order assigned to the various Letters is not that of the actual Letters themselves—at least, if any credit is to be attached to the assertion we more than once meet with in the following pages, that there were years in which no Letter was sent—but that of the years of the Episcopate of S. Athanasius, commencing with that for which the first Festal Letter was sent, viz. A.D. 329. The forty-fifth must then, as it would seem, be the last he wrote. For this would correspond with the year 373, the year in which Athan. died; nor is it likely that he sent any Letter for the succeeding year, his death having taken place, according to the index, on the seventh of Pachon, (May 2.)¹ The number of forty-five is the superior limit assigned to them by Cosmas Indicopleustes.

The character of the Letters, as will be seen, is not often controversial; though the doctrines and practices of the

[†] Another fragment has been discovered by Cardinal Mai in the Vatican library, belonging to the thirteenth Letter, (p. 106.) Οἱ δὲ τις τὴν δίδουσαν ἀσκηθῆν ἐν τούτοις λανθάνουσαν τὴν προθυμίαν πρὸς τὴν συνήθειαν ἔχει.

¹ The date of the death of S. Athan. thus supplied, agrees with that furnished by independent testimony. Fleury says, 'he (Athan.) died, it is thought, on the second of May, in the year 373.'

Arian, Manichean, and other heretics are occasionally introduced to be refuted or reprobated. Nor is occasion often taken to refer to the passing history of the Church; though the particular circumstances under which some of them were penned, have called forth matters connected with the writer individually, suggested allusions to persecutions then raging, or prompted expressions of thankfulness for a return of tranquillity. The postscript to the thirteenth Letter, as well as the Letter to Serapion, will be valued, as furnishing the names of some of the Egyptian Bishops, and of some dioceses not previously known as such. But, in general, our Author confines himself in the Festal Letters to matters more directly connected with the subject before him. While, according to the authority committed to him, he notifies the day on which the great Christian festival is to be held, he takes occasion, at the same time, to stir up the minds of the faithful to the importance of a due and spiritual observance of the great and holy feast, frequently contrasting its character with that of the Jewish Passover, and dwelling upon the superiority of the former. Anxious to build up in the faith those committed to his charge, he inculcates the necessity of a steadfast adherence thereto against all adversaries; while he earnestly urges upon them the intimate connexion between purity of faith and holiness of life. Love to God, charity to our neighbour, diligence in prayer and thanksgiving, distribution to the poor, a careful study of the holy Scriptures, are subjects upon which he often dilates. When an exile, through the fury or treachery of his enemies, he reminds his flock of the spiritual unity of Christians, wherever they may be: when restored to the Church, he invites them to join him in thanksgiving.

The Letters before us, with the index filling up what is wanting, doubtless supply the correct dates at which Easter was observed for the time they include. The various years are clearly marked, not only by the names of the Consuls, but by the Diocletian Era, and the Indiction; while the exact day on which Easter Sunday fell, is given towards

the close of each Letter according to the Alexandrian reckoning. The names of the Præfects of Egypt are also given; though, from the vague manner in which they are written in the Syriac, there is occasionally a difficulty in verifying them. The principal part of the information thus furnished, will be found collected together in the accompanying Table, where the manifest errors are noted, the Golden Number and the Dominical Letter added, and other remarks appended.

The following brief notice of the Egyptian Calendar will suffice to elucidate the Egyptian Chronology of the Letters, the intercalary days presenting no difficulty, as they do not occur between the Easter limits^m.

After the final settlement of Egypt by Augustus as a province of the Roman Empire, the use of the Julian form of computation was established in Alexandria, the first day of the new Calendar being fixed to the 29th of August, the Thot of the year in which the innovation took place; from which period, six, instead of five, supplementary days were added at the end of every fourth year; so that the form of the Alexandrian year was as follows:

Thot . . .	20 August
Paophi . . .	28 September
Athyr . . .	28 October
Choiak . . .	27 November
Tybi . . .	27 December
Mechir . . .	26 January
Phamenoth . . .	25 February
Pharmouthi . . .	27 March
Pachon . . .	26 April
Pnoui . . .	26 May
Epiphi . . .	25 June
Mesori . . .	25 July
Epagomona . . .	24 August

^m Vide 'A Dissertation on the Calendar and Zodiac of Ancient Egypt,' by W. Mure, Esq. Rivingtons, 8vo. 1832, note to p. 86.

CHRONOLOGICAL AND SYNOPTICAL

INDEX.

AN Index of the months of each year, and of the days, and of the Indictions, and of the Consulates, and of the Governors in Alexandria, and of all the Epacts, and of those [days] which are named 'of the Gods^a,' and the reason [any Letter] was not sent, and the returns from exile^b—from the Festal Letters of the Pope Athanasius.

The Festal Letters of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria; which he sent year by year, to the several cities and all the provinces subject to him; that is, from Pentapolis, and on to Libya, Ammoniacæ, the greater and the less Oasis, Egypt, and Augustamnice, with the Heptanomis of the upper and middle Thebais; [commencing] from the 44th year of the Diocletian Era, in which the Paschal Festival was on XVI Pharmuthi; XVIII Kal. Mai; XVIII Moon; when Alexander, his predecessor, having departed this life on XXII Pharmuthi, he [Athanasius] succeeded him after the Paschal festival on XIV Pauni, Indict. I., Januarius and Justus being Consuls, Zenius Italus being the Præfect of Egypt, Epact XXV.; Gods, I.

^a Probably used to designate the several days of the week as named, according to the heathen custom, after various gods.

^b **ܐܘܨܬܐܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ**. The meaning of these words is doubtful. Cureton renders them 'the answers of strangers.' But I cannot see how such

translation applies in this case. The translation given above would well correspond with the preceding clause, the exile of S. Athanasius being the reason why Letters were not always sent. There is, however, a difficulty in the form of the last word in the Syriac.

I.

A.D. 329. In this year, Easter-day was on XI Pharmuthi; VIII Id. Ap.; XXII Moon; Coss. Constantinus Aug. VIII, Constantinus Cæs. IV.; the same Zenius being Præfect of Egypt; Indict. II; Epact VI; Gods, II. This was the first Letter he [Athanasius] sent; for he was appointed Bishop in the preceding year after the Paschal feast; Alexander, as is known, having despatched one for that year, before he was removed from this world. This was in the 45th of the Diocletian Æra.

II.

A.D. 330. In this year, Easter-day was on XXIV Pharmuthi; XIII Kal. Mai.; XV Moon; Coss. Gallicanus, Symmachus; Magninianus the Cappadocian being Præfect of Egypt; Indict. III; Epact XVII; Gods, III. In this year, he [Athanasius] went through the Thebais.

III.

A.D. 331. In this year, Easter-day was on XVI Pharmuthi; XVIII Moon; III Id. Ap.; Coss. Annianus Bassus, Ablavius; Hyginus, Præfect of Egypt; Epact XXVIII; Indict. IV. He sent this Letter while journeying, on his return from the Comitatus. For in this year he went to the Comitatus to the Emperor Constantine, having been summoned before him, on account of an accusation his enemies made, that he had been consecrated when too young. He appeared before [Constantine], was thought worthy of favour and honour, and returned when the [quadragesimal] fast was half finished.

IV.

A.D. 332. In this year, Easter-day was on XVII Pharmuthi; XX Moon; IV Non. Apr.; Epact IX; Gods, VI; Coss. Pacatianus, Hilarianus; the same Hyginus, Præfect of Egypt; Indict. V. In this year, he went through Pentapolis, and was in Ammoniacæ.

V.

A.D. 333. In this year, Easter-day was on XX Pharmuthi; XV Moon; XVII Kal. Mai.; Epact XX; Gods, VII; Coss. Dalmatius, Zenophilus; Paterius, Præfect of Egypt; Indict. VI.

^c Vid. note b, p. 36.

VI.

In this year, Easter-day was on XII Pharmuthi, XVII Moon; A. D. 334. VII Id. Apr.; Indict. VII; Epact I; Gods, I; Coss. Optatus, Paulinus; Paterius, Præfect of Egypt. In this year he [Athanasius] went through the low country. In it, he was also summoned to a Synod. But his enemies had previously devised mischief against him in Cæsarea of Palestine; he became aware of the conspiracy, and excused himself from attending.

VII.

In this year, Easter-day was on XIV Pharmuthi; XX Moon; A. D. 335. III Kal. Ap.; Indict. VIII; Epact XII; Gods, II; Coss. Constantius^d, Albinus; the same Paterius, Præfect of Egypt.

VIII.

In this year, Easter-day was on XXIII Pharmuthi; XX Moon; A. D. 336. XIV Kal. Mai; Indict. IX; Epact XXIII; Gods, IV; Coss. Nepotianus, Facondus; the governor Philagrius, the Cappadocian, being Præfect of Egypt. In this year, he [Athanasius] went to a Synod of his enemies which was assembled at Tyre. He departed from this place [i. e. from Alexandria] on XVII Epiphi; but when a discovery was made of the preparation against him, he removed thence, and fled in a vessel to Constantinople. Arriving there on II Athyr, after eight days he presented himself before the Emperor Constantine, and spoke plainly. But his enemies, by various secret devices, influenced the Emperor, who suddenly condemned him to exile, and he set out on the twelfth of Athyr to Gaul, to Constantius Cæsar, the son of Augustus. On this account, he wrote no Festal Letter.

IX.

In this year, Easter-day was on VIII Pharmuthi; XVI A. D. 337. Moon; IV Non. Ap.; Indict. X; Epact IV; Gods, V; Coss. Felicianus, Titianus; the governor Philagrius, the Cappadocian, being Præfect of Egypt. He [Athanasius] was in Treviri of Gaul, and on this account was unable to write a Festal Letter.

X.

In this year, Easter-day was on XXX Phamenoth; VII A. D. 338. Kal. Ap.; XIX Moon; Indict. XI; Epact XV; Gods, VI; Coss. Ursus, Polemius; the governor Theodorus, of Heliopolis, Præfect of Egypt. In this year, Constantine having

^d The Syr. has Constantinus, by an error.

died on XXVII Pachon; Athanasius, now liberated, returned from Gaul triumphantly, on XXVII Athyr. In this year, too, there were many events. Anthony, the great leader, came to Alexandria, and though he remained there only two days, shewed himself wonderful in many things, and healed many. He departed on the third of Messori.

XI.

A. D. 339. In this year, Easter-day was on XX Pharmuthi; XX Moon; XVII Kal. Mai.; Epact XXVI; Gods, VII; Indict. XII; Coss. Constantius II, Constans^e; the governor Philagrius, the Cappadocian, Præfect of Egypt. In this year, again, there were many tumults. On the XXII Phamenoth, he [Athanasius] was sought after by his persecutors in the night. On the next morning he fled from the Church of Theonas, after he had baptized many. Then, on the fourth day, Gregorius the Cappadocian entered the city as Bishop.

XII.

A. D. 340. In this year, Easter-day was on XIV Pharmuthi; XV Moon^f; III Kal. Ap.; Epact VII; Gods, II; Indict. XIII; Coss. Acyndinus, Proclus; the same governor Philagrius, Præfect of Egypt. Gregorius continued his acts of violence, and therefore wrote no Festal Letter. The Arians proclaimed [Easter] on XXVII Phamenoth, and were much ridiculed on account of this error. Then altering it in the middle of the fast, they kept it with us on XIV Pharmuthi, as above. He [Athanasius] gave notice of it to the presbyters of Alexandria in a short note, not being able to send a Letter as usual, on account of his flight, and the treachery employed.

XIII.

A. D. 341. In this year, Easter-day was on XXIV Pharmuthi: XVI Moon; XIII Kal. Mai.; Epact XVIII; Gods, III; Indict. XIV; Coss. Marcellinus, Probinus; Longinus, of Nice, Præfect of Egypt. There was a schism in Augustannice, on account of Gregorius continuing in the city, and exercising violence. But his illness commenced, nor did the Pope write a Festal Letter this time.

^e The Syriac has erroneously Constantius I, Constans II.
^f Syr. 'month.'

XIV.

In this year, Easter-day was on XVI Pharmuthi; XX Moon^a; A.D. 342. III Id. Ap.; Epact XXIX; Gods, IV.; Indict. XV.; Coss. Constantius III, Constans II; the governor Longinus, of Nice, Prefect of Egypt. Because Gregorius was severely ill in the city, the Pope was unable to send [any Letter].

XV.

In this year, Easter-day was on I Pharmuthi; XV Moon; A.D. 343. VI Kal. Ap.; Epact XI; Gods, V.; Indict. I.; Coss. Placidus, Romulus; the same governor Longinus, of Nice, Prefect of Egypt. In this year, there was a Synod held at Sardica; and when the Arians had arrived, they returned to Philippopolis, for Philagrius gave them this advice there. In truth, they were blamed every where, and were even anathematised by the Church of Rome, and having written a recantation to the Pope Athanasius, Ursacius and Valens were put to shame. There was an arrangement entered into at Sardica respecting Easter, and a decree was issued to be binding for fifty years, which the Romans and Alexandrians every where announced in the usual manner. Again he [Athanasius] wrote a Festal Letter.

XVI.

In this year, Easter-day was on XX Pharmuthi; XIX Moon; A.D. 344. XVII Kal. Mai.; Epact XXI; Gods, VI; Coss. Leontius, Sallustius; the governor Palladius Italus, Prefect of Egypt; Indict. II. Being at Naissus on his return from the Synod, he [Athanasius] there celebrated Easter. Of this Easter-day, he gave notice in few words to the presbyters of Alexandria, but he was unable to do so to other parts.

XVII.

In this year, Easter-day was on XII Pharmuthi; XVIII A.D. 345. Moon; VII Id. Ap.; Epact II; Gods, I; Indict. III; Coss. Amantius, Albinus; the governor Nestorius, of Gaza, Prefect of Egypt. Having travelled to Aquileia, he [Athanasius] kept Easter there. Of this Easter-day, he gave notice in few words to the presbyters of Alexandria, but not to other parts.

^a The Syriac has XVI, which is an error.

XVIII.

A. D. 346. In this year, Easter-day was on IV Pharmuthi; XXI^b Moon; III Kal. Ap.; Epact XIV; Gods, II; Indict. IV; Coss. Constantiusⁱ IV, Constans III; the same governor Nestorius, of Gaza, Præfect of Egypt. Gregorius having died on the second of Epiphi, he [Athanasius] returned from Rome and Italy, and entered the city and the Church. He was, too, thought worthy of a grand reception; for on the fourth of Paophi, the people and those in authority met him a hundred miles distant. He had already sent the Festal Letter for this year, written in few words, to the presbyters.

XIX.

A. D. 347. In this year, Easter-day was on XVII Pharmuthi; XV Moon; Prid. Id. Apr.; Epact XXV; Gods, III; Indict. V; Coss. Rufinus, Eusebius; the same governor Nestorius, of Gaza, Præfect of Egypt. He [Athanasius] wrote this Letter while residing here in Alexandria, giving notice of some things which he had not been able to do before.

XX.

A. D. 348. In this year, Easter-day was on VIII Pharmuthi; XVIII Moon; III Non. Ap.; Epact VI; Gods, IV; Indict. VI; Coss. Philippus, Salia; the same governor Nestorius, of Gaza, Præfect of Egypt. This Letter also he sent while residing in Alexandria.

XXI.

A. D. 349. In this year, Easter-day was on XXX Phamenoth; XIX Moon; VII Kal. Ap.; Epact XVII; Gods, VI; Indict. VII. But because the Romans refused, for they said they held a tradition from the Apostle Peter not to pass the twenty-sixth day of Pharmuthi, nor the thirtieth of Phamenoth, XXI Moon^k, VII Kal. Ap.; Coss. Limenius, Catullinus; the same governor Nestorius, of Gaza, Præfect of Egypt. He also sent this while residing in Alexandria.

^b The Syriac in this place has XXIV. But we find XXI in the heading to the Letter itself.

ⁱ The Syriac has Constantinus.

^k A few words are here wanting in the text.

XXII.

In this year, Easter-day was on XIII Pharmuthi; XIX Moon; **A. D. 350.** the second hour; VI Id. Ap.; Epact XXVIII; Gods, VII; Indict. VIII; Coss. Sergius, Nigrianus; the same governor Nestorius, of Gaza, Præfect of Egypt. In this year, Constans was slain by Magnentius, and Constantius held the empire alone. He then wrote a Letter to the Pope, (Athan.) telling him to fear nothing because of the death of Constans, but to confide in him as he had done in Constans while living.

XXIII.

In this year, Easter-day was on V Pharmuthi; Moon XVIII; **A. D. 351.** Prid. Kal. Ap.; Epact IX; Gods, I; Indict. IX; after the Consulate of Sergius and Nigrianus; the same governor Nestorius, of Gaza, again Præfect of Egypt.

XXIV.

In this year, Easter-day was on XXIV Pharmuthi; XVIII **A. D. 352.** Moon; XIII Kal. Mai; Epact XX; Gods, III; Indict. X; Coss. Constantius Aug. V, Constantius Cæsar I; the same governor Nestorius, of Gaza, Præfect of Egypt. Gallus was proclaimed Cæsar, and his name changed into Constantius.

XXV.

In this year, Easter-day was on XVI Pharmuthi; XXI Moon; **A. D. 353.** III Id. Ap.; Epact I; Gods, IV; Indict. XI; Coss. Constantius Aug. VI, Constantius Cæsar II; the governor Sebastianus, of Thrace, Præfect of Egypt. In this year, Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, and Triadelphus, of Nicion, and the presbyters Petrus and Astricius, with others, were sent to the emperor Constantius, through fear of mischief from the Arians. They returned, however, without success. In this year, Montanus, Silentarius of the Palace, entered [Alexandria] as Bishop; but, a tumult having been excited, he retired, frustrated in his design.

XXVI.

In this year, Easter-day was on IV Pharmuthi; XVII Moon; **A. D. 354.** VI Kal. Ap.; Epact XII; Gods, V; Indict. XII; Coss. Constantius Aug. VII, Constantius Cæsar III; the same governor Sebastianus, of Thrace, Præfect of Egypt.

XXVII.

- A. D. 355. In this year, Easter-day was on XXI Pharmuthi; XVIII Moon; XVI Kal. Mai; Epact XXIII; Gods, VI; Indict. XIII; Coss. Arbetion, Lollianus; the governor Maximus, the Elder, of Nice, Præfect of Egypt. In this year, Diogenes, the Secretary of the Emperor, came with the design of seizing the Bishop. [Athanasius.] But he, too, left without succeeding in his attempt.

XXVIII.

- A. D. 356. In this year, Easter-day was on XII Pharmuthi; XVII Moon; VII Id. Ap.; Epact IV; Gods, I; Indict. XIV; Coss. Constantius Aug. VIII, Julianus Cæsar I; the same governor Maximus, the Elder, of Nice, Præfect of Egypt, who was succeeded by Cataphronius Biblius. In this year, Syrianus Dux, having excited a tumult in the Church, on the thirteenth of Mechir, entered Theonas with his soldiers on the fourteenth, at night; but he was unable to capture [Athanasius], for he effected his escape in a miraculous manner.

XXIX.

- A. D. 357. In this year, Easter-day was on XXVII Phamenoth; XVII Moon; X Kal. Ap.; Epact XV; Gods, II; Indict. XV; Coss. Constantius Aug. IX, Julianus Cæsar II; the same governor Cataphronius Biblius, Præfect of Egypt, to whom succeeded Pharnacius. Then Georgius entered on the thirtieth of Mechir, and acted with excessive violence. But Athanasius, the Bishop, had then fled, and was sought for in the city with much oppression, many being in danger on this account. No Festal Letter was therefore written.

XXX.

- A. D. 358. In this year, Easter-day was on XVII Pharmuthi; Prid. Id. Ap.; XVII Moon; Epact XXVI; Gods, III; Indict. I; Coss. Tatianus, Cerealis; the governor Parius, of Corinth, Præfect of Egypt. Athanasius, the Bishop, lay concealed in the city of Alexandria. But Georgius left on the fifth of Paophi, being driven away by the multitude. On this account, neither this year was the Pope [Athanasius] able to send a Festal Letter.

XXXI.

In this year, Easter-day was on XIX Pharmuthi; Prid. Non. A.D. 359. Ap.; XX Moon; Epact VII; Gods, IV; Indict. II; Coss. Eusebius, Hypatius; the same governor Parius; who was succeeded by Italicianus for three months; after him Faustinus, of Chalcedon. Not even in this year did the Pope [Athanasius] write [any Letter].

XXXII.

In this year, Easter-day was on XXVIII Pharmuthi; IX Kal. A.D. 360. Mai; XXI Moon; Epact XVIII; Gods, VI; Indict. III; Coss. Constantius Aug. X, Julianus Cæsar III; the governor Faustinus, of Chalcedon, Præfect of Egypt. This Præfect and Artemidorus Dux, having entered a private house and a small chamber, in quest of Athanasius the Bishop, bitterly tortured Eudæmonis, a perpetual virgin. On these accounts no Letter was written this year.

XXXIII.

In this year, Easter-day was on XIII Pharmuthi; VI Id. Ap.; A.D. 361. XVII Moon; Epact XXIX; Gods, VII; Indict. IV; Coss. Taurus, Florentius; the same governor Faustinus¹, Præfect of Egypt, who was succeeded by Gerontius, the Armenian. He [Athanasius] was unable to send a Letter. In this year, Constantius died, and Julianus holding the empire alone, there was a cessation of the persecution against the Orthodox. For orders were issued every where from the emperor Julianus, that the Orthodox ecclesiastics who had been persecuted in the time of Constantius should be let alone.

XXXIV.

In this year, Easter-day was on XV Pharmuthi; Prid. Kal. A.D. 362. Ap.; XXV Moon; Epact X; Gods, I; Indict. V; Coss. Mamertinus, Nevitta; the same governor Gerontius, succeeded by Olympus of Tarsus. In this year, Athanasius the Bishop returned to the Church, after his exile, by the decree of Julianus Augustus, who granted freedom to all the exiled Bishops and Clergy, as was before said. This year, then, he wrote [a Letter].

¹ This word is written vaguely in the Syriac, varying in all the three places in which it occurs.

XXXV.

A. D. 363. In this year, Easter-day was on XXV Pharmuthi; XII Kal. Mai; XX Moon; Epact XXI; Gods, II; Indict. VI; Coss. Julianus IV, Sallustius; the same governor Olympius, Præfect of Egypt. Pythiodorus, of Thebes, a celebrated Philosopher, brought a decree of Julianus on the twenty-seventh of Paophi, and produced it before the Bishop, and committed many acts of violence. He [Athanas.] therefore left the city, and proceeded to Thebes. After eight months Julianus died; and, the news of his death being published, Athanasius returned secretly, by night, to Alexandria. Then on the eighth of Thoth, he embarked at the Eastern Hierapolis, and met the emperor Jovian, by whom he was dismissed with honour. He sent this Festal Letter to all the country, while being driven by persecution from Memphis to Thebes, and it was delivered as usual.

XXXVI.

A. D. 364. In this year, Easter-day was on IX Pharmuthi; Prid. Non. Ap.; XVI Moon; Epact III; Gods, IV; Indict. VII; Coss. Jovianus Aug., Varronianus; Ærius, of Damascus, Præfect; who was succeeded by Maximus of Rapheotis, and he again by Flavianus, the Illyrian. In this year, the Pope returned again to Alexandria and the Church on the twenty-fifth of Mechir. He sent the Festal Letter, according to custom, from Antioch to all the Bishops in all the provinces.

XXXVII.

A. D. 365. In this year, Easter-day was on I Pharmuthi; V Kal. Ap.; XIX Moon; Epact XIV; Gods, V; Indict. VIII; Coss. Valentinianus Aug. I, Valens Aug.; the same Flavianus, the Illyrian, being governor. We took the Cæsareum; but again, the Pope [Athanas.] being persecuted with accusations, withdrew to the garden of the new river. But a few days after, Barasides, the notary, came to him with the Præfect, and obtained an entrance for him into the Church. Then, an earthquake happening on the twenty-seventh of Epiphi, the sea turned from the East, and destroyed many persons, and much damage was caused.

XXXVIII.

A. D. 366. In this year, Easter-day was on XXI Pharmuthi; XVI Kal. Mai; XX Moon; Epact XXV; Gods, VI; Indict. IX; in the first year of the Consulship of Gratianus, the son of Augustus, and

Daglaiphus; the same governor Flavianus, Præfect. On the twenty-seventh of Epiphi, the heathen made an attack, and the Cæsareum was burnt, and consequently many of the citizens suffered great distress, while the authors of the calamity were condemned and exiled. After this, Proclianus, the Macedonian, became chief.

XXXIX.

In this year, Easter-day was on XVI Pharmuthi; Kal. Ap.; A. D. 367. XVI Moon; Epact VI; Gods, VII; Indict. X; Coss. Lupicinus, Jovinus; the same Proclianus being governor, who was succeeded by Tatianus Lucius. In this year, when Lucius had attempted an entrance on the twenty-sixth of the month Thoth, and lay concealed by night in a house on the side of the enclosure of the Church; and when Tatianus the Præfect and Trajanus Dux had him brought out, he left the city, and was rescued in a wonderful manner, while the multitude sought to kill him. In this year he wrote, forming a Canon of the Holy Scriptures.

XL.

In this year, Easter-day was on XXV Pharmuthi; XII Kal. A. D. 368. Mai; XVI Moon; Epact XVII; Gods, II; Indict. XI; Coss. Valentinianus Aug. II, Valens Aug. II; the same governor Tatianus, Præfect. He [Athanasius] commenced building anew the Cæsareum, having been honoured with an imperial command by Trajanus Dux. The authors of the incendiarism were also discovered; the rubbish of the burnt ruins was at once cleared away, and the building begun anew in the month Pachon.

XLI.

In this year, Easter-day was on XXVII Pharmuthi; Prid. Id. A. D. 369. Ap.; XV Moon; Epact XXVIII; Gods, III; Indict. XII; Coss. Valentinianus, (son of Augustus) I, Victor; the same Tatianus being governor. The Pope [Athanasius] began to build a church in Mendidius (which bore his name), on the twenty-fifth of the month Thoth, in the eighty-fifth year of the Diocletian Era.

XLII.

In this year, Easter-day was on II Pharmuthi; IV Kal. A. D. 370. Ap.; XV Moon; Epact IX; Gods, IV; Indict. XIII; Coss. Valentinianus Aug. III, Valens Aug. III; the same Tatianus being governor; who was succeeded by Olympius Palladius, of

Samosata. The Pope [Athanasius] finished the Church, called after his name, at the close of the eighty-sixth year of the Diocletian Era; in which also he celebrated the dedication^m, on the fourteenth of Mesori.

XLIII.

- A. D. 371. In this year, Easter-day was on XXII Pharmuthi; XV Kal. Mai; XVI Moon; Epact XX; Gods, V; Indict. XIV; Coss. Gratianus Aug. II, Probus; the same Palladius being governor; who was succeeded as Præfect of Egypt by Ælius Palladius, of Palestine, who was called Cyrus.

XLIV.


- A. D. 372. In this year, Easter-day was on XIII Pharmuthi; VI Id. Ap.; XIX Moon; Epact I; Gods, VII^a; Indict. XV; Coss. Modestus, Arintheus; the same Palladius, the governor, called Cyrus, Præfect of Egypt.

XLV.

- A. D. 373. In this year, Easter-day was on V Pharmuthi; Prid. Kal. Ap.; XXI Moon; Epact XII; Gods, I; Indict. I; Coss. Valentinianus IV, Valens IV; the same governor Ælius Palladius, Præfect of Egypt. At the close of this year, on the seventh of Pachon, he [Athanasius] departed this life in a wonderful manner.

The end of the heads of the Festal Letters of holy Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria.

^m Syr. 'Ἐγκαίνια.

ⁿ The Syr. has  'and not one,' which must be incorrect.

OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL INFORMATION GIV

[The Columns containing the Year of our Lord, the Golden N

Number of Letter.	Year of Diocl.	Year of our Lord.	Easter Day.		
			Egyptian Calendar.	Roman Calendar.	Mo Recl
...	44	328	^a 10 Pharm.	XVIII Kal. Mai	14
I	45	329	11 Pharm.	VIII Id. April	6
II	46	330	21 Pharm.	XIII Kal. Mai	10
III	47	331	16 Pharm.	III Id. April	11
IV	48	332	^b 17 Pharm.	IV Non. April	2
V	49	333	20 Pharm.	XVII Kal. Mai	^c 15
VI	50	334	12 Pharm.	VII Id. April	7
VII	51	335	4 Pharm.	III Kal. April	30
VIII	52	336	23 Pharm.	XIV Kal. Mai	18
IX	53	337	8 Pharm.	^d IV Non. April	3
X	54	338	30 Pharm. ^h	VII Kal. April	26
XI	55	339	20 Pharm.	XVII Kal. Mai	15
XII	56	340	^e 14 Pharm.	III Kal. April	30
XIII	57	341	24 Pharm.	XIII Kal. Mai	10
XIV	58	342	16 Pharm.	III Id. April	11
XV	59	343	1 Pharm.	VI Kal. April	27
XVI	60	344	20 Pharm.	XVII Kal. Mai	15
XVII	61	345	12 Pharm.	VII Id. April	7
XVIII	62	346	4 Pharm.	III Kal. April	^h 30
XIX	63	347	17 Pharm.	I Id. April	12
XX	64	348	8 Pharm.	III Non. April	8
XXI	65	349	30 Pharm. ^h	VII Kal. April	^k 26
XXII	66	350	13 Pharm.	VI Id. April	8
XXIII	67	351	6 Pharm.	I Kal. April	31
XXIV	68	352	24 Pharm.	XIII Kal. Mai	10
XXV	69	353	16 Pharm.	III Id. April	11
XXVI	70	354	^l 4 Pharm.	VI Kal. April	27
XXVII	71	355	21 Pharm.	XVI Kal. Mai	16
XXVIII	72	356	12 Pharm.	VII Id. April	7
XXIX	73	357	27 Pharm. ^h	X Kal. April	23
XXX	74	358	17 Pharm.	I Id. April	12
XXXI	75	359	^m 19 Pharm.	I Non. April	4
XXXII	76	360	28 Pharm.	IX Kal. Mai	29
XXXIII	77	361	13 Pharm.	VI Id. April	8
XXXIV	78	362	ⁿ 15 Pharm.	I Kal. April	31
XXXV	79	363	25 Pharm.	XII Kal. Mai	20
XXXVI	80	364	9 Pharm.	I Non. April	4
XXXVII	81	365	1 Pharm.	^o V Kal. April	27
XXXVIII	82	366	21 Pharm.	XVI Kal. Mai	16
XXXIX	83	367	^p 16 Pharm.	Kal. April	1
XL	84	368	25 Pharm.	XII Kal. Mai	20
XLI	85	369	^q 27 Pharm.	I Id. April	12
XLII	86	370	2 Pharm.	^r IV Kal. April	28
XLIII	87	371	22 Pharm.	XV Kal. Mai	17
XLIV	88	372	13 Pharm.	VI Id. April	8
XLV	89	373	6 Pharm.	I Kal. April	31

THE
FESTAL EPISTLES
OF
S. ATHANASIUS,
Patriarch of Alexandria.

B

LETTER I.

^a*The first Festal Letter of Pope Athanasius, wherein the first day of the Paschal week is on XI. Pharmuthi; VIII. Id. April; Ær. Dioclet. 45; Coss. Constantinus Aug. VIII. Constantinus Cæs. IV; Præfect. Septimius Zenius; Indict. II.* A.D. 329.
Easter-day
on April 6.

OF FASTING, AND TRUMPETS, AND FEASTS.

COME, my beloved: the season calls us to keep the feast. Again, *the Sun of Righteousness*, causing His divine beams Mal. 4, 2. to rise upon us, proclaims beforehand the time of the feast, in which, obeying Him, we ought to celebrate it^b; so that when the time has passed away, gladness likewise may not leave us^c. For discernment of the time is a duty strictly enjoined upon us, and a matter of moral obligation^d; even as the blessed Paul, when instructing his disciple, teaches him to observe the time, saying, *Stand (ready) in season, and out of season*—that knowing both the one and the other, he might do things seasonable, and avoid the blame for such as are unseasonable. For thus also the God of all distributes every thing in time and season, after the manner of wise Solomon^e, to the end that, in due time, the

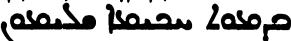
^a I have thought it well to give the title of the first Letter in the words in which it is found in the Syr. Ms. The titles of the second, third, and fourth are to the same effect.

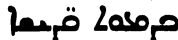
^b Conf. Theodoret. Οὐ γὰρ πάντες ἠβουλῆθησαν ἄνθρωποι τοῦ φωτός ἀπολαῦσαι—αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος πᾶσι τῆς σωτηρίας τὰς ἀκτίνας κατέπεμψεν· ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οἱ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔμυσαν, καὶ τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἠβουλήθησαν. Theodoret. Interpret. in Psalm xvi. vol. i. p. 1300. ed. 1769.

^c The due celebration of the feast is spoken of as producing a permanent beneficial effect on the Christian. Conf. Letter iv.

^d Conf. S. Cyril. Homil. Pasch. V.

commencing thus; Καίρῳ παντὶ προὔματι, φησὶν ἡ θεία γραφή.

•  'after the manner of' wise Solomon. Not, 'says typically,' as Larsow renders it. So, in page 13, line 3,

 after the manner of the saints. So, too, in various other places. The meaning seems to be that, even as we find in the words of Solomon, Eccles. iii. 1. there is a proper time for every thing; so God, in His Providence, before the coming of Christ, ordained proper seasons for all those great events that were to usher in the fulness of time.

LETTER I. salvation of men should be every where spread abroad. Thus, likewise, for instance, not out of season, but in season, 1 Cor. 1, 24. the *Wisdom of God*, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Wisd. 7, 27. *passed upon holy souls, fashioning the friends of God and the prophets*; so that, although very many were praying for Ps. 14, 7. Him, and saying, *O that the salvation of God were come out of Sion!* the Spouse also, as it is written in the Canticles, Cant. 8, 1. *praying and saying, O that Thou wert my sister's son, that sucked the breasts of my mother!*¹ that Thou wert like to the children of men, and wouldest take upon Thee human passions for our sake! nevertheless, the God of all, the Framers of times and seasons², and who knows our affairs better than we do, while, as a good physician, He exhorts to obedience in due season—the only one in which we may be healed—so also does He send Him not unseasonably, Isa. 49, 8. but seasonably, saying, *In an acceptable time have I heard Thee, and in the day of salvation I have helped Thee.* And, on this account, the blessed Paul, urging us to note this 2 Cor. 6, 2. season, wrote, saying, *Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.*

At set seasons also He called the children of Israel to the Exod. 23, Levitical feasts by Moses, saying, *Three times in a year ye shall keep a feast to Me*, (one of which, my beloved, is that now at hand,) to the celebration of which priestly³ trumpets call and summon; as the holy Psalmist commanded, saying, Ps. 81, 3. *Blow with the trumpet in the new moon, on the [solemn]⁴ day of your feast.* Since this sentence enjoins upon us to blow both on the new moons, and on the solemn days, He hath made a solemn day of that in which the light of the moon is perfected in the full; which was then a type, as this of the trumpets. Sometimes then, as was before said, they were

¹ τῶν καρῶν ἐστὶ δημιουργός. Apol. de Fuga sua, §. 14.

² The Syriac here differs from the commonly received text of the Peshito, which is probably incorrect. It is a literal translation of the LXX, the words of which are also quoted by S. Athan. in his Synops. Script. Sacr. t. ii. p. 123. The ancient Jewish writers also usually interpreted this passage of the Messiah. The Targum on the verse begins thus: "And at

that time the King Messiah shall be revealed to the congregation of Israel."

³ Alluding to the command that the trumpets should be blown by the priests only. Vid. Num. x. 8. also note pag. 9.

⁴ The word **solemn** (solemn) should be supplied here, as is proved from what follows. The same quotation is made *with* it near the beginning of the third letter.

LETTER
I.

the trumpet, more than any other voice or instrument, is exciting and very terrible¹, on this account, instruction was conveyed to Israel by such means, for he was then but a child. But in order that the proclamation should not be thought merely human, being beyond this, it was heard as those voices which were uttered when they received a shock from them in the mount; and they were reminded of the law that was then given them, and kept it. For the law was worthy of admiration, and the shadow was excellent; otherwise, it would not have wrought fear, and induced reverence in those who heard: and [if such were the case], much more must it have been so with those who at that time saw such things as these.

Exod. 19,
16.

Be it that these things were then typical, and done as in a shadow. Let us, having recourse to our understanding, and henceforth leaving the figure at a distance, come to the truth, and look upon the priestly trumpets of our Saviour, which cry out, and call us, at one time to war, as the blessed Paul saith: *We wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with principalities, with powers, with the rulers of this dark world, with wicked spirits in heaven.* At another time the call is made to virginity, and lowliness, and conjugal unanimity, saying, To virgins, the things of virgins; and to those bound by a course of abstinence, the things of abstinence; and to those who are married, the things of an honourable marriage; thus assigning to each domestic virtues and an honourable recompense. Sometimes also, the call is made to fasting, and sometimes to a feast. Listen to the same [Apostle] again blowing the trumpet, and proclaiming, *Christ our Passover is sacrificed; therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness.*

Eph. 6, 12.

1 Cor. 7, 25.

1 Cor. 5,
7. 8.

If further, thou wouldest listen to a trumpet much greater

¹ The idea of something dreadful is continually associated in Scripture with the sound of the trumpet. It frequently represents the thunder; e. g. Zech. ix. 14. where the lightning, the thunder, and the tempest are described together. And the Lord shall be seen over them, and His arrow shall go forth as the lightning, and the Lord God shall blow

the trumpet, (פְּשֹׁפֶשֶׂת וְרָקָע) and shall go forth with whirlwinds of the south. The seven angels blow with trumpets before the judgments of God are inflicted on the world. Apoc. ch. viii. We read, 1 Cor. xv. 52. ἐν τῇ ἰσχυρῇ σάλπιγγι; and in 1 Thess. iv. 16. with the voice of the archangel καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι θεοῦ.

than all these, hear our Saviour saying; *In that last and great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink.* A. D. 329. John 7, 37. For it became the Saviour not simply to call us to a feast, but to *the great feast*; only so that we should be prepared to hear, and should conform to the proclamation of *every* trumpet. For since, as I before said, there are divers proclamations, listen, as in a figure, to the prophet blowing the trumpet; and further, having turned to the truth, be ready for the announcement of the trumpet, for he saith, *Blow ye the trumpet in Zion: sanctify a fast.* Joel 2, 15. This is a warning trumpet, and commands with great earnestness, that when we fast, we should hallow the fast. For not all those who call upon God, hallow God, since there are some who defile Him; yet not Him—that is impossible—but their own conscience concerning Him; for He is holy, and has pleasure in the Ps. 16, 3. saints. And therefore the blessed Paul assigns the reason for men's dishonouring God: *Transgressors of the law dishonour God.* Rom. 2, 23. So then, to point out those who pollute the fast, he saith here, *sanctify a fast.* For many, crowding to the fast, pollute themselves in the thoughts of their hearts, sometimes by doing evil against their brethren, sometimes by daring to defraud. And, to mention nothing else, there are many who exalt themselves above their neighbours, bringing about a great offence by these means.

For also the boast of fasting did no good to the Pharisee, Luke 18, although he fasted twice in the week, only because he 10. exalted himself against the publican. In the same manner also the Word found fault with the children of Israel on account of such a fast as this; exhorting them by Isaiah the Prophet, and saying, *This is not the fast and the day that I have chosen, that a man should humble his soul; not even if thou shouldst bow down thy neck like a hook, and shouldst strew sackcloth and ashes under thee; neither thus shall ye call the fast acceptable.* Isa. 58, 5. That we may be able to shew what kind of persons we should be when we fast, and of what character the fast should be, listen again to God commanding Moses, and saying, as it is written in Leviticus, *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, In the tenth day of this seventh month, there shall be a day of atonement; a con-* Levit. 23, 26.

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1.

Levit. 23,
29.

1 Tim. 4, 6.

John 4, 34.

Ps. 73, 14
(LXX.
vers.)

vocation, and a holy day shall it be to you; and ye shall humble your souls, and offer whole burnt-offerings unto the Lord. And afterwards, that the law might be determinate on this point, He further saith, *Every soul that shall not humble itself, shall be cut off from the people.* Behold, my brethren, what a fast can do, and in what manner the law commands us to fast. It is required that not only should we fast with the body, but also with the soul. Now the soul is humbled when it is not found [occupied] with wicked opinions, being nourished with becoming virtues. For virtues and vices are the food of the soul, and it can eat either of these two meats, and incline to either of the two, according to its own will. If, on the one hand, it is bent toward virtue, it will be nourished by virtues; by righteousness, by temperance, by meekness, by fortitude. Even as Paul saith, *Being nourished by the word of truth.* Such was the case with our Lord, who said, *My meat is to do the will of My Father which is in heaven.* But if it is not thus with the soul, and it inclines to that which is beneath, it is then nourished by nothing but sin. For thus also the Holy Ghost, describing sinners and their food, alluded to the devil when He said, *I have given him to be meat to the people of Æthiopia*^m. For this is the food of sinners. And

^m S. Athan. here speaks of Leviathan as a type of Satan; of the Æthiopians as typical of sinners; of sinners feeding on the devil, as the righteous feed upon Christ.

For the first, conf. S. Cyril. Alexandr. Comment. in Esaïam cap. xxvii. l. 'In that day the Lord with His sore and great and strong sword shall punish Leviathan the piercing serpent, even Leviathan the crooked serpent.' Ἐπεινεχθήσεται τὴν ὄρην τοῖς ἡσιθηκόσι, καὶ ἀπεκτονόσιν αὐτοὺς, ἐν μάλα διειρηκῶς συναναίρεθήσεται τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέκνοις, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν σατανᾶν οὐ τοῖς στρατηγήμασιν εἰκόντες κατεστράτεον τῶν ἁγίων, οἱ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν κηρούμασιν ἀντεξάγοντες. We have also in the commentary attributed to St. Jerome (tom. xi. p. 713. Ed. 1742.) at the passage of Job, 'Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook?' Commutavit figuram ænigmatis, ut Diabolum, quem superius Behemoth, trans-

lato nomine, dixerat, eundem nunc Leviathan appellet. (Again, tom. vii. p. 277.) 'Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum ei! Iste est Draco qui de Paradiso ejectus est; qui deceptit Evam, et datus est in hoc mundo ad illudendum nobis. Also, on Isaïah xxvii. l. reference is made to Apoc. xii. 7. and Luke x. 19. St. Augustine on the passage says; *Tu confregisti caput draconis.* Cujus draconis? Intelligentimus dracones omnia dæmonia sub diabolo militantis; quem ergo singularem draconem ejus caput contractum est, nisi ipsum diabolum intelligere debemus?

Again, Origen. Hom. xii. in Jeremiam (vol. i. p. 116. Ed. 1686.) μέλανές ἐσμεν κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν ἀρχὴν. διδὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἡσματος τῶν φεμάτων λέγεται μέλανά εἰμι, καὶ καλὴ καὶ αἰθλοφιν ἡμῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς τὴν ψυχὴν εἰλοκαμεν, εἶτα ἀποσμηχόμεθα, ἵνα λαμπρότεροι γενώμεθα, κατὰ τὸ τίς αὐτῶν,

as our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, being heavenly bread, A. D. 329. is the food of the saints, according to this; *Except ye eat* John 6, 53. *My flesh, and drink My blood;* so is the devil, the food of the impure, and of those who do nothing which is of the light, but work the deeds of darkness. Therefore, in order to withdraw and turn them from vices, He enjoins upon them, as sustenance, the food of virtue. Now this is, humbleness of mind; lowliness to endure humiliations; the acknowledgment of God.

For not only does such a fast as this obtain propitiation for souls, but it also, being sanctified, prepares the saints, and raises them above the earth. And indeed that which I am about to say is wonderful, yea it is of those things which are very miraculous; yet not far from the truth, as ye may be able to learn from the sacred^a writings. That great man Moses, when fasting, conversed with God, and received the law. The great and holy Elias, when fasting, was also thought worthy of divine visions, and at last was taken up like Him who ascended into heaven. And Daniel also, when fasting, and although a very young man, was entrusted with the mystery, and he alone understood the secret things of the king, and was thought worthy of divine visions. But because the length of the fast of these men was wonderful, and the days prolonged, let no man lightly fall into unbelief on that account; but rather let him believe and know, that the looking to God, and the word which [pro-

ἡ ἀναβαίνουσα λευκανθισμένη; καὶ γινώμεθα λινοῦν λαμπρὸν καὶ καθαρὸν.

S. Aug. too, ut supra; Quomodo intelligo populos Æthiopes? Quomodo nisi per hoc, omnes gentes? et bene per nigros; Æthiopes enim nigri sunt. Ipsi vocantur ad fidem, qui nigri fuerunt etc. Suicer, Theol. v. *Alθiops* quotes from Orat. de exitu animæ quæ Cyrillo Alex. adscribitur, p. 405.—*δαίμονας, ὡς Αἰθίοπας (σφόδρα).* Hesychius, Cent. I ad Theodulum, num. 23. *dæmones vocat, νοητοὺς Αἰθίοπας;* spirituales Æthiopes. Larsow quotes S. Athan. tom. iv. p. 120. where *Αἰθίοπας* is explained by *οἱ μελανοθίντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.* The Heb. word which the LXX. translate by *Αἰθίοπας* is אֲשִׁיט

The whole of the comment of S. Aug. on the passage affords a remarkable amplification of the words of our Author, though reference is not directly made to the words of St. John (vi. 53.) He alludes to the golden calf, which Moses made the children of Israel to drink of, and adds; Quid est hoc, nisi quia adoratores diaboli corpus ipsius facti erant? Quomodo agnoscentes Christum sicut corpus Christi, ut eis dicatur; Vos autem estis corpus Christi et membra.

^a The word in the Syriac is ܐܫܝܬ 'priestly.' But in this and in other places, it appears to be for the Greek *ἱερός.* Conf. τὰ ἱερά γραμματα. 2 Tim. iii. 15.

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I.

ceeds] from Him, suffice to nourish those who hear, and stand to them in place of all food. For the angels are no otherwise sustained than by beholding at all times the face of the Father, and of the Saviour Who is in heaven. And thus Moses, as long as he talked with God, fasted indeed bodily, but was nourished by divine words. When therefore he descended among men, and God was gone up from him, he suffered hunger like unto men. For it is not said that he fasted longer than forty days—those in which he was conversing with God. And, generally, each one of the saints has been thought worthy of the food of virtues such as this.

Deut. 12,
11. 13. 14.

Wherefore, my beloved, having our souls nourished with divine food, with the word, and according to the will of God, and fasting bodily in things external, let us keep this great and saving feast as becomes us. For the foolish Jews, receiving indeed this divine food typically, ate a lamb in the passover. But not understanding the type, even to this day they eat the lamb, being in error; the more so in that they are without a city and the truth. As long as Judæa and the city existed, there were a type, and a lamb, and a shadow, since the law thus commanded: These things shall not be done in another city; but in the land of Judæa—but without [the land of Judæa] in no place whatever. And besides this, the law commanded them to offer whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices, when there was no other altar than that in Jerusalem. For on this account, in that city alone, was there an altar and temple built, and they were commanded to perform these rites in that city only, to the end that when that city should come to an end, then also those things that were figurative might receive their end. Now observe: that city, since the coming of our Saviour, has had an end, and all the land of Judæa been laid waste; so that from the testimony of these things, (and we need no external proof, being assured by our own eyes of the fact,) there must, of necessity, be an end of the shadow.

And it is meet that these things should not be learned from me: but the priestly voice cried before, *Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, and publisheth peace;* and what is the message he published, but

that which he goes on to say to them, *Keep thy feasts, O Judah; pay to the Lord thy vows. For they shall no more go to that which is old; it is finished; it is taken away: he is gone up who breathed upon the face, and delivered thee from affliction.* Now who is he that went up? a man may say to the Jews, in order that even the boast of the shadow may be done away; neither is it an idle thing to listen to the expression, *It is finished; He is gone up who breathed.* For nothing also was finished before he went up who breathed. But as soon as he went up, it was finished. Who was he then, O Jews, as I before said? If Moses, the assertion would be false; for the people were not yet come to the land in which alone they were commanded to perform these rites. But if Samuel, or any other of the prophets, even in that case there would be a perversion of the truth; for up to that time these things were done in Judæa, and the city was standing. For it was necessary that while that stood, these things should be performed. So that it was no one of these men, my beloved, who went up. But if thou wouldst hear the true matter, and be kept from Jewish fables, look to our Saviour who went up, and *breathed upon the face, and said to His disciples, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.* For as soon as these things were done, every thing then came to an end; for the altar was broken, and the veil of the temple was rent; and although the city was not yet laid waste, yet the abomination was ready to sit in the midst of the temple, and the city, and those ancient ordinances, to receive their final consummation.

Since then we have passed the time of the shadow, and no longer perform rites under it, but have turned, as it were, unto the Lord: *for the Lord is a Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty:* as we hear from the priestly trumpet; no longer slaying a material lamb, but that true Lamb that was slain, even our Lord Jesus Christ, *Who was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and was dumb, as a lamb before her shearers;* being purified by His precious blood, which speaketh better things than that of Abel; having our feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel; holding in our hands the rod and staff of the Lord, by which that saint was comforted, who said, *Thy rod and Thy staff* Ps. 23, 4.

A. D. 329.
Nah. 1, 15.
2, 1. (LXX.
vers.)

John 20,
22.

2Cor. 3, 17.

Isa. 53, 7.

Ps. 23, 4.

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they comfort me; and to speak collectively, being in all respects prepared and careful for nothing, because, as the blessed Paul saith, *The Lord is at hand*; and as our Saviour saith, *In an hour when we think not, the Lord cometh*;—
 Phil. 4, 5. Luke 12, 40. 1 Cor. 5, 8. Ephes. 4, 22—24. *Let us keep the Feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Putting off the old man and his deeds, let us put on the new man, which is created in God, in humbleness of mind, and a pure conscience; in meditation of the law by night and by day. And casting away all hypocrisy and fraud, putting far from us all haughtiness and guile, let us take upon us love towards God and towards our neighbour; that being new [creatures], and receiving the new wine, even the Holy Spirit, we may properly keep the feast, even the month of these new [fruits]°.*

† We begin the holy fast on the fifth day of Pharmuthi, (March 31,) and joining to it according to the number of those six holy and great days, which are the symbol of the creation of this world, let us rest and cease (from fasting) on the tenth day of the same Pharmuthi, (April 5,) on the holy sabbath of the week. And when the first day of the holy week dawns and rises upon us, on the eleventh day of the same month, (April 6,) numbering from it all the seven weeks, one by one, let us keep feast on the holy day of Pentecost—that which was at one time to the Jews, typically, the feast of weeks, in which they granted forgiveness and settlement of debts; and indeed that day was one of deliverance in every respect. Let us keep the feast on the first day of the great week, as a symbol of the world to come, in which we here receive a pledge that we shall have ever-

° Alluding to Deut. xvi. 1. φύλαξαι τὸν μῆνα τῶν νέων (scil. καρπῶν) LXX. Observa mensem novarum frugum. Vulg. i. e. the month of Abib. Heb. כִּבְרִי In Chaldee, we have כִּבְרִי fructum protulit, imprimis de fructu primò et præcoce, (Hos. ix. 10.

Targ.) Syr. ^{ܟܝܪܝܐ} flores produxit. Gesen. Lex. Heb.

† We should not have much difficulty in fixing upon many of the phrases and expressions used by St. Athan. towards

the close of his Eϋistles, by referring to the concluding sentences in the Paschal Letters of S. Cyril, who seems herein to have closely imitated his illustrious predecessor in the Patriarchate. The Syriac translator must frequently have had before him the following expressions: ἀρχόμενοι τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς—ἐπισυνάπτοντες—συνάπτοντες ἐξῆς—περιλύοντες τὰς νηστείας—καταπαύοντες τὰς νηστείας—ἐσπέρα βραβεία σαββάτου—τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ κυριακῇ.

lasting life hereafter. Then having passed from hence, we A. D. 329. shall keep a perfect feast with Christ, while we cry out and say, like the saints, *I will pass to the place of the wondrous Ps. 42, 4. tabernacle; to the house of God; with the voice of gladness and thanksgiving; the shouting of those who rejoice;* so that sorrow and affliction and sighing shall flee away, and gladness and joy be upon our heads!

May we be adjudged worthy to accomplish these things when we remember the poor, and do not forget kindness to strangers! But above all, when we love God with all our soul, and might, and strength, and our neighbour as ourselves; receiving those things which the eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man; which God hath prepared for those that love Him[¶], through His only Son, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; through Whom, to the Father alone, by the Holy Ghost, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

Salute one another with a kiss. All the brethren who are with me salute you.

Here endeth the first Festal Letter of holy Athanasius.

[¶] 1 Cor. ii. 9. Is. lxiv. 4. Conf. Clo. auribus, neque ullo sensu percipi potest. L. Orat. II. 'quod neque oculis, neque test.' L.

LETTER II.

A. D. 330. *Easter-day XXIV. Pharmuthi; XIII. Kal. Mai.; Æra*
Easter-day Dioclet. 46; Coss. Gallicianus, Valerius Symmachus;
on April 19. Præfect. Magninianus; Indict. III.

AGAIN, my brethren, is Easter come, and gladness; for again the Lord hath brought us to this season; so that when, according to custom, we have been nourished with His words, we may duly keep the feast. Let us celebrate it then, even heavenly joy, together with those saints who also formerly proclaimed such a feast as this, and were ensamples to us of conversation in Christ. For not only were they entrusted with the charge of preaching the Gospel, but, upon examination, we shall see, as it is written, that its power was
1 Cor. 4, 16. also displayed in them. *Be ye therefore followers of me*, he (St. Paul) wrote to the Corinthians. Now the apostolic expression is instructive to all of us; for those precepts which he forwarded to individuals, he, at the same time, enjoined
1 Tim. 2, 7. upon every man in every place^a, inasmuch as he was *a teacher of all nations in faith and truth*. And, generally, the precepts of all the saints have an equally extended application by way of exhortation; as Solomon, too, makes use of proverbs, say-
Prov. 4, 1. ing, *Hear, my children, the instruction of a father, and attend to know understanding; for I give you a good gift; forsake ye not my word; for I was an obedient son to my father, and beloved in the sight of my mother*. For a worthy father employs the right method of instruction, when he exhibits zeal in teaching others those things that had been properly imparted to himself; so that when he meets with opposition,
Rom. 2, 21. he may not be ashamed on hearing it said, *Thou therefore that teachest others, teachest thou not thyself?* but rather, like the good servant, may both save himself and gain

^a Conf. Letter iii.

others; and thus, when the grace committed to him has A. D. 330. been doubled, he may hear, *Thou good and faithful servant, Mat. 25, 21.* *thou hast been faithful in a little, I will set thee over much: enter into the joy of thy Lord.*

^b Be it then, on our parts, a becoming duty, if at all times, so especially in the days of the feast, to be, not hearers only, but also doers of the commandments of our Saviour; that also, having imitated the conversation of the saints, we may enter together into the joy of our Lord which is in heaven, which is not transitory, but truly abideth; of which evil doers having deprived themselves, there remaineth to them as the fruit of their ways, sorrow and anguish, and groaning, the result of torments. Let a man look on such as these, how thus they bear not the image^c of the conversation of the saints, nor of that right understanding, by which man at the beginning was rational, and in the form of God. But being barely on a level with the beast without understanding, and like it in unlicensed pleasures, they are described by comparison with lustful horses; also, for their craftiness, Jer. 5, 8. and errors, and sin laden with death, they are called a *generation of vipers*, as Luke saith^d. Now having thus fallen, Luke 3, 7. and grovelling in the dust like the serpent^e, they thought of nothing but things which are seen, esteeming them to be good; and rejoicing in these things, but not serving God, they ministered to their own desires. Yet even in this state, the man-loving^f Word, who came for this purpose, that He might seek that which was lost and find it, sought to restrain them from folly like this, crying and saying, *Be ye not as the horse and the mule which have Ps. 32, 9.*

^b We have here the first fragment extant of the original Greek text. It is to be found in Cominos Indico-pleustes, p. 316. with the title, *Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου ἐκ τῆς δευτέρας ὁρασιατικῆς.*

Γένοιτο δ' ἐν καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν πρεπόντως ἐκδοστος μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἑορτῆς, μὴ μόνον ἀκροαταί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιηταί τῶν τοῦ Χωτήρος προσταγμάτων γενόμεθα: ἵνα καὶ τῶν ἁγίων τρόπων μιμησάμενοι, συνεισέλθωμεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἑκπαστόν τε καὶ ἄνωγαν ἐν οὐρανοῖς χαρᾶν. A comparison of this with the Syriac text (from which the above is literally

translated) may serve to give us a correct opinion of the fidelity and accuracy with which the Syriac translator performed his part. The same may be said of the few other remaining lines extant in the Greek.

^c Syr. *elkân.*

^d The *Ma.* reads John incorrectly—for Matthew (iii. 7.) or Luke (iii. 7.)

^e *δαίμονες—καλοὶ μὲν γεγόνασι καὶ αὐτοί, ἐκπεσόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρανοῦ φρονήσεως καὶ λοιπὸν περὶ τὴν γῆν κυλινδούμενοι.* Athan. Vit. Anton. t. i. p. 348. L.

^f Syr. *ܐܢܝ ܕܥܘܠܐ. ܩܝܠܢܬܪܘܦܘܫ.*




LETTER II.






Is. 23, 2. (LXX. vers.)
Ps. 73, 20.

no understanding, whose cheeks ye hold in with bit and bridles. Because they were careless and like the wicked, the prophet also prays in spirit and says, *Ye are to me like merchant-men of Phœnicia.* And the avenging Spirit protests against them in these words, *Lord, in Thy city Thou wilt despise their image.* Thus then, being changed into the likeness of fools, they so far fell away in their understanding, that, by their excessive reasoning^h, they even likened the Divine Wisdom to themselves, thinking it to be like their own worksⁱ. Therefore, *professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the corruptible image of man, and birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore*

Rom. 1, 22.
28.

^s Conf. Athan. Orat. iii. contra Arianos, tom. i. p. 450. In both places, the idea of comparing mankind with different brute animals in illustration of their corrupt propensities is enlarged upon, and in both places reference is made to Jer. v. 8. and Ps. xxxii. 9. among other passages. "Ἔθος τῆ θεῆ γραφῆ τὰ κατὰ φύσιν ὄντα πρόγματα, ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς εἰκόνας καὶ παραδείγματα λαμβάνειν τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖ, ἵν' ἐκ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκείνων, τὰ ἐκ προαιρέσεως φαίνηται τῶν ἀνθρώπων κινήματα καὶ οὕτως, ἢ φαῦλος, ἢ δίκαιος ὁ τούτων δείκνυται τρόπος. Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν φαύλων ὡς ἐὰν παραγγέλλῃ, μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς ἵππος καὶ ἡμίονος, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι σύνεσις. (Ps. xxxi. 9.) ἢ καὶ ὅταν μεμφόμενος τοὺς οὕτω γενομένους, λέγῃ, ἄνθρωπος ἐν τιμῇ ὄν, οὐ συνῆκε παρα συμβλήθῃ τοῖς κτήνεσι τοῖς ἀνόητοις, καὶ ὁμοιώθῃ αὐτοῖς" (Ps. xlviii. 13.) καὶ παλὴν ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν. (Jer. v. 8.) Athan. then proceeds to produce and comment upon passages of Scripture, in which the characteristics of inferior animals are proposed for our imitation, e. g. the simplicity of the sheep; the harmlessness of the dove.

^h For  read  without however any difference in the meaning. Larsow renders  by 'ob ihrer eiteln Geschwätzigkeit,' 'by their idle talk,' explaining it in a note by *πολυλογία*. But

this would rather require   as in Matt. vi. 7. or   as in Prov. x. 19. The usage of the word, as well as the context and reference, seem to require the idea of *reasoning carried to excess*, rather than of *idle talking*.  is 'an irrational lamb,' in Letter iv. They became so absurd and sophistical in their reasoning (*εματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν*); so entangled themselves with subtleties on the divine nature, as to lose all right perception of God, and all appreciation of His character; (*ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδιά—ἐμωράνθησαν.*)

ⁱ Conf. Athan. Orat. contra Gentes, tom. i. p. 15. *eis γὰρ τὴν τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν ἀλογίαν πεσόντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν δρώντες ἢ ἡδονὰς καὶ σαρκὸς ἐπιθυμίας, ὡς ἐν τοῖτοις τοῖς ἀλόγοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντες, ἐν ἀλόγοις καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀνελάσαντο κατὰ τὴν ποικίλιαν τῶν παθῶν ἐαυτῶν, καὶ θεοὺς τοσοῦτους γλύψαντες.—προπαθόντες γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀλογίαις—, ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην θεοπλαστίαν κατέπεσον καὶ πεσόντες, λοιπὸν ὡς παραδοθέντες ἐν τῷ ἀποστραφῆναι τὸν θεὸν αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἐν αὐτοῖς κυλιόνται, καὶ ἐν ἀλόγοις τὸν τοῦ Λόγου πέτρα θεὸν ἀπεικάσουσι.* The idea formed of the Deity was too often but the reflex of the corrupt and degraded mind of the man.

God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things ^{A. D. 330.} which are not convenient. For they did not listen to the prophetic voice that reproved them, (saying,) *To what have ye likened the Lord, and with what have ye compared Him?* neither to David, who prayed concerning such as these, and sang, *All those that make them are like unto them, and all those who put their trust in them.* For, being blind to the truth, they looked upon a stone as God; and further, like senseless creatures, they went on in darkness; and, as the prophet cried, *They hear indeed, but they do not understand; they see indeed, but they do not perceive; for their heart is waxen fat, and with their ears they hear heavily.* ^{Is. 40, 18.} ^{Ps. 115, 8.} ^{Is. 6, 9.}

Now those who do not observe the feast¹, continue such persons even to the present day; pretending indeed and ^{1 Kings 12,} devising names of feasts¹, but rather introducing days of ^{22, 23.} mourning than of gladness; *For there is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord.* And as Wisdom saith, *Gladness and joy are taken from their mouth*^m. Such then are the feasts of the wicked. But the wise servants of the Lord, who have truly put on the man which is created in God, ^{Eph. 4, 24.} have received gospel words, and account, as of general application, the commandment given to Timothy, which saith, *Be thou an example to the believers in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in purity.* They keep the Feast with such propriety, that even the unbelievers, seeing their orderⁿ, may say, *God is with them of a truth.* For as he who ^{1 Cor. 14,} receives an apostle receives Him who sent him, so he who ^{25.} is a follower of the saints, makes the Lord in every respect his end and aim; even as Paul, being a follower of Him, says, *As I also of Christ.* For there is first the precedent ^{1 Cor. 11, 1.} of our Saviour, and herein is the height of His divinity, in that when He conversed with His disciples, He said, *Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and* ^{Mat. 11, 29.}

¹ **כרסן** ^{or ἀνόητοι.}

¹ Syr. σχηματισμένος. The allusion in this sentence is evidently to the conduct of Jeroboam, as recorded 1 Kings xii. 22, 23. The phraseology of the

Syriac **כרסן** (devising names of feasts) resembles that

of the Syr. version in v. 33. **כרסן**

כרסן Heb. **כרסן** (Keri.) LXX. ἐκλάσατο ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτοῦ. Eng. vers. devised of his own heart.

^m Vid. note f. Letter iii. page 23.

ⁿ τῶν, Syr. Conf. Col. ii. 5. βλάτων ὑμῶν τὴν τῶν.

men disguise themselves, who, as the Lord says, put on A. D. 330.
 sheep's clothing, and appeared like unto whited sepulchres ;
 but they took those divine words in their mouth, while
 having within an evil conscience. And the first, forsooth,
 who appeared thus, was the serpent, the inventor of wicked-
 ness from the beginning,—the devil,—who, under a dis-
 guised form, conversed with Eve, and forthwith deceived
 her. But after him and with him are all inventors of
 unlawful heresies¹, who indeed refer to the Scriptures, but
 do not hold such opinions as the saints have handed down,
 receiving them as the traditions of men ; erring, because
 they do not rightly know them, nor their power. There- Mat. 22, 29.
 fore Paul deservedly praises the Corinthians, because their
 opinions were in accordance with his traditions. And the
 Lord most righteously reproveth the Jews, saying, *Wherefore* Mat. 15, 3
do ye also transgress the commandments of God on account of
your traditions. For they changed the commandments they
 received from God to suit their own follies, and adhered
 rather to the traditions of men. Respecting these, a little
 after, the blessed Paul again gave directions to the Galatians
 who were in danger thereof², writing to them, *If any man* Gal. 1, 9.
preach to you aught else than that ye have received, let him

¹ Conf. S. Athan. Orat. i. contra Arian. tom. i. p. 323. Τίς οὐ θεωρεῖ τοῦτον ('Αρειον) διὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν ὀνομάζειν Θεὸν καὶ περὶ Θεοῦ λέγειν, ὡς τὸν υἱὸν συμβουλευόντα τῇ γυναίκι ; Again, p. 324. Μαθέτωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔτι καὶ ὁ τὰς αἰρέσεις ἐπινοήσας διδωλός, διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τῆς κακίας δυσωδίαν, κυχρᾶται τὰς λέξεις τῶν γραφῶν, ἵνα αὐτὰς ἔχων ἐπικάλυμμα, τὸν υἱὸν ἰὸν ἐπισκίρας, ἀπατήσῃ τοὺς ἀκεραίους. οὕτω τὴν Ἐβαν ἠπάτησεν· οὕτω καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰρέσεις ἐπλάσσε· οὕτω καὶ νῦν Ἀρειον ἔπεισεν κ. τ. λ. L. Again, p. 322. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ κίβδηλος καὶ Ἰσάδαιος Ἀρειος, ἀποκρίνεται μὲν ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ λέγων, παραγίθει τὰς τῶν γραφῶν λέξεις. The same comparison of the Arian heresy perverting Scripture, with the conduct of the serpent when he beguiled Eve, is made immediately at the commencement of the first discourse against the Arians. The Arians availed themselves of certain texts as objections, argued keenly and plausibly from them, and would not be driven

from them. Orat. ii. §. 18. conf. Epiph. Hær. 69. 15. Or rather they took some words of Scripture, and made their own deductions from them, viz. 'Son,' 'made,' 'exalted,' &c. 'Making their private irreligiosity as if a rule, they misinterpret all the divine oracles by it.' Vid. note to p. 178. of 'Select Treatises of S. Athanasius,' published in this series. Vide also Athan. Epistola ad Episc. Egypti et Libyæ, p. 214. Οὕτως καὶ τὴν Ἐβαν ἠπάτησεν, οὐ τὰ ἴδια λαλῶν, ἀλλ' ἀποκρινόμενος μὲν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥήματα, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν αὐτῶν παραποιῶν. Athan. frequently speaks of heresies as having their origin in truth, of which, however, only a partial and imperfect view is taken : one doctrine is often unduly dwelt upon to the suppression of others, or enforced with such subtlety of reasoning as to unfit the mind for the reception of others equally important.

² ὁ κίνδυνος (Syr.) αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ποιούντες. The Syriac is apparently a literal translation of these words.

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be accursed. For there is no fellowship whatever between the words of the saints, and the fancies^a of human invention; for the saints are the ministers of the truth, preaching the kingdom of heaven; but those who are borne in an opposite direction, have nothing better than to eat, and think their end is that they shall cease to exist, while they say, *Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.* Therefore also the blessed Luke reproves the inventions of men, and hands down the relations¹ of the saints, saying in the beginning of the Gospel, *Since many have taken in hand to write narrations of those events of which we are assured, as those who from the beginning were witnesses and ministers of the Word have delivered^u to us; it hath seemed good to me also, who have adhered to them all from the first^x, to write correctly in order to thee, O excellent Theophilus, that thou mayest know the truth concerning the things in which thou hast been instructed.* For what the saints respectively received, they give without alteration, for correctness of doctrine concerning mysteries. Of them the (divine) word would have us disciples, and right is it that they should be our teachers, and necessary is it that we should submit to them alone; for of them only is *the word faithful and worthy of all acceptation*, inasmuch as they did not become disciples because they heard from others; but being eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, they handed down what they had heard from Him.

1 Tim. 1,
15.

Some, indeed, related the great miracles performed by our Saviour, and preached His eternal Godhead. Others, again, wrote of His being born in the flesh of the Virgin, and proclaimed the festival of the holy passover, saying, *Christ our Passover is sacrificed;* so that each one of us, and all of us together in common, and all the churches in the world may remember, as it is written, *That Christ rose from the dead, of the seed of David, according to the Gospel.* And let not that escape our observation which

1 Cor. 5, 7.

2 Tim. 2, 8.

^a *qawraala* Syr.

¹ Literally 'those of the saints.'

^u For *ܩܘܠܘܡܗܘܢ* leg. *ܩܘܠܘܡܗܘܢ*;

^x The Syriac text here *ܩܘܠܘܡܗܘܢ* *ܩܘܠܘܡܗܘܢ* seems to re-

quire the above translation. The Peshito version is to the same effect,

ܩܘܠܘܡܗܘܢ ܩܘܠܘܡܗܘܢ ܩܘܠܘܡܗܘܢ

ܩܘܠܘܡܗܘܢ

Paul delivered, declaring it to the Corinthians; that, I A.D. 830.
 mean, concerning His resurrection, whereby *he destroyed* Heb. 2, 14.
him that had the power of death; that is, the devil, and
 raised us up together with Him; having loosed the bands of
 death, and vouchsafed a blessing instead of a curse; joy instead
 of grief; a feast in the place of mourning, in this holy joy
 of Easter; which being continually in our hearts, we always
 rejoice, as Paul commanded; *Praying without ceasing; in* 1 Thess. 5,
every thing giving thanks. We therefore do not neglect to 17.
 publish its seasons, as we have received from the Fathers.

Again we write. Again, holding the apostolic traditions,
 we put one another in remembrance in our meetings for
 prayer; and keeping the feast in common, with one mouth
 we truly give thanks to the Lord. For thus receiving the
 grace, and being followers of the saints, *we shall make our* Ps. 35, 28.
praise in the Lord all the day, as the Psalmist says. In
 this way, when we properly keep the feast, we shall be
 counted worthy of that joy which is in heaven⁷. We begin
 the fast of forty days on the 13th of the month Phamenoth,
 (Mar. 9.) After we have given ourselves to fasting in con-
 tinued succession, let us begin the week of the holy Easter⁸
 on the 18th of the month Pharmuthi, (April 13.) Then
 ceasing on the 23d of the same month Pharmuthi, (April 18,)
 and keeping the feast afterwards on the first of the week,
 on the 24th, (April 19,) let us add to these the seven weeks
 of the great Pentecost, altogether rejoicing and exulting in
 Christ Jesus our Lord, through Whom to the Father be
 glory and dominion by the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever.
 Amen.

The brethren which are with me salute you. Salute one
 another with a holy kiss⁹.

Here endeth the second Festal Letter of the holy my Lord
 Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria.

⁷ Compare the fragment of the ori-
 ginal Greek, given in page 15.

⁸ The word **Πασχα** (Heb. פסח
 Gr. *πάσχα*) is sometimes rendered
 Easter, and sometimes Passover, in
 the following pages.

⁹ The twenty-fifth Paschal Letter

of S. Cyril ends with the same words.
 Ἀσπάζεσθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ.
 Ἀσπάζονται ἡμῖς οἱ σὺν ἡμοῖς ἀθεοφόλοι.
 It will be observed, that this is the
 usual form in which our author con-
 cludes his Paschal Letters. S. Cyril
 employs it but once, as above.

having joined us again, we approach the same feast, and A. D. 831. always worship the same Lord.

And we do not keep the festival as observers of days, knowing that the Apostle reproves those who do so, in those words which he spake; *Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years.* But rather do we look upon the day as a solemn one because of the feast; so that all of us, who serve God in every place, may be well-pleasing to God by prayers^d. For the blessed Paul, when announcing the nearness of gladness like this, did not announce days, but the Lord, on whose account also we keep the feast, saying, *Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed;* so that all of us, contemplating the eternity of the Word, may have nearness of access to Him. For what else is the feast, but the service of the soul? And what is that service, but prolonged prayer to God, and unceasing thanksgiving^e? The unthankful having put these far from them, consequently also rightly deprive themselves of the joy springing therefrom: *for joy and gladness are taken from their mouth*^f. Therefore, the (divine) word doth not allow them to have peace; *For there is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord,* working the work of anguish and sorrow. So, not even to him who owed ten thousand talents did the Gospel grant forgiveness in the sight of the Lord. For even he, having received forgiveness of great things, was forgetful of kindness in little ones, so that he paid the penalty also of those former things^g. And very properly so; for it was incumbent on

Gal. 4, 10.

1 Cor. 5, 7.

Is. 48, 22.

Mat. 18, 24.

^d The time of the Jewish types and shadows having passed away, the observance of the particular days celebrated among them is likewise abrogated. They think principally of the seasons; we are to direct our attention chiefly to the substance of the festival—Christ. When directions for keeping the Jewish feasts were given in the O. T. especial stress was laid on the particular day. In the N. T. on the contrary, our Saviour is the one great subject introduced to our notice—Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed.

• *ܐܘܨܬܐܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܘܪܐܘܬܐ*
ܐܘܨܬܐܘܪܐ 'unceasing thanksgiving'—a similar expression to 'prolonged prayer' in the preceding line—not 'freiwilligen,'

'voluntary,' as Larsoy renders it. Vid. Cast. Lex. Syr. in v. *ܐܘܨܬܐܘܪܐ*; *ܐܘܨܬܐܘܪܐ* 'abstinet.' In this sense, the word is cognate with *ܐܘܨܬܐܘܪܐ*. *Εὐχαριστία ἀδιδλευπτος* (P) Conf. Clemens Alex. Strom. 7. 1. *ἀδιδλευπτος ἀγάπη*. Also 1 Thess. v. 16, 17. both in the Greek and in the Syriac vers. and Letter xi. ^f This is apparently a quotation from Scripture, though I cannot find the exact words. Perhaps it is from Jer. vii. the phraseology of v. 28. being transferred to the sentiment of v. 34. The expression has already occurred, p. 17.

^g As, in the parable, the servant was held accountable for the debt, (which had otherwise been forgiven

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- him, having himself experienced kindness, to be merciful to his fellow servant. Also, he that received the one talent, and bound it up in a napkin, and hid it in the earth, was consequently cast out as an unthankful person, hearing the words, *Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gathered where I have not strawed; thou oughtest therefore to have put my money into the bank, and on my return, I should have received mine own. Take therefore the talent from him, and give^b it to him that hath ten talents.* For, as a matter of course, when he was required to deliver up to his lord that which belonged to him, he should have acknowledged the kindness of him who gave it, and the value of that which was given. For he who gave was not a hard man; had he been so, he would not have given even in the first instance; neither was that which was given unprofitable and vain; for then he had not found fault. But both he who gave was good, and that which was given was capable of bearing fruit.
- As therefore *he who withholdeth corn in seed-time is cursed*, according to the divine proverb; so he who is careless about grace, and hides it without culture, is properly cast out as a wicked and unthankful person. On this account, he praises those who increased [their talents], saying, *Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful in a little, I will place thee over much; enter into the joy of thy Lord.* This was fit and reasonable; for, as the Scripture declares, they had gained as much as they had received. Now it is right, my beloved, that our will should keep pace with the grace of God, and not fall short; lest when our will remains idle, the grace given usⁱ should begin to depart, and the enemy finding us empty and naked, should enter [into us], as was the case with him spoken of in the Gospel, from whom the devil went out; *for having gone through dry places, he took seven other spirits more wicked than himself; and returning and finding the house empty, he dwelt there, and the last state of that man was*

him,) on account of his cruelty to his fellow-servant; so sinners, who ungratefully withhold praise and thanksgiving from God, are deprived of the blessings they before enjoyed.

^b For εδοσ leg. σεδοσ

ⁱ For Δδσλ; leg. Δδσλ;?

worse than the first. For the withdrawal from virtue gives A. D. 831. place for the entrance of the unclean spirit. There is, moreover, the apostolic injunction, that the grace given us should not be unprofitable; for those things which he (Paul) wrote to his disciple as of private application, he enforces on us through him^k, saying, *Neglect not the gift that is in thee. For he who tilleth his land shall be satisfied with bread; but the paths of the slothful are strewn with thorns;* ^{1 Tim. 4, 14.} ^{Prov. 12, 12.} ^{Prov. 15, 19.} so that the Spirit forewarns a man not to fall into them, saying, *Break up your fallow ground, sow not among thorns.* ^{Jer. 4, 3.} For when a man despises the grace given him, and forthwith falls into the cares of the world, he delivers himself over to his lusts; and thus in the time of persecution he is offended^l, and becomes altogether unfruitful. ^{1 σκανδαλίσει Mat. 13, 21.}

Now the prophet points out the end of negligence like this, saying, *Cursed is he who doeth the work of the Lord carelessly*¹. For he who is enlisted in the service of the Lord should be zealous and careful, yea, moreover, burning like a flame; so that when, by an ardent spirit, he has destroyed all earthly^m sin, he may be able to draw near to God, Who, according to the expression of the saints, is called a consuming fire. Therefore, the God of all, *Who maketh His angels [spirits], is a spirit, and His ministers a flame of fire.* ^{Deut. 4, 24; 9, 3; and Heb. 12, 29.} Wherefore, in the departure from Egypt, He forbade the multitude to touch the mountain, where God was appointing them the law, because they were not of this character. But He called blessed Moses to it, as being fervent in spirit, and possessing unquenchable grace, saying, *Let Moses alone draw near.* ^{Ps. 104, 4.} On this account he also entered ^{Exod. 24, 2.} into the cloud, and when the mountain was smoking, he was not injured; but rather, through *the words of the Lord,* ^{Ps. 12, 6.} which are choice silver tried in the earth, he descended more pure.

Therefore the blessed Paul, when desirous that the grace of the Spirit given to us should not grow cold, exhorts,

^k Conf. Letter ii. p. 14. line 14.

^l Conf. Epist. i. ad Castor. Athan. op. tom. ii. p. 314. *ὡς γὰρ τοῖς πιστῶς δουλεύουσι τῷ δεσπότῃ, δόξα, τιμὴ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐπαγγελταί· οὕτως τιμωρίαί βαρύτεραι τοῖς χλιαρῶς, καὶ βραθύμως*

προσερχομένοις ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ. Vid. also S. Athan. Epist. i. ad Serap. t. i. p. 520.

^m Syr. **ἁλλοδοσι** 'material,' 'earthly,' an adjective formed from the Gr. ἄλλο.

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 III. remain partakers of Christ^o, that is, if we hold fast unto
 1 Thess. 5, the end the Spirit given at the beginning. For he said,
 19. *Quench not*; not because the Spirit is placed in the power
 of men, and is able to suffer any thing from them; but
 because bad and unthankful men are such as manifestly
 wish to quench it; since they, like the impure, persecute
 the Spirit with unholy deeds. *For the holy Spirit of*
 Wisd. 1, 4. *admonition flees from guile, and dwells not in a body*
under the influence of sin; but even removes^p far from
imaginings void of understanding. But they being void
 of understanding, and guileful, and lovers of sin, walk still
 John 1, 9. as in darkness, not having that *Light which lighteth every*
man that cometh into the world. Now a fire such as this
 laid hold of Jeremiah the prophet, when the word was in
 Jer. 20, 9. him as a fire, and he said, ^q *I pass away from every place,*
and am not able to endure it. And our Lord Jesus Christ,
 in that He was good and man-loving, came that He might
 cast this upon earth, and said, *And what? would that it*
were already kindled^r! For He desired, as He testified in
 Luke 12, the repentance of a man rather than his death; so
 49. that evil should be consumed in all men, to the end that
 Ezek. 18, the soul, being purified, might be able to bring forth fruit;
 23. 32.

^a The commentary of Theophylact on this passage is to the following effect. Ἐπειδὴ νύξ ἐστίν ὁ παρὼν βίος, ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς λαμπράδα, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἀλλὰ ταύτην οἱ μὲν λαμπροτέραν εἰργάσαντο, ὡς πάντες οἱ ἄγιοι οἱ δὲ ἐσβέσαν, ὡς αἱ πέντε παρθένοι, ἀνέλαιον ταύτην ἀφείσαι. Again his words on 2 Tim. i. 6. (ἀναζωπυρεῖν τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ Θεοῦ) are, Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸ πῦρ δεῖται ξύλων, οὕτω καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Πνεύματος δεῖται προθυμίας, καὶ προσοχῆς, καὶ νήψεως, ἵνα φεῖ ἀναζέῃ.

^o Conf. S. Athan. Expos. in Psalmos, t. i. p. 863. πῦρ ὥσπερ νοητὸν, τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μέθεξιν ἐμβάλων.

^p For **ⲓⲛⲟⲩ** **ⲙⲓ** leg. **ⲓⲛⲟⲩ** **ⲙⲓ**.

The **ⲙ** after **ⲓⲛⲟⲩ** should probably be omitted, the error having arisen from the word occurring just before.

^q Conf. S. Athan. Epist. ad Dracont. tom. i. p. 209.

^r God appeared on mount Sinai as a devouring fire. Christ declares that He came to send a fire on the earth. The descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost was connected with fire. He is a fire that may be 'quenched.' The gifts of the Holy Ghost in Christians are a fire that is to be carefully watched. S. Athan. de Communi Ess. Patr. &c. t. 2. p. 17. Μαρτυρεῖ Μωσῆς λέγων καὶ ἦν ἡ δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῷ θρεῖ Σινῶ, ὡς πῦρ καιόμενον· ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, πῦρ οὐκ ἀφανιστικόν, ἀλλὰ καθαρτικόν.—οὕτω τότε ἐφάνη τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ, ἐν εἰδει πυρός. Conf. also Vita Sanctæ Syncreticæ apud Athan. t. ii. p. 628. ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκων οὕτω θεὸς καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ θεῖον πῦρ εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξέψαμε μετὰ δακρύων καὶ κόπου. αὐτὸς γὰρ φησιν ὁ κύριος· πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν Vid. also Chrysost. Hom. vi. in Matth. vol. vii. p. 109. Ed. Paris, 1839.

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pass no season without thanksgiving; but especially now, when the time is one of tribulation, which the heretics excite against us, will we praise the Lord; uttering the words of the saints; *All these things have come upon us, yet have we not forgotten Thee.* For as the Jews at that time, although suffering an assault from the tabernacles^u of the Edomites, and oppressed by the enemies of Jerusalem, did not give themselves up^v, but all the more sang praises to God; so we, my beloved brethren, though hindered that we should not speak the word of the Lord, will the more proclaim it; and being afflicted, we will sing Psalms^x, that we are accounted worthy to be despised, and to labour anxiously for the truth. Yea, moreover, being grievously vexed, we will give thanks.

For also the blessed Apostle, who gave thanks at all times, urges us in the same manner to draw near to God, saying Phil. 4, 6. *Let your requests, with thanksgiving, be made known unto God.* And being desirous that we should never desist from such a purpose as this, he says, 1 Thess. 5, 17. *At all times give thanks; pray without ceasing.* For he knew that believers are strong while employed in thanksgiving; and that rejoicing they pass over the walls of the enemy, like those saints who said, Ps. 18, 29. *Through Thee will we pierce through our enemies, and by my God I will leap over a wall.* At all times let us stand firm, but especially now, although many afflictions overtake us, and many heretics are furious against us. Let us then, my beloved brethren, celebrate with thanksgiving the holy feast which now draws near to us, girding up the loins of our minds, like our Saviour Jesus Christ, of Whom it is written, Is. 11, 5. *Righteousness shall be the belt of His loins, and faithfulness the girdle of His reins.* Each one of us having in his hand the staff which came out of the root of Jesse, and our feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel, let us keep the feast as Paul saith, 1 Cor. 5, 7. *Not with the old leaven, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth;* assured that we thus reverently think of Christ, and depart not from faith

^u The Syr. **ⲙⲧⲧⲃⲓ** must be an error of the copyist for **ⲙⲧⲧⲃⲓ**. Compare Ps. lxxxiii. 6.

^v For **ⲙⲧⲧⲃⲓ** leg. **ⲙⲧⲧⲃⲓ**.

^x Conf. James v. 13.

^y For **ⲙⲧⲧⲃⲓ** leg. **ⲙⲧⲧⲃⲓ**.

in Him, nor defile ourselves together with heretics, and strangers to the truth, whose conversation and whose will bring them down. But rejoicing in afflictions, we break through the furnace of iron and darkness, and pass, unharmed, over that terrible Red Sea. A.D. 881.

Thus also, when we look upon the confusion of heretics, we shall, with Moses, sing that great song of praise, and say, *We will sing unto the Lord, for He is to be gloriously praised.* Thus, singing praises, and looking upon sinners against us, who have been submerged^a, we pass over to the wilderness. And being first purified by the fast of forty days, by prayers, and fastings, and discipline, and good works, we shall be able also to eat the holy Passover in Jerusalem. Exod. 15, 1.

The beginning of the fast of forty days is on the fifth of Phamenoth (Mar. 1.); and when, as I have said, we have first been purified and prepared by those days, we also begin the holy week of the great Easter on the tenth of Pharmuthi (Apr. 5.), in which, my beloved brethren, we should observe more prolonged prayers, and fastings, and watchings, that we may be enabled to anoint our lintels^a with precious blood, and to escape the destroyer. We cease (fasting) then, on the fifteenth of the month Pharmuthi (Apr. 10.), when we hear from the angels in the evening of the seventh day of the week, *Why seek ye the living among the dead?* Exod. 12, 7, 28.
for He hath risen. Luke 24, 5. Immediately afterwards the first day of the great week receives us, I mean on the sixteenth of the same month Pharmuthi (April 11.), on which our Lord having risen, vouchsafed to us peace towards our neighbours. When then we have thus kept the feast according to His will, let us add from that first day in the holy week, also the seven weeks of Pentecost, in which we, receiving the grace of the Spirit, shall be giving thanks to the Lord at all times; through Whom to the Father be

^a Syr. ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܨܐ *elsofōntes tēn eis hūas* ἀμαρτίαν τὴν καταδουκυῖαν, the abstract being used for the concrete. There is an evident allusion to Exod. xiv. 30. 'And Israel saw the Egyptians

dead upon the sea-shore.' Larsow renders it 'und die Sünde in uns untergehen sehn'—a translation the Syriac will hardly admit.

^a πρῶσάδες, Syr.

LETTER glory and dominion, by the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever.
III. Amen.

Salute one another with a holy kiss. The brethren who are with me salute you. I pray, brethren beloved and longed for, that ye may have health, and that ye may be mindful of us in the Lord.

Here endeth the third Festal Letter of holy Athanasius.

LETTER IV.

Easter-day VII Pharmuthi^a; IV Non. Apr.; Æra Dioclet. A. D. 332.
48; Coss. Fabius Pacatianus, Mæcilius Hilarianus; Præ- Easter-day
fect. Hyginus^b; Indict. V. on April 9.

He sent this Letter from the Comitatus by a soldier^c.

I SEND unto you, my beloved, late and beyond the accustomed time^d; yet I trust you will forgive the delay, on account of my far travelling, and because I have been tried with protracted illness. Being then hindered by these two causes, and unusually severe storms having occurred, I have deferred writing to you. But notwithstanding my far travelling, and my grievous sickness, I have not forgotten to give you the festal notification, and, in discharge of my

^a The Syriac text has 17th instead of 7th. There is the same error in the index. The correct day is given towards the end of the Letter. The first day of Pharmuthi coincided with the 27th of March. Vid. remarks on the Egyptian Chronology, contained in the Preface.

^b There is sometimes a difficulty, in the absence of independent testimony, in ascertaining the exact orthography of the proper names, from the loose manner in which they are written in the Syriac. Here, however, it is clearly Hyginus, as in Sosomen, lib. ii. ch. xxv. Larsow writes it Eugenius. He has also the 46th instead of the 48th of the Diocletian Æra. The word 'Fabius' is not clear. It is *waselo* in Syriac, the Nun, perhaps, should be Yud. In Baronii Annal. Eccles. however, we find it Ovinius.

^c The word in the Syriac is *lube*. Towards the end of the letter, the word employed is *waselaweeol* 'Officilius.' Cureton considers this

latter word may be an error for the Latin Officialis. This opinion receives weight from the word used in this place. It sometimes answers to the Gr. *σπαράδης*, e. g. Acts x. 7.

^d In the index an error is made, it being there stated that the *third*, not the *fourth*, Letter was sent late. It is there also said, that the charge, concerning which Athanasius was summoned before Constantine, was that of having been consecrated when under the canonical age. But this does not appear to have formed the specific charge against him *at that time*. The names of his accusers given at the end of the Letter determine the case. Three of them, Ision, Eudæmon, and Callinicus, are mentioned by S. Athan. in his Apol. contra Arian. p. 141. The emperor was at Psammathia, a suburb of Nicomedia, and Athanasius was summoned before him, to answer charges of high treason, and also of breaking a communion chalice, and of imposing a tribute of linen on the people for the service of the Church.

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duty, I now announce to you the feast. For although the letter has been delayed beyond the accustomed period of the proclamation, yet it should not be considered ill-timed, inasmuch as, since the enemies have been put to shame and reproved by the Church, because they persecuted us without a cause^e, we may now sing a festal song of praise, uttering the triumphant hymn against Pharaoh; *We will sing unto the Lord, for He is to be gloriously praised; the horse and his rider He hath cast into the sea.* For we proceed duly, my beloved, from feast to feast; again festal meetings, again holy watchings stir up our minds, and keep our consciences on the guard to spiritual contemplation^f of good things.

We do not celebrate^g these days in the character of mourners; but, as refreshing ourselves with spiritual food, we impose silence on our fleshly lusts^h. For by these means we shall have strength to overcome our adversaries, like blessed Judithⁱ, when, first having occupied herself with fastings and prayers, she overcame the enemies, and killed Olophernes. And blessed Esther, when destruction was about to come on all her race, and the nation of Israel was ready to perish, defeated the fury of the tyrant by no other means than by fasting and prayer to God, and changed the ruin of her people into safety. Now as those days are considered feasts for Israel, so also in old time they were called feasts when an enemy was slain, or a conspiracy against the people broken up, and Israel delivered. On this account it was that blessed Moses of old time ordained the great feast of the Passover, and our celebration of it, because, namely, Pharaoh was killed, and the people were delivered from bondage. But then, when those who tyrannized^k over

Exod. 15, 1.

Judith 13, 8.

Esther 4, 16.

Esther 9, 20—28.

Judith 9.

^e Constantine, in his letter to the Church of Alexandria, written on this occasion, speaks of the envy of the accusers of Athan. and of their unsuccessful efforts to criminate him. Apol. contra Arian. p. 142. οἱ γὰρ μισοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης κειμένην ἔχουσι τὴν κελίαν.—οὐδὲν ἰσχυσαὶ οἱ ποτηροὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου δμῶν. Speaking of Athanasius himself, he declares his approbation of the Bishop's conduct, and calls him 'a man of God.' δ μὲν καλῶς διδάσας, πολέμιος κρίνεται—ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸν δμότερον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀθανάσιον ἀσμένως προσηκίμην, οὕτως τε προσ-

εφθεγξάμην, ὡς ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν Θεοῦ δοῦτα πεπεισμένος.

^f Θεωρία, Syr. Vid. Suicer. in verb.

^g For ~~κατασκευάζω~~.

^h τοῖς τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπιτιμῶντες πάθει-σιν. S. Cyrill. Hom. Pasch. xx.

ⁱ Neither Judith nor Esther is reckoned among the canonical books of the O. T. by S. Athan. He mentions, however, that some regarded the book of Esther as canonical. Vid. Syn. Script. Sacr. p. 98.

^k Τύραννοι, Syr.

the people were slain, feasts and holidays were observed A. D. 332. partially—in Judæa—with reference to time. Now, however, that the devil is slain, that tyrant¹ against the whole world, we do not approach the feast, my beloved, as a temporal one, but as being eternal and heavenly. For we proclaim it not as it were in shadows, but we come to it in the truth. They indeed, when filled with the flesh of an irrational lamb^m, accomplished the feast, and having anointed their door-posts with the blood, deprecated the destroyerⁿ. But now we, eating of the Word of the Father, and having the lintels of our hearts sealed with the blood Matt. 26, 28. of the New Testament, acknowledge the grace given us from the Saviour, who said, *Behold, I have given unto you* Luke 10, 19. *to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy*^o. For no more does death reign; but instead of death henceforth there is life, since our Lord said, *I am* John 14, 6. *the life*; so that every thing is filled with gladness and rejoicing; as it is written, *The Lord reigneth, let the earth* Ps. 97, 1. *rejoice*. For when death reigned, *sitting down by the rivers* Ps. 137, 1. *of Babylon, we wept*, and mourned, because we had experienced the bitterness of captivity; but now that death and the kingdom of the devil is abolished, every thing is entirely filled with joy and gladness. And God is no longer known Ps. 76, 1. in Judæa only, but in all the earth, *their voice hath gone* Ps. 19, 4. *forth, and the knowledge of Him hath filled all the earth*. What remains, my beloved, is obvious; that, as the result, we approach such a feast, not with filthy raiment, but with our consciences covered with pure garments. For we need in this to put on our Lord Jesus^p, that we may be able to celebrate the feast with Him. Now we are clothed with Him when we love virtue; when we are enemies to wickedness; when we exercise ourselves with temperance; when we mortify lasciviousness; when we love righteousness, in

¹ Τύραννος Syr.

^m ἀνοσι ἀλόγου (L.)

ⁿ Conf. S. Cyril. Hom. Pasch. xxiv. p. 293. Ed. Lutet. 1638. τεθύκασι γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν ἀμόνον εἶτα τῶν κρεῶν αὐτοῦ κατεβηδοκότες, καταχρίοντες δὲ καὶ τῷ αἵματι τῶν θωματίων τὰς εἰσβολὰς, ἤτοι τὰς φιλίας, οὐ συνδιολώλασι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις.

^o Conf. Athan. Vita S. Ant. p. 654.

ἴσασι γὰρ τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν δοθεῖσαν χάριν τοῖς πιστοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ζωτῆρος, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὕψων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ.

^p Conf. Rom. xiii. 14. 'put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ.'

by these things, we shall also, my beloved, properly keep A. D. 392. the feast of the Passover.

We commence on the first of Pharmuthi (Mar. 27.); and having ceased on the sixth of the same month (Apr. 1.), on the evening of the seventh day, and the holy first day of the week having risen upon us on the seventh of the same Pharmuthi (Apr. 2.), celebrate we too the days of the holy Pentecost following thereon, by them introducing a symbol of the world to come^u. But that henceforth we may be with Christ for ever, let us give praise to God over all in Christ Jesus, and through Him, with all saints, say unto the Lord, Amen.

Salute one another with a holy kiss. All the brethren who are with me salute you.

We have sent this letter from the Comitatus, by the hand of an attendant officer^v, to whom it was given by Ablabius^w, the Præfect of the Prætorium, who fears God in truth.

^u The whole interval of fifty days between Easter-day and Whitsunday (all which time was sometimes denominated Pentecost) was looked upon by the early Church as a time of rejoicing. During the continuance of it, the ordinary fasts, as on Wednesdays and Fridays, were generally suspended, though not alike by all the Churches of Christendom. Cassian Collat. xxi. c. xi. (Lips. 1733. p. 461.) speaks of the monasteries of Syria paying little regard to the rule which forbade kneeling at prayers, or fasting in Pentecost, while the Egyptians carefully observed it:—

Cæcilius diligentius percunctari, cur apud Ægyptios tantâ observantiâ caveatur, ne quis penitus totis Quinquagesimæ diebus vel genus in oratione curvaret, vel usque ad horam nonam jejunare præserit; eoque id diligentius scrutabamur, quod nequaquam hoc tantâ cautione servari in Syriæ monasteriis videramus. Bingham's Christian Ant. book xx. ch. 6.

It was due to this custom of regarding the whole season of Pentecost as one of rejoicing, during which fasts were suspended, that it is mentioned as a symbol of the world to come. S. Cyril uses the same comparison towards the end of his 26th Paschal discourse, συνάπτουρες ἐξῆς καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἑβδομάδας τῆς ἁγίας Πεν-

τηκοστῆς ἵνα καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀνάσσεως, καθάπερ εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀναπαύλης λογιζόμενοι. The same idea is expressed in each of his last five discourses.

^v Vid. note to the title of this Letter. I am inclined to think that the person here mentioned belonged to the class termed *palatini*. These were employed about the palace of the emperor, and though not actually of the number of the army, or accustomed to bear arms, were nevertheless included in the term 'military,' whatever service might be assigned them. This may account for the word used with reference to him in the title of the Letter. Among the number of these *palatini*, was one who was specially engaged as the bearer of the ordinary communications to and from the Emperor and the Patriarch. There was an officer to whom the general superintendence of the palace and the command of the *palatini* was committed. Ablabius probably now filled that post. Vid. Suicer. Thea. in v. Παλατινός.

^w Ablabius (hic, Ablabius) Præfect of the city, the minister and favourite of Constantine the Great, was murdered after the death of the latter. He was consul in the preceding year. Zosimus ii. 40. (Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biography.)

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For I am at the Comitatus, having been summoned by the emperor Constantine to see him. But the Meletians, who were present there, being envious, sought our ruin before the Emperor. But they were put to shame and driven away thence as calumniators, being confuted by many things. Those who were thus driven away were Callinicus, Ision, Eudæmon, and Gelous Hieracammon, who, on account of the shame of his name, calls himself Eulogius.

Here endeth the fourth Festal Letter of holy Athanasius.

LETTER V.

Easter-day^a, Coss. Dalmatius and Zenophilus; Præfect. A. D. 333. Paterius^b; VI. Indict. XVII. Kal. Maii; XX. Pharmuthi; Easter-day on April 15. XV. Moon; VII. Gods; Æra Dioclet. 49.

WE duly proceed, my brethren, from feasts to feasts, duly from prayers to prayers; we advance from fasts^c to fasts, and join holy-days to holy-days. Again the time has arrived which brings to us a new beginning^d, even the announcement of the blessed Passover, in which our Lord was sacrificed. We eat, as it were, the food of life; and, thirsting continually, are at all times delighted, as it were, from a fountain, by His precious blood. For we, on the one hand, are always eagerly desirous; He, on the other, stands ready for those who thirst; and for those who thirst, there is the word^e of our Saviour, which, according to His loving-kindness, He vouchsafed in the day of the feast; *If any man* John 7, 37. *thirst, let him come to Me and drink.* Nor was it then alone

^a Pagius makes Easter-day on this year to have fallen on Ap. 22. (Vid. Baron. Annal. Eccles. tom. 4. p. 248.) This is a mistake. The Chron. Pasch. (tom. ii. p. 202.) agrees with the title to this letter.

^b The Syriac must be for 'Paterius' not 'Paternus,' as Larsow writes it. The Nun and the Yud are often confounded in the Ms. Moreover, the letter Olaph would not be written in Syriac as part of the final syllable 'nus,' though it *does* frequently appear in the Ms. in the termination 'ius:' e. g. Patriolius, Anicius, Septimius, Florentius. We know that the præfect in the year 319 bore the name of Paterius. Vid. Baron. Ann. Eccles. tom. 4. p. 8. §. xxi.

^c Read **ῥοῶ**, with the Rebuti.

^d The allusion here is to the time of the year at which Easter is celebrated, viz. the Spring, and in particular to the passage in Deut. chap. xxvi. 1. which is more than once quoted in these letters: *Φύλαξαι τὸν μῆνα τῶν νέων.* Vid. note o to Letter i. p. 12.; also note to Letter xix, sub Init. In the expression 'new beginning' reference is also made to our Saviour, (*ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Apocal. iii. 14.) to whom we are brought near in the feast, according to what follows. Conf. Athan. contra Apollinarium, lib. i. §. 20. p. 748-9.

^e The Syriac is rather obscure here. I suspect an error in the word **αἴμα**. Conf. Expon. in Psalmos (Ps. 118, 171.) *οἶδεν οὖν ὁ θεῖος λόγος πνευματικὴν τροφήν· αὐτὸς οὖν ὁ λόγος φησὶν ἄριστος εἶναι.*

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when any one drew near to Him, that He cured his thirst; but, moreover, whenever it is sought, is there access freely for any man to the Saviour. For the grace of the feast is not limited to one time, nor does its splendid brilliancy suffer an eclipse; but it is always near, enlightening the conscience of those who earnestly desire it^f. For there is constant virtue in this, to those who are illuminated in their minds, and meditate on the divine Scriptures day and night, like the man to whom a blessing is given, as it is written in Ps. 1, 1. . . the sacred Psalms; *Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of corrupters. But his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law doth he meditate day and night.* For it is not the sun^g, or the moon, or the host of those other stars which illumines him; but he glitters with the high effulgence of God over all. For it is God, my beloved, even the God Who at first established the feast for us, Who vouchsafes the celebration of it year by year. He also brought about the slaying of His Son for salvation, and gave us this reason for the holy feast; to which every year is a witness, the feast being proclaimed annually at a season corresponding with the present. This also leads us on from the cross by means of this world to that which is before us, and God produces even now from it the joy of glorious^h salvation, bringing us to the same assembly, and in every place uniting all of us in spirit; appointing us common prayers, and a common grace proceeding from the feast. For this is the marvel of his loving-kindness, that He should gather together in the same place those who are at a distance; and make those who appear to be far off in the body, to be near together in unity of spirit. Wherefore then, my beloved, do we not acknowledge the grace as becometh the feast? Wherefore do we not make a return to our Benefactor? It is indeed impossible to make an adequate return to God; still, it is a

^f Vide note c to Letter i. p. 3.

^g In the Ms. **כס** is written by mistake for **כסו**.

^h Syr. **ܟܫܘܝܐ**. This root is unknown in Syriac, and I believe in all the

Shemitic languages. There is, I doubt not, an error in the text, and that the word should be some form of the root **כסו** which, in Heb. Chald. Syr. Æthiop. and Arabic, conveys the idea of splendor.



wicked thing for us who receive the gracious gift, not to A. D. 533. acknowledge it. Nature itself manifests our inability; but our own will reproves our unthankfulness. Therefore the blessed Paul, when admiring the greatness of the gift of God, said, *And who is sufficient for these things?* For ² Cor. 2, 17. He made the world free by the blood of our Saviour; then, again, He caused the grave to be trodden down by the death of our Saviour, and opened the gates of heaven, granting through our Saviour an uninterrupted way to those who ascend (thereto)¹. On this account, one of the saints^k, while he acknowledged the grace, but was insufficient to repay^l it, said, *What shall I render unto the Lord* Ps. 116, 12. *for all He has done unto me?* For instead of death he had received life; freedom instead of bondage^m; and the kingdom of heaven instead of the grave. For of old time, *death reigned from Adam to Moses;* but now the divine Rom. 5, 14. voice hath said, *To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise.* Luke 23, 43. And the saints, being sensible of this, said, *Except the Lord had helped me, my soul had almost dwelt in hell.* Ps. 94, 17. Besides all this, being compelled to make a return, while he acknowledged the gift, he wrote finally, saying, *I will* Ps. 116, 13. *take the cup of salvation, and call on the name of the Lord; precious in His sight is the death of His saints.*

With regard to the cup, our Lord also said, *Are ye able* Mat. 20, 22. *to drink of that cup which I am about to drink of?* And when the disciples assented, the Lord said, *Ye shall indeed drink of My cup; but that ye should sit on My right hand, and on My left, is not Mine to give; but to those for whom it is prepared.* Therefore, my beloved, let us be sensible of the gift, though we are found incompetent to repay it.

¹ This sentence is preserved in the original Greek in Cosmas Indicoopleustes. Καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἰκανός; τὴν μὲν γὰρ κόσμον τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Ἰωηήρος ἠλευθέρωσε, τὴν ἕξην πάλιν τῷ τοῦ Ἰωηήρος θανάτῳ πατεῖσθαι δεδάκε, καὶ εἰς τὰς οὐρανίους πόλεις ἀνεμώδιστον τοῖς ἀνερχομένοις τὴν ὁδὸν παρασχών. Topogr. Christ. pag. 316.

^k The word ἅγιος is sometimes used alone by Athan. when speaking of the sacred writers. Vid. Apol. de Fuga sua, p. 260. §. 15. init. "Ὡσπερ δὲ ταῦτα γέγραπται, δείκνυσιν ὁ λόγος,

τοὺς ἁγίους εἰδέναι κ. τ. λ. It has already occurred in this usage. Vid. Letter iii. p. 26.

^l In the Ms.  appears to be an error for .

^m Conf. Homil. in Matt. xxi. 2. Athan. Opera, tom. 2. p. 374. After quoting the same passage from the Epistle to the Romans, he says, ἀλλ' ἐπεθήμησεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς λυτρώμενος τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ ζωοποιῶν τοὺς τεθανατωμένους.

40 *The acknowledgment God requires of us for His benefits bestowed.*

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As we have ability, let us meet the occasion. For although nature is not able, with things unworthy of the Word, to return a recompense for such benefits, yet let us render Him thanks while we persevere in piety. And how can we be more regardful of piety, than when we acknowledge God, Who, in His love to mankind, has bestowed on us such things? (For thus we shall obediently keep the law, and observe the commandments thereof. Further, we shall not, as unthankful persons^a, be accounted transgressors of the law, or do those things which ought to be hated; for the Lord loveth the thankful;) when too we offer ourselves to the Lord, like the saints; when, finally, we subscribe ourselves, living not to ourselves, but to the Lord, Who died for us, as also the blessed Paul did, when he said, *I am crucified with Christ, yet I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.* Now our life, my brethren, truly consists in our denying all bodily things, and continuing stedfast in those only of our Saviour. Therefore the season now requires this of us, that we should not only utter such words, but also imitate the deeds of the saints. But we imitate them, when we acknowledge Him Who died; and no longer live unto ourselves, but Christ henceforth lives in us; when we render a recompense to the Lord to the utmost of our power; when, I say, we make a return, not by giving any thing of our own, but those things which we have before received from Him; this being especially of His grace, that He should require, as from us, His own gifts. He bears witness of this when He says, *My offerings are My gifts*^o. That is, those things which ye give Me are yours, as having received them from Me; but they are the gifts of God. And let us offer to the Lord every virtue, and the true holiness He requires; and in piety let us keep the feast to Him with those things which He has hallowed for us.

Gal. 2, 20.

Let us thus engage in the holy fasts, as having been

^a For **امر الله مقصود** leg. **امر الله مقصود**.

^o Perhaps S. Athanasius had in

mind here the words of David, (1 Chron. xxix. 14.) "All things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given Thee."

prescribed^p by Him^q, and by means of which we attain the way to God. But let us not be like the heathen, or the ignorant Jews, or as the heretics and schismatics of the present time. For the heathen think the accomplishment of the feast is in the abundance of food; the Jews, erring in the type and shadow, think it still such; the schismatics keep it in separate places, and with vain imaginations. But let us, my brethren, be superior to the heathen, in keeping the feast with sincerity of soul, and purity of body; to the Jews, in no longer receiving the type and the shadow, but as having been gloriously illumined with the light of truth, and as looking upon the Sun of Righteousness; to the schismatics, in not rending the coat^r of Christ^s, but in one house, even in the Catholic Church, eating the Passover of the Lord, Who, in giving us His holy laws, instructed us to virtue, and for the exercise thereof, promised the feast. For the Passover is in truth a turning from vice to virtue, and a conversion from death unto life. This may be gathered even from the type of old time. For then they were solicitous to pass from Egypt to Jerusalem; but now we remove from death to life. They also at that time passed from Pharaoh to Moses, but now we go up from the devil to the Saviour. And as, at that time, an emblem of their deliverance was every year established as a witness;

A. D. 333.

Mal. 4, 2.

Exod. 12, 46.

^p Syr. τυπώ. Conf. S. Chrysostom Hom. eis tous ta prōta Pāscha nēstēoutas, λόγ. γ'. tom. i. p. 611. ed. Par. 1718—38. οἱ πατέρες—συνελθόντες ἐτύπωσαν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα νηστείας.

^q S. Cyril, towards the end of his homilies de Festis Paschalibus, frequently speaks of the quadragesimal fast, as of Apostolic or Evangelical origin: κατὰ τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παραδόσεις are the terms he employs in his seventh, fifteenth, and twentieth homilies, when declaring the periods at which Lent was to begin and end. The words κατὰ τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς διατάξεις—κατὰ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν παράδοσιν—ὡς τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν διαλαλεῖ κήρυγμα, are similar terms found in other of his paschal discourses.

^r Syr. χιτῶν.

^s The figure of the tunica incon-

sutilis, (John xix. 23.) as applied to the indivisible Church, owes its origin and frequent use to the Arian dispute. It is mischievously to tear the body of the Church, to sever and to rend its whole garment (διασπᾶν τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ μερίζειν τὸν ἅλιον αὐτῆς χιτῶνα.) Vide Germani I. Patriarchæ Constantin. de hæresibus et synod. apud A. Mai Spicil. t. vii. p. 44. So also, §. 16. "Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, who was against receiving Arius back again into communion with the Church, relates that the Lord appeared to him clad in torn garments (ἐβρῆγμένους χιτῶνας ἀμπεχόμενον). On his asking, O Lord! who has rent Thee? (τίς σε περιέσχισεν Κύριε;) the answer was, Arius has rent Me; receive him not, for he is condemned now and for ever. L.

42 *The noble acts of God to be always in our remembrance.*

LETTER V. so now, introducing the memorial of our salvation, we fast, meditating on death, that we may be able to live. And we watch, not as mourning, but as waiting for the Lord, when He shall have returned from the wedding; so that we may vie with each other in the triumph, hastening to announce the result of victory over death. Would therefore, O my beloved, (for the word requires this,) that we here so governed ourselves at all times and entirely, and so lived, as never to forget the noble acts of God, nor to depart from the practice of virtue! As also the Apostolic voice exhorts; *Remember Jesus Christ, that He rose from the dead.* Not that there was a limited season of remembrance appointed; but that at all times He should be in our thoughts. Yet, on account of general supineness, we delay from day to day. Let us then begin in these days. To this end a time of remembrance was appointed, which should set before the saints the recompense of the reward of their calling, while to the careless it should be a reproving monitor[†].

2 Tim. 2, 8.

Job 14, 4.
(LXX.
vers.)

Phil. 3, 13.

1 Cor. 11,
27.

Therefore in all the remaining days, let us persevere in virtuous conversation, repenting, as is our duty, of our neglect in various things, of whatever kind it may be; for there is no one free from defilement, though his course may have been but one hour on the earth, as that man of surpassing fortitude^u, Job, testifies. But, *stretching forth to those things that are to come*, let us pray that we eat not the Passover unworthily, lest we be exposed to dangers^x. For to those who keep the feast in purity, the Passover is heavenly food; but to those who observe it profanely and contemptuously, it is harm^y and loss. For it is written, *Whosoever shall eat and drink unworthily, is guilty of the death of our Lord.* Wherefore, let us not proceed, as merely

[†] The reasoning of Athan. is to this effect. The resurrection of our blessed Lord is to be *always* in our thoughts. From carelessness and indifference, men are apt to forget it. To stir them up to the remembrance of it, the festival of Easter is held, which also is designed to direct our minds particularly to our own resurrection. The due observance of such festival will have its effect in quickening our *habitual* meditation on the resurrection. The same mode of

reasoning might be applied to all the other Christian festivals. Conf. note c to Letter i. p. 3.

^u The word *ἄνθρωπος*, as applied to Job, most likely is used to express the Greek *ἀνδρεία*. Conf. Athan. Apol. de fuga sna, p. 261. §. 17. δ' ἰδὲ ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ μέγας. The same expression is employed in Letter iii. p. 27.

^x Syr. κίνδυνος.
^y Syr. κίνδυνος.

regarding the performance of the act of the feast, but as A. D. 339. being about to approach the divine Lamb, and to touch heavenly food. Let us cleanse our hands; let us purify the body. Let us keep our whole spirit from guile; not giving up ourselves to excess, and to lusts, but occupying ourselves entirely with our Lord, and with divine doctrines; so that, being altogether pure, we may be able to partake of the Word^s.

We begin the holy fast on the fourteenth of Pharmuthi (Apr. 9.), on the evening of the Sabbath; and having ceased on the nineteenth of the same month Pharmuthi (Apr. 14.), the first day of the holy week dawns upon us on the twentieth of the same month Pharmuthi (Apr. 15.), to which we join the seven weeks of Pentecost; with prayers, and distribution towards our neighbour, and love towards one another, and, which is above all, a conciliatory disposition. For in this manner also shall we be heirs of the kingdom of heaven, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom to the Father be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

All the brethren who are with me salute you. Salute one another with a holy kiss.

Here endeth the fifth Festal Letter of holy Athanasius.

^s Conf. 2 Pet. i. 4. ἵνα—γίνησθε ἐν κόσμῳ ἐν ἀπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς. θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως, ἀποφυγόντες τῆς

LETTER VI.

A.D. 334. *Easter-day, XII. Pharmuthi; VII. Id. April: XVII. Moon;*
Easter-day *Æra Dioclet. 50; Coss. Optatus^a Patricius, Anicius*
on April 7. *Paulinus; Præfect; Philagrius^b, the Cappadocian; VII.*
Indict.

Now again, my beloved, has God also brought us to the season of the feast, and through His loving-kindness we have reached the period of assembly for it. For that God who brought Israel out of Egypt, even He also at this time calls us to the feast, saying by Moses, *Observe the month of new fruits^c, and keep the Passover to the Lord thy God:* and by the prophet, *Keep thy feasts, O Judah; pay to the Lord thy vows.* If then God Himself loves the feast, and calls us to it, it is not right, my brethren, that it should be delayed, or observed carelessly; but that with alacrity and zeal we should come to it; so that, having begun joyfully here, we may also receive an earnest^d of that heavenly feast. For if we diligently keep the feast which is celebrated here, doubtless we shall receive the perfect joy which is in heaven; as the Lord says; *With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer. For I say unto you, that I will not*

Deut. 16,
1.
Nahum 1,
15.
Luke 22,
15. 16.

^a There appears to be an error in the Syriac text: we must read **ⲁⲛⲓⲕⲓⲟⲩ** in place of **ⲁⲛⲓⲕⲓⲟⲩ**;

^b This Philagrius was a violent persecutor of the Church, taking part with the Arians. He was an apostate (*παραβάνης*) from the true faith. Conf. Hist. Arian. ad Monachos, p. 276. §. 9. and p. 277. §. 12. An elegant comparison between Athan. and Philagrius is however drawn out by Greg. Nazianzen, tom. i. p. 404. ed. Par. 1778. Conf. note to title of Letter x.

^c Conf. note o, to Letter i. p. 12.

^d Syr. 'Αρραβών, i. e. 'the Holy Spirit.' Vid. note to Letter xiv. in voc. Also conf. S. Cyril. Hom. Pasch. I. sub fin. ἄρραβώνα δὲ ὡς περ ἡμῖν τῆς μελλούσης ἐλπίδος τὸ πνεῦμα χαρίζεται, λέγων λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον. The Easter festival is called 'Ἡ ἑορτὴ παρ' ἡς τῆς ἀθανασίας εἰλήφαμεν ἐλπίδα. Euseb. Vita Const. lib. iii. §. 18. Again, in the imperial letter of Constantine, sent to the Churches after the Council of Nice, as found in Socrates, lib. i. c. 10. we read τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα ἀγιασμένην ἡμέραν, τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην παρ' ἡς τῆς ἀθανασίας εἰλήφαμεν ἐλπίδα.

eat it, until it is fulfilled with you in the kingdom of God. A. D. 334. Now we eat it when, having entertained in our minds the occasion of the feast, and acknowledging the Deliverer, we are properly attracted to His grace, as Paul saith; *So that* ^{1 Cor. 6, 8.} *we may keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.* For the Lord died in those days, that we should no longer do the deeds of death. He gave His life, that we might preserve our own from the snares of the devil. And, what is most wonderful, the Word became incarnate, that we should no longer live in the flesh, but in spirit should worship God, who is a Spirit^f.

He who is not so disposed, though employing the days, does not keep the feast, but, like an unthankful person, finds fault with the grace; and though he may esteem the days before others, he does not supplicate the Lord who in those days redeemed him. Let him by all means hear, though fancying that he keeps the feast, the Apostolic voice reproving him; *Ye observe days, and months, and times, and* ^{Gal. 4, 10,} *years: I fear lest I have laboured among you in vain.* For ^{11.} the feast is not on account of the days; but we observe it, because in them the Lord suffered in our stead, for *our* ^{1 Cor. 5, 7.} *Passover, Christ, is sacrificed.* Even as Moses, when teaching Israel not to consider the feast as pertaining to the days, but to the Lord, said, *It is the Lord's Passover.* To the ^{Exod. 12,} Jews forsooth when they thought they celebrated the Pass- ^{11.} over, because they persecuted the Lord, the feast was useless; since it no longer bore the name of the Lord, even according to their own testimony. It was not the Passover of the Lord, but that of the Jews. The Passover was named after

• For **ἡμέρα** leg. **ἡμέρα**;

^f Conf. Rom. viii. 9—13.

^g Conf. John vi. 4. 'And the passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh.' Other fathers take the same view of this, and similar expressions. (John ii. 13. and xi. 55.) Origenis Comment. in Ioannem, tom. x. §. 11. p. 172. ed. 1759. Τὴν τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἰωάννου ἐξετάσαν ἀκριβείαν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν ἐζητούν τί βούλεται ἀπὸ ἡ προσθήκη, τῶν Ἰουδαίων ποιοῦν γὰρ ἄλλου ἔθνους ἐστὶν ἑορτὴ τὸ πάσχα; διόπερ ἀσφαρκές ἦν

εἰπεῖν καὶ ἦν ἑγγύς τὸ πάσχα. μή ποτε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μὲν τί ἐστὶ πάσχα ἀνθρώπινον τῶν μὴ κατὰ βούλησιν τῆς γραφῆς ἐπιτελούντων αὐτό. τὸ δὲ τι θεῖον, τὸ ἀληθές, πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ ἐνεργούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκυνούντων τὸν θεὸν κ. τ. λ. He also refers to the passage in Exodus. Conf. also Theophylact in Ioannem. Comment. tom. i. p. 581. Ed. 1754. *Ὅρα δὲ καὶ τὸ, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὐ γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἦν ἑορτὴ.

LETTER VI.

the Jews, my brethren, because they denied the Lord of the Passover. On this account, the Lord, turning away His face from such a doctrine of theirs, saith, *Your new moons and your sabbaths My soul hateth.* So now, those who keep the Passover in like manner, the Lord again reproves, as He did those lepers who were cleansed, when He loved the one as thankful, but was angry with the others as ungrateful, because they did not acknowledge their Deliverer, but preferred the cure of the leprosy to Him Who had healed them.

Is. 1, 14. *But one of them when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God, and fell on his face at the feet of Jesus giving Him thanks; and he was a Samaritan. And Jesus answering said, Were there not ten cleansed? but those nine—whence are there none found who returned to give glory to God, but this stranger^b?* And there was more given to this one than to the rest; for being cleansed from his leprosy, he heard from the Lord, *Arise, go thy way; thy faith hath saved thee.* For he who giveth thanks, and he who glorifies, have kindred feelings, in that they bless their Helper for the benefits they have received. So the Apostle exhorts all men to this, saying, *Glorify God with your body;* and the prophet commands, saying, *Give glory to God¹.*

Luke 17, 15. &c.

Luke 17, 19.

1 Cor. 6, 20.

Is. 42, 12.

Matt. 26, 65.

John 12, 28.

Although testimony was borne by Caiaphas against our Redeemer, and He was set at nought by the Jews, and was condemned by Pilate in those days, yet very exalted and most mighty was the voice of the Father which came to Him; *I have glorified, and will glorify again.* For those things which He suffered on our account have passed away; but those concerning Him as our Saviour remain for ever^h.

^b The Syriac would seem to remove the note of interrogation from τοῦ, and to give the meaning 'how is it that those nine did not return to give glory to God, while this stranger did?' εἰ μὴ is thus to be taken as in Luke iv. 26. εἰ μὴ εἰς ἄδρακτα.

¹ Conf. Athan. Expos. in Psalmos. (Ps. lxvii. 35.) Δότε δόξαν τῷ Θεῷ—οὕτω καὶ Παῦλος· δοξάζατέ, φησι, τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὑμῶν. The ideas of 'praising' or 'glorifying,' and 'giving thanks,' are closely connected, and are sometimes expressed by the same word, e. g. Heb. πᾶσι Gr. Ὁμολογεῖν. Conf.

Ps. l. 23. Whoso offereth praise glorifieth Me. Suicer in voc. Ὁμολογεῖν says, Ὁμολογεῖν significat laudare, celebrare, glorificare, gratias agere; idque—per synecdochen generis Hebraicam: nam qui aliquem celebrant, illi confitentur, vel potius profitentur res præclare ab eo gestas, vel beneficia ab eo accepta.

^h Christ, while on earth, suffered as man, but was glorified as God, the Father bearing testimony of Him. His sufferings for us have ceased, but the glory of them shall endure eternally. Conf. Phil. ii. 7—11.

On this account, my brethren, when we remember these A. D. 334. things, let us not be occupied with meats, but let us glorify the Lord; let us become fools for Him Who died for us, even as Paul said; *For if we are foolish, it is to God; or if* 2 Cor. 5, 13. *we are sober-minded, it is to you; since because one died for all men, therefore all were dead to Him; and He died for all, that we who live should not henceforth live to ourselves, but to Him Who died for us, and rose again.* No longer then ought we to live to ourselves, but, as servants, to the Lord. And not in vain should we receive the grace, as the time is 2 Cor. 6, 1, 2. especially an acceptable one, and the day of salvation hath dawned, even the death of our Redeemer¹. For even for our sakes the Word came down, and being incorruptible, put on a corruptible body for the salvation of all of us. On this subject Paul speaks plainly^m, saying, *This corruptible* 1 Cor. 15, 53. *must put on incorruption.* The Lord too was sacrificed, that by His blood He might abolish death. Full well did He once, in a certain place, blame those who participated vainly in the shedding of His blood, while they did not delight themselves in the flesh of the Word, saying, *What profit is* Ps. 30, 9. *there in My blood, that I go down to corruption?* This does not mean that the descent of the Lord was of no advantage; for it gained the whole world; but rather that after He had thus suffered, sinners would prefer to be without it, to profiting by it. For He regarded our salvation as a delight and a peculiar gain; while, on the contrary, He looked upon our destruction as loss. Also in the Gospel, He praises those who increased the grace twofold, both him who made ten talents of five, and him who made four talents of two, as those who had profited, and turned them to good account; but him who hid the talent He cast out as wanting, saying to him, *Thou wicked servant! oughtest thou not to have put* Matt. 25, 20. *my money into the bank? then on my return, I should have received mine own with interest. Take, therefore, from him the talent, and give it to him that hath ten talents. For to every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly; but from him that hath not, shall be taken away*

¹ Conf. S. Cyrill. Hom. Pasch. xxiv. *καίρις εὐπρόθετος, ἰδοὺ νῦν ἡμέρα σου ἰνί. ἀνίσχει γὰρ ἡμῖν τῆς τοῦ ζω-σῶτηρος. σῶτηρος.*
 τῆρος ἡμῶν ἰορτῆς ὁ καιρός—ἰδοὺ νῦν ^m παρήσις Syr.

LETTER VI. *even that which he hath. And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth.*

Gal. 5, 22. *For it is not His will that the grace we have received should be unprofitable; but He requires us, as a duty, to render Him of His fruits, as the blessed Paul saith; The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, and peace.*

Rom. 13, 7. *Therefore, being right-minded, and owing no man any thing, but rather giving every thing to every man, he was a teacher of the like propriety of purpose, saying, Render to all their dues. He was like those sent by the house-*

Matt. 21, 33. *holder to receive the fruits of the vineyard from the husbandmen; for he also exhorted all men to render a returnⁿ; but Israel despised, and rendered not. Their inclinations were not good; nay, moreover, they killed those that were sent; so that there was no reverence shewn the Lord of the vineyard^o, but He was even slain by them. Notwithstanding, when He came and found no fruit in them, He cursed them through the fig-tree, saying, Let there be henceforth no fruit from thee; and the fig-tree died fruitless, so that even the disciples wondered when it withered away.*

Matt. 21, 19. *Then was fulfilled that which was also spoken by the prophet; I will take away from them the voice of joy and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the scent of myrrh, and the light of a lamp, and the whole land shall be destroyed. For the whole service of the law has been removed from them, and henceforth and for ever they remain without a feast. And they observe not the Passover; for how can they? They have no abiding place, but they wander every where. And they eat unlea-*

Jer. 25, 10.

ⁿ The comparison here made, as well as the order of the words in the Syriac text, requires the translation here given. Larsow renders the passage, 'he was studious to render a return to all men.' But though **ܐܘܨܬܐܢܐ** might take this signification, it would not suit here. Those who were sent to the husbandmen exhorted them to make a proper return of the fruits; St. Paul, who was sent as a preacher of the Gospel to all the world, exhorted all men to a perform-

ance of their Christian duties. The same word is employed before in this letter; 'The apostle *exhorts* all men to this,' p. 52. **ܐܘܨܬܐܢܐ** is the expression in p. 4. where we read 'urging us to note.' Conf. 'De Passione et Cruce Domini,' p. 62. After quoting the verse of Scripture, 'Render to all their dues, &c.' there follows: *τοῦτο πεποιήκεν αὐτὸς ὁ ταῦτα κηρύττων. ὡς περ οὖν παρησιάζετο γράφων. τῶν καλῶν ἀγῶνα κ. τ. λ.*

^o For **ܐܘܨܬܐܢܐ** leg. **ܐܘܨܬܐܢܐ**.

vened bread without fulfilling the law, since they are unable A. D. 834.
 first to sacrifice the lamb, as they were commanded to do when eating unleavened bread. But in every place they transgress the law, and judgments are inflicted on them by God; so that they introduce days of grief and not of gladness. Now the cause of this to them was their slaying of the Lord, and their not reverencing the Only-Begotten. At this time also, the altogether wicked heretics and ignorant schismatics are in the same case; the one, in that they slay the Word; the other, in that they rend the coat^v. They also remain expelled from the feast, because they live without godliness and knowledge, and emulate the conduct shewn in the matter of Bar Abbas the robber, whom the Jews desired instead of the Saviour. Therefore the Lord cursed them under the figure of the fig-tree^u.

Yet also even thus He spared them in His loving-kindness, Matt. 21,
19.
Mark 11,
14.
 not destroying them, root and all. For He did not curse the root, but [said], that no man should eat fruit of it thenceforth. When He did this, He brought the shadow to nought, causing it to wither; but preserving the root, so that we might [not]^r be grafted upon it; *they too, if they remain not in unbelief, may attain to be grafted into their own olive tree.* Rom. 11,
23. When therefore the Lord had cursed these because of their negligence^s, He removed from them the new moons, the true lamb, and that which is truly the Passover. But to us it came: there came too the solemn day, in which it is incumbent upon us to call to the feast^t with a trumpet^w, and separate ourselves to the Lord with thanks-

^v Syr. *χῆρὸν*. Conf. note to Letter v. p. 47.

^u Larsow states, erroneously, that there is a hiatus in the text here. It is, however, continuous as he gives it. Only a portion of the Syriac text was printed at first. Afterwards, more leaves of the work were brought, along with other Mss. from Egypt, and immediately recognised by Mr. Cureton. *The whole was then published together*, reference being made in the first part, when any hiatus was to be supplied from the second.

^r The negative (which is here placed within brackets) is found in the Syriac text; but I have little doubt that it is an error.

^s The similarity between the Syriac words *ἄλογος* ('carelessness,' 'negligence') and *ἄπιστος* ('faithless') might lead us to suspect an error in the Syr. Ms. the context seeming to require 'unbelief' rather than 'negligence' here.

^t Here again *ἡμέρα* appears to be a mistake for *ἡμέρα*.

^w Conf. Letter i. p. 4—6. S. Cyril, (Hom. 1. de Fœntis Pasch. vol. v. pt. 2. p. 6.) *παῦρ, τὴν ἑσπῆρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κινήσωμεν ἀλλήγηρα κ. τ. λ.* Indeed, in this part of his first Paschal discourse, Cyril appears to have had in mind

Difference between the sacrifice of Christ, and that of Isaac. 51

And on this account [Abraham] was restrained from laying A. D. 334.
 his hand on the lad, lest the Jews, taking occasion from the
 sacrifice of Isaac, should reject the prophetic declarations
 concerning our Saviour, even all of them; but more espe-
 cially those uttered by the Psalmist; *Sacrifice and offering* P. 40, 6.
Thou wouldest not; a body Thou hast prepared Me; and
 should refer all such things as these to the son of Abraham.
 For the sacrifice was not properly the establishment^c of
 Isaac, but of Abraham who also offered, and by that he was
 tried. Thus God accepted the will of the offerer, but
 prevented that which was offered from being sacrificed.
 For the death of Isaac did not procure freedom to the world,
 but that of our Saviour alone, by whose stripes we all are Is. 53, 5.
 healed. For He raised up the falling, healed the sick,
 satisfied those who were hungry, and filled the poor; and,
 what is more wonderful, raised us all from the dead: having
 abolished death, He hath brought us from affliction and
 sighing to the rest and gladness of this feast, a joy which
 reacheth even to heaven.

For not we alone are affected by this, but because of it,
 even the heavens rejoice with us, and the whole church Heb. 12,
 together of the first-born, written in heaven, is made glad, 22.
 as the prophet proclaims, saying, *Rejoice, ye heavens, for the* Is. 44, 23.
Lord hath comforted Israel. Shout, ye foundations of the
earth. Cry out with joy, ye mountains, ye high places, and
all the trees which are in them, because the Lord hath re-
deemed Jacob, and Israel hath been glorified. And again;

^c I use the word 'establishment' for want of one that would better express the meaning. The Syriac is **ܐܘܨܬܘܬܐ** which is the rendering of the Greek *diorthōsis* in Heb. ix. 10. *μέχρι καιροῦ διορθώσεως*. The sacrifice of Isaac was not only to serve as a type of the death of Christ; but the particular circumstances attending it, were designed for the instruction of Abraham, and his establishment in the Christian faith. Conf. Theophylact on the passage in Heb.—*ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, τοῦ μέλλοντος διορθώσασθαι ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν λατρείαν ἐπεισαγαγεῖν*. The original Greek was probably οὐ γὰρ ἡ διορθώσις τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ ἦν ἡ θυσία, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ,

ὅς καὶ προσφέρων ἦν. S. Cyril, in his fifth Paschal discourse, treats the subject of the sacrifice of Isaac at length. Ἐπειδήπερ οὐχ ἑτέρως ἦν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰσαὰκ δοθεῖσαν υπόσχεσιν ἀποπληροῦσαι παρὰ Θεοῦ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πέμποιτος τὴν ἐδλογίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἀναγκαίως θελήσας ἐπιδείξαι Θεοῦ, ὅσην αὐτῷ καὶ πηλικὴν ἀπονέμει τὴν χάριν, ὅπερ τῆς τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας, θανάτῳ παραδιδούς τὸν ἴδιον υἱόν, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ λαὸν ἐμφαντικώτατα λάθε τὸν υἱόν σου. He then explains the different parts of the history in order, shewing how they were designed for the instruction of Abraham in the first place, and through him, for the instruction of all the faithful.

LETTER VI. *Rejoice, and be glad, ye heavens; let the hills melt into gladness, for the Lord hath had mercy on His people, and comforted the oppressed of the people.* The whole creation keeps

Ps. 150, 6. a feast, my brethren, and every thing that hath breath praises the Lord, as the Psalmist [says], both on account of

✠ Luke 15, 7. the destruction of the enemies, and our salvation. And very right is it; for if there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, what should there not be over the abolition of sin, and the resurrection of the dead? Or what kind of a feast and gladness must there be in heaven; how must all its hosts joy and exult, as they rejoice and watch in our assemblies, both those held from time to time, and especially those at Easter? For they look on sinners while they repent; on those who have turned away their faces, when they become converted; on those who formerly persisted in lusts and excess, but who now humble themselves by fastings and temperance; and, finally, on the enemy who lies weakened, no longer possessed of life, being bound hand and foot, so that we may mock at him; *Where is thy victory, O Death? where is thy sting, O Grave^d?* Let us then sing unto the Lord a victorious song of praise.

1 Cor. 15, 55.

Who then will conduct us to such a company of angels as this? Who, coming with a desire for the heavenly feast, and the angelic holiday, will say like the prophet, *I will pass to the place of the wondrous tabernacle, unto the house of God; with the voice of joy and praise, with the shouting of those who keep festival?* To such a state, the saints^e also encourage us, saying, *Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob.* But such a feast as this is not for an impure person, neither is the approach to it for sinners; but it is for the virtuous and diligent; and such as have the same end in view as the saints; for, *Who shall ascend to the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in His holy place, but he that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not devoted his soul to vanity, nor*

Ps. 42, 4.

Is. 2, 3.

Ps. 24, 3.

^d Conf. Athan. de Incarn. Verbi Dei, tom. i. p. 57. τοῦ θανάτου νικηθέντος καὶ στηλιτευθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ δεδεμένου τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰς πόδας, πάντες οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ διαβαλόντες αὐτὸν καταπατοῦσι, καὶ μαρ-

τυροῦντες τῷ Χριστῷ χλευάζοντες τὸν θάνατον, ἐπικερτομοῦντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἄνωθεν κατ' αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα λέγοντες, ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νίκος; ποῦ σου εἶδη τὸ κέντρον;

^e Vid. note k, to Letter v. p. 39.

sworn deceitfully to his neighbour. For he, as the Psalmist A. D. 834. adds, when he goes up, shall receive a blessing from the Lord. Now this clearly also refers to what the Lord gives to them at the right hand, saying, *Come, ye blessed, inherit the kingdom prepared for you.* Matt. 25, 34. But the deceitful, and he that is not pure of heart, and possesses nothing that is pure, (as the Proverb saith, *To a deceitful man there is nothing good,*) Prov. 13, 13. shall assuredly, being a stranger, and of a different race from the saints, be accounted unworthy to eat the Passover, for *a foreigner shall not eat of it.* Thus Judas, Exod. 12, 43. when he thought he kept the Passover, because he plotted deceit against the Saviour, was estranged from the city which is above, and from the apostolic company. For the law commanded the Passover to be eaten with due observance; but he, while eating it, was sifted of the devil, who had entered his soul.

Wherefore let us not be affected as those who keep the feast on earth, but as celebrating it in heaven with the angels. Let us glorify the Lord, by temperance, by righteousness, and those other virtues. And let us rejoice, not in ourselves, but in the Lord, that we also may be inheritors with the saints. Let us keep the feast then, as Moses. Let us watch like David, who rose seven times, and in the middle of the night gave thanks for the righteous judgments of God. Let us be early, as he said, *In the morning I will stand before Thee, and Thou wilt look upon me: in the morning Thou wilt hear my voice.* Psa. 5, 3. Let us fast like Daniel; let us pray without ceasing, as Paul commanded; all of us recognising the season of prayer, but especially those who are honourably married; so that when a testimony is borne to us by these things, and we keep the feast by them, we may be able to enter into the joy of our Lord in the kingdom of heaven. But as Israel, when going up to Jerusalem, was first purified in the wilderness, being trained to forget the customs of Egypt; as the [divine] word has

^f Conf. Luko xxii. 31.

ⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓ and ⲛⲉⲛⲉ are misprints for ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓ and ⲛⲉⲛⲉ respectively, as remarked by Mr. Cureton in the preface.

^h A line or two is preserved here in the original Greek in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae. *καὶ οὕτως δορυδασάντες δυρηθώμεν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάραν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν.* *Topog. Christ.* p. 316.

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graciously prescribedⁱ to us the holy fast of forty days; let us first be purified and purged^k, so that when we depart hence, having been careful of fasting, we may be able to ascend to the upper chamber^l with the Lord, to sup with Him; and may be partakers of the joy which is in heaven. In no other manner shall we be able to go up to Jerusalem, and to eat the Passover, but as we apply ourselves to the fast of forty days.

We begin the fast of forty days on the first day of the month Phamenoth (Feb. 25.); and having prolonged it till the fifth of Pharmuthi (Mar. 31.), suspending it upon the previous first days of the week, and the Saturdays^m, then we begin again on the holy days of Easter, on the sixth of Pharmuthi (Apr. 1.), and cease on the eleventh of the same month (Apr. 6.), late in the eveningⁿ of the Saturday, immediately after which there rises upon us the first day of the holy week, on the twelfth of Pharmuthi (Apr. 7.), which extends its beams, with unobscured grace, to all the seven weeks of the holy Pentecost. Resting on that day, we shall have fulfilled, through all the season, the feast of Easter, by Jesus Christ our Lord, through Whom, to the Father, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

All the brethren who are with me salute you. Salute one another with a holy kiss.

Here endeth the sixth Festal Letter of the holy and God-clad ° Athanasius.

ⁱ Syr. *τυπώω*. Vid. note to Letter v. p. 46.

^k Gregory Nazianzen speaks of the Lenten fast as *κάθαρσις προεόρτιος*. vol. i. p. 715. §. 30. ed. Ben. fol. Par. 1778.

^l Conf. Luke xiv. 15.

^m The Saturdays and Sundays during Lent were not observed as fasts, with the exception of the day before Easter-day. S. Ambrose says, *Quadragesima totis præter Sabbatum et Dominicam jejunatur diebus*. vol. i. p. 545. §. 34. ed. Par. 1686—90.

ⁿ The Syr. *ἕως ἑσπέρας* is doubtless translated from the Gr. *ἕσπερα βαθεῖα σαββάτου*, the words several times used by S. Cyril towards the end of his paschal dis-

courses. The Lenten fast was usually terminated shortly before midnight, on the day before Easter, called *σάββατον μέγα*, in the epistle of the Church of Smyrna, on occasion of the martyrdom of Polycarp. (Vid. Euseb. H. E. lib. iv. cap. 15.) Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, the successor of S. Mark, reproves those who cease from fasting much before midnight; *τοὺς μὲν λίαν ἐπιταχύναντας καὶ πρὸ νυκτὸς ἐγγὺς ἤδη μεσοῦσης ἀνιέντας, ὡς ὀλιγώρους καὶ ἀκρατεῖς μεμφόμεθα*. Dionys. op. fol. Rom. 1696, p. 108. vid. also Greg. Nyssen. second oration on the Resurrection, tom. iii. p. 402. ed. Ben. fol. Par. 1638.

° *θεοφόρος*.

LETTER VII.

*Easter-day IV. Pharmuthi; III. Kal. April; XX. Moon; A. D. 335.
Ær. Dioclet. 51; Coss. Julius Constantius, the brother of Easter-day
Augustus, Rufinus Albinus; Præfect, the same Philagrius; 3).
VIII. Indict.*

^aTHE blessed Paul wrote to the Corinthians that he always ^{2 Cor. 4, 10.} bore in his body the death of Jesus; not as though he alone should make that boast, but also they and we too; and in this let us be followers of him, my brethren. And let this be the customary boast of all of us at all times. In this also David participated, saying in the Psalms, *For thy sake we* ^{Ps. 44, 22.} *die all the day; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.* Now this is becoming in us, especially in the days of the feast, when a commemoration of the death of our Saviour is held. For he who is made like Him in His death, is also careful in the practice of virtue, having mortified his members ^{Col. 3, 5.} which are upon the earth, and crucifying the flesh with the affections and lusts: but he lives in the Spirit, and is con- ^{Gal. 5, 25.} formed to the Spirit. He is always mindful of God, and forgets Him not, and never does the deeds of death. On this account, in order that we may bear in our body the death of Jesus, he immediately adds, when describing such fellowship, *we having the same spirit of faith, as it* ^{2 Cor. 4, 13.} *is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak.* He adds also, speaking of the grace that arises from knowledge; *For He that raised* ^{2 Cor. 4, 14.}

^a The twentieth Letter, as far as it is extant, bears a great resemblance with this. In both, the comparison between natural and spiritual food is enlarged upon, and several of the same quota-

tions are adduced in them, to illustrate the character of sinners and their food, as contrasted with the righteous, and the nourishment they derive from God.

56 *The present condition, and the future misery, of the wicked,*

LETTER VII. *up Jesus, will also raise us up with Jesus^b, and will present us before Him with you.*

When, by such faith and knowledge, the saints have attained to this true life, they also receive, doubtless, the joy which is in heaven; for which the wicked not caring, are deservedly deprived of the blessedness arising from it.

Is. 26, 10. (LXX. vers.) *For, let the wicked be taken away, so that he shall not see the glory of the Lord.* For although, when they shall hear Eph. 5, 14. *the universal publication of the promise, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead,* they shall rise and shall Mat. 25, 11. *reach even to heaven, knocking and saying, Open to us; nevertheless the Lord will reprove them, as those who put the knowledge of Himself far from them, saying, I know you not.* But the holy Spirit cries against them, *The wicked shall be turned into hell, even all the nations that forget God.* They indeed humble themselves, (we may say of the wicked,) but not by a discipline opposed to sin; for they do not, like the saints, bear death in their body. They rather bury the soul in sins and follies, drawing near to the dead, and satisfying it with dead nourishment; like^c young eagles which, from high places, fly upon the carcasses of the dead, and Lev. 11, 13. *which the law prohibited, commanding figuratively, Thou shalt not eat the eagle, nor any other bird that feedeth on a dead carcase;* and it pronounced unclean whatsoever eateth the dead. But these kill the soul with lusts, and say Is. 22, 13. *nothing but, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.* And the kind of fruit those have who thus love pleasure, he Is. 22, 14. *immediately describes, adding, And these things are revealed in the ears of the Lord of Hosts, that this sin shall not be forgiven you until ye die.* Yea, even while they live, they shall be ashamed, because they consider their belly their Lord; and, when dead, they shall be tormented, as those who have made a boast of such a death. To this effect also 1 Cor. 6, 13. *Paul bears witness, saying, Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them.* And the 1's. 24, 21. *divine saying declared before respecting them; The death*

^b The commonly received reading of the Greek in this place is διὰ Ἰησοῦ, with which the Peshito version agrees; have σὺν Ἰησοῦ, (Vulg. cum Jesu,) which Athan. appears to have adopted. Conf. Eph. ii. 6.

صوم بعض. Some Mss, however, ^c For لعلو, leg. لعلو.

contrasted with the state of the good here and hereafter. 57

of sinners is evil, and those who hate the righteous commit A. D. 935.
sin. For bitter is the worm, and grievous the darkness,
which wicked men inherit. But the saints, and the real
followers of virtue, *mortify their members which are upon* Col. 3, 5.
the earth, fornication, uncleanness, wicked passions, evil con-
cupiscence; and, as the result of this, are pure and without
spot, confiding in the promise of our Saviour, who said,
Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Matt. 5, 8.
These, having become dead to the world, and renounced the
merchandise of the world, meet with an honourable death
such as this; for, *precious in the sight of the Lord is the* Ps. 116, 15.
death of His saints. They are also able, preserving the
Apostolic likeness^d, to say, *I am crucified with Christ, never-* Gal. 2, 20.
theless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. For that
is the true life, which a man lives in Christ; for although
they are dead to the world, yet they dwell, as it were, in
heaven, meditating on those things which are above, as he
who was a lover of such a habitation said, *While we walk* Phil. 3, 20,
on earth, our dwelling is in heaven.^e

Those, therefore, who thus live, and participate in such
virtue, are alone able to give glory to God, which may be set
down as the peculiar duty of a feast and a holiday^f. For
the feast is not an indulgence in food, nor splendor^g of
clothing, nor days of leisure, but it is an understanding
directed to God, and the offering of thanksgiving by a song

^d Syr. *εικών*.

^e This quotation does not quite agree with the reference given (Phil. iii. 20.) The idea of walking appears to have been transferred by Athan. from the preceding verses (17, 18.) to the sentiment conveyed in the verse referred to. It is rather singular that the sentence found here occurs elsewhere in conjunction with the phrase of Scripture, and that both are there assigned to the Apostle. They are found in a treatise contained among those of doubtful authenticity; 'S. Athan. in Illud, Profecti in Pagum,' tom. ii. p. 57. *ἀκούει γὰρ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγοντος· ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περιπατοῦντες, ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὸ πολίτευμα ἔχωμεν καὶ, ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανῷ ὑπαρχέτω.* There is this difference: the Syr. \curvearrowright $\Delta\lambda$ answers to *ἔχωμεν*, not *ἔχωμεν*. In the treatise

quoted we also find *ὑπαρχέτω* for *ὑπαρχέτω*.

^f Conf. Letter iii. p. 23. 'What else is the feast, but the service of God? And what is that service, but prolonged prayer to God and unceasing thanksgiving?' \times

^g *φαντασία* (Syr.) *τῶν ἱματίων*. Conf. 1 Tim. ii. 9. Suicer. Thess. ii. p. 1414. Athan. Op. t. ii. p. 406. *μίσησον δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰνοποσίας καὶ πολυφαγίας—τὸν καλλωπισμὸν τῶν ἱματίων μίσησον*. Lars. The short treatise from which this is quoted is generally considered spurious, and it may be doubted whether the similarity between it, and the Syriac in this place, is sufficiently close to warrant an argument for its authenticity to be drawn from it. The same remark may apply to the short quotation from the same treatise, given in a note in this Letter, p. 64.

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- of praise to Him^h. Now this appertains to the saints alone, who live in Christ; for it is written, *The dead shall not praise Thee, O Lord, neither all those who go down to hell; but we who live will bless the Lord, from henceforth even for ever.* As also it was with Hezekiah, who was delivered from death, and therefore praised God, saying, *Those who are in hell cannot praise Thee; the dead cannot bless Thee; but the living shall bless Thee, as I also do.* For to praise and bless God belongs to those only who live in Christ, and by such means they go up to the feast; for the Passover is not of the Gentiles, nor of those who are yet Jews in the flesh; but of those who acknowledge the truth in Christ^l, according to the declaration of him who was sent to proclaim such a feast; *Our Passover, Christ, is sacrificed.* Therefore, although wicked men press forward to keep the feast, and, as at a feast^k, praise God, and intrude into the Church of the saints, yet God expostulates, saying to the sinner, *Wherefore dost thou talk of My laws?* And the gentle Spirit rebukes them, saying, *Praise is not comely in the mouth of a sinner^l.* Neither hath sin any place in common with the praise of God; but the sinner has a mouth speaking perverse things, as the Proverb saith, *The mouth of the wicked answereth evil things.* For how is it possible for us to praise God with an impure mouth? since things which are contrary to each other cannot exist in the same person. For what communion is there of righteousness with iniquity? or, what fellowship is there between light and darkness? So exclaims Paul, a minister of the Gospel.

Thus it is that sinners, and all those who are aliens from the Catholic Church, heretics, and schismatics, since they are excluded from the praise of the saints, cannot properly even continue observers of the feast. But the righteous man, although he appears dying to the world, uses plainness of speech^m, saying, *I shall not die, but live, and narrate all Thy marvellous deeds.* For even God is not ashamed to be called the Godⁿ of those who truly mortify their members

^h Conf. Letter vi. p. 46, note i.^l Vide Letter vi, p. 45, note g.^k For **כאן** leg. **כאן**^l These two texts are also quoted in

juxta-position in the Ep. ad Episcop. Ægypti et Libyæ, tom. i. p. 214.

^m παρρησία (Syr.) χράται.ⁿ Conf. Heb. xi. 16.

which are upon the earth^o, but live in Christ; for He is the A.D. 335.
 God of the living, not of the dead. And He, by His
 living Word, quickeneth all men, and gives Him to be food
 and life to the saints^p; as also the Lord exclaims, *I am the* John 6, 48.
bread of life. The Jews, being unsound in their perception,
 and having the senses of the mind unexercised to virtue,
 and not alive to seek after such bread, murmured against
 Him, because He said, *I am the bread which came down* John 6, 51.
from heaven, and giveth life unto men. For sin has her own
 peculiar bread, [bread] of her death; wherefore, calling to
 those who are lovers of pleasure and lack understanding,
 she saith, *Touch with delight secret bread, and sweet waters* Prov. 9, 18.
which are stolen; for he who merely touches them knows
 not that the earth-born perish with her. For even when
 the sinner looks for gratification, he finds not the result of
 its meat pleasant, as the Wisdom of God saith again, *Bread* Prov. 20,
of deceit is pleasant to a man; but afterwards his mouth shall 17.
be filled with gravel. And, *Honey droppeth from the lips of* Prov. 5, 3.
a whorish woman, which, for a time, is sweet to thy palate;
but at the last thou shalt find it more bitter than gall, and
sharper than a two-edged sword. Thus, then, he eats and is
 delighted for a little time; afterwards he spurneth it when
 he hath removed his soul afar. For the fool knoweth not
 that those who are far from God shall perish.

Moreover, in accordance with this, the prophetic admo-
 nition says, by way of restraint, *What hast thou to do in the* Jer. 2, 18.
way of Egypt, to drink the waters of Gihon? And what hast
thou to do in the way of Asshur, to drink the waters of the
ivers? But the wisdom of God, which loves mankind,
 forbids these things, crying, *But depart quickly, tarry not*
in the place, neither fix thine eye upon it; for thus thou
shalt pass over strange waters, and depart quickly from the
strange river^q. She also calls them to herself, *For wisdom* Prov. 9, 1.
hath builded her house, and supported it on seven pillars;

^o Conf. Col. iii. 5.

^p Larsow renders this passage erroneously, as I conceive. 'He quickens through His living word every one, gives to him food, and to the saints, life. The Syriac is literally translated, as given above, and the context seems

to require that Christ should be here set forth as food and life, or, the food of life—'the bread of life.'

^q This quotation is from Prov. ix. 18. The words are found in the LXX. version, though not in the original Hebrew.

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- she hath killed her sacrifices, and mingled her wine in the goblets, and prepared her table; she hath sent forth her servants, inviting to the goblet with a loud proclamation, and saying, *Whoso is foolish, let him turn in to me; and to them that lack understanding she saith, Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine I have mingled for you.* And
- Prov. 9, 6. what expectation is there in return for these things? *For-sake folly that ye may live, and seek understanding that ye may abide.* For the bread of Wisdom is also living fruit,
- John 6, 51. as the Lord said; *I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever.* For when Israel ate of the manna, which was truly pleasant and wonderful, he died; and it was not the case that he who ate of that lived for ever, but all that multitude died in the wilderness. The Lord thus teaches, saying, *I am the bread of life: your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is the bread which came down from heaven, that a man should eat thereof, and not die.*
- John 6, 48—51.
- Prov. 17, 15. ^r Now wicked men hunger for bread like this, for sickly souls will hunger; but the righteous alone, being prepared, shall be satisfied, saying, *I shall behold Thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied when Thy glory is seen by me.* For he who partakes of divine bread always hungers with desire; and he who thus hungers has a never-failing gift^s,
- Prov. 10, 3. as Wisdom promises, saying, *The Lord will not slay the righteous soul with famine.* It is also promised in the
- Ps. 132, 15. Psalms, *I will abundantly bless her provision^r; I will satisfy her poor wi'h bread.* We may also hear our Saviour saying,
- Matt. 5, 6. *Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.* Well then do the saints and those who love the life which is in Christ raise themselves to a longing after such food as this. And one earnestly implores,

^r As men, we must always be subject to desires—we must *hunger and thirst.* As Christians, we are to seek to have these desires *sanctified*—we are to *hunger and thirst after righteousness.* The natural craving is *never satiated*; the righteous man, on the contrary, has the promises of Scripture that he *'shall be filled,' 'not slain with famine,' 'satisfied with bread,' &c.*

^s The Lomad before this word appears

to be an error.

^r Athan. here adopts the more correct reading of the LXX. *θήραν* in opposition to the word *χήραν* (Vulg. Viduam). He tells us, however, that both readings were found even in his time. Expos. in Psalms, p. 974. *Τὴν θήραν αὐτῆς εὐλογῶν εὐλογῆσω—γράφεται δὲ καὶ τὴν χήραν αὐτῆς, καὶ δηλονότι τὴν ἀπροστασίαστον.*

while the want of the true believer is supplied by Christ. 61

saying, *As the hart panteth after the fountains of waters, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God! My soul thirsteth for the living God, when shall I come and see the face of God?* A. D. 336. Ps. 42, 1.
And another; *My God, my God, I seek Thee early; my soul thirsteth for Thee; often does my flesh, in a dry and pathless land, and without water. So did I appear before Thee in holiness to see Thy power and Thy glory.* Ps. 63, 1. 2.

Since these things are so, my brethren, let us mortify our members which are on the earth, and be nourished with living bread—by faith and love to God—knowing that without faith it is impossible to be partakers of such bread as this. For our Saviour, when He called all men to Him, and said, *If any man thirst, let him [come^a] to Me and drink,* John 7, 37. immediately added the faith without which a man cannot receive such food; *He that believeth on Me, as the Scripture saith, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.* John 7, 38. And further, He always nourished His believing disciples with His words, and gave them life by the nearness of His divinity; but to the Canaanitish woman, because she was not yet a believer, He deigned not even a reply, although she stood greatly in need of food from Him. He did this not from scorn, far from it; (for the Lord is loving to men and good, and on that account He went into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon;) but because of her unbelief, and because she was a profane woman, destitute of the word. And He did it righteously, my brethren; for it was not of advantage that she should prefer her supplication before faith, but that she should corroborate her prayer by her faith; *For he that cometh to God, must first believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek Him; and that without faith it is impossible for a man to please Him.* Heb. 11, 6. This Paul teaches. Now that she was up to that time an unbeliever, one of the profane, He shews, saying, *It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs.* Mat. 15, 26. She then, being convinced by the power of the word, and having changed her profane state, also acquired faith; for the Lord no longer treated her as a dog, but conversed with her as with a human being, saying, *O woman, great is thy faith!* As therefore she believed, He forthwith granted to her the fruit of faith, and said, *Be it* Mat. 15, 26.

^a The word **ἔλθῃ** ought probably to be supplied in the Ms.

LETTER VII. *to thee as thou desirest. And her daughter was healed in the self-same hour.*

For the righteous man, when fed by faith and knowledge, and performance of divine words, has his soul always in health. Wherefore it is commanded to *receive to ourselves him who is weak in the faith*, and to nourish him, even if he is not yet able to eat bread, but herbs, (*for he that is weak eateth herbs.*) For even the Corinthians were not able to partake of such bread, being yet babes, and like babes they drank milk. *For every one that partaketh of milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness*, according to the words of that godlike man^x. The Apostle also enjoins his beloved son Timothy, in his first Epistle, *to be nourished with the word of faith, and the good doctrine whereto he had attained*^y. And in the second, *Preserve thou the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which are in Christ Jesus*. And not only here, my brethren, is this bread the food of the righteous; neither are the saints on the earth alone nourished by such bread and such blood; but we also eat them in heaven, for the Lord is the food even of the exalted spirits, and the angels, and He is the joy of all the heavenly host^z. And to all He is every thing, and He spareth all according to His lovingkindness. Already hath the Lord given us angels' food^a, and He promises to those who continue with Him in His trials, saying, *And I promise to you a kingdom, as My Father hath promised to Me; that ye shall eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.*

What kind of a banquet is it, my brethren, and how great

^x St. Paul. Ὁ ἀποστόλος Παῦλος διδάσκαλος ἰθῶν γενόμενος, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἀποσταλεὶς κηρύττειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, γράφας τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, γράφει λοιπὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστεύουσιν Ἑβραίοις ἀποδεικτικὴν ταύτην ἐπιστολήν. Synopsis Script. Sacr. p. 161. apud Athanasium. Again, "Ὅτι αὐτοῦ (καὶ τοῦ Παύλου) ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολή, φανερόν ἐστι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τῆς ἐπιστολῆς. De Sanctâ Trinitate, p. 411.

^y For **δοξῆ** leg. **δοξῆ**

^z Conf. Letter i. p. 8. 'For the angels are no otherwise sustained than by be-

holding at all times the face of the Father, and of the Saviour Who is in heaven.'

^a Conf. Ps. lxxviii. 25. 26. 'And gave them food from heaven. So man did eat angels' food.' S. Athan. on the passage (Expos. in Psalmos, p. 908.) says, that God not only fed the bodies of the Israelites with manna, but also their souls with a certain reasonable and heavenly virtue, ὡς περ ἀμελεῖ διατρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. Referring to 1 Cor. x. 3. he says, ὡς πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον βρῶμα, τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ὁ νῦν ἄρτος ἀγγέλων ὀνομαζόμενος.

is the harmony and gladness of those who eat at this heavenly A.D. 335.
 table! For they delight themselves not with that food which
 is cast out, but with that which produces life everlasting.
 Who then shall be deemed worthy of that assembly? Who
 is so blessed as to be called, and accounted worthy of that
 divine feast? For, *blessed is he who shall eat bread in Thy* Luke 14,
kingdom. For he who has been adjudged worthy of this 15.
 heavenly calling, and by this calling has been sanctified, if
 he grow negligent in it, although washed, becomes defiled:
counting the blood of the covenant by which he was sanctified Heb.10,29.
a profane thing, and despising the Spirit of grace, he hears
 the words, *Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having* Mat.22,12.
wedding garments? For the banquet of the saints is spotless
 and pure; *for many are called, but few chosen.* Judas, Mat.22,14.
 to wit, though he came to the supper, inasmuch as he thought
 lightly of it, went out from the presence of the Lord, and
 having abandoned his Life^b, hanged himself. But the dis-
 ciples who continued with the Redeemer, partook also of the
 happiness of the feast. - And that young man who went into
 a far country, and there wasted his substance, living in dis-
 sipation, if he contract a desire for this divine feast, and,
 coming to himself, shall say, *How many hired servants of my* Luke 15,
father have bread to spare, while I perish here with hunger! 17.
 and shall then arise and come to his father, and confess to
 him, saying, *I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and*
am not worthy to be called thy son; make me as one of thy-
hired servants;—when he shall thus confess, then he shall be
 counted worthy of more than he prayed for. For the father
 does not receive him as a hired servant, neither does he look
 upon him as a stranger; but he kisses him as a son; he receives
 him as a dead man alive again; and deems him worthy of the
 divine feast, and gives him his former and precious garment^c.
 So that, on this account, there is singing and gladness in the
 paternal home. For this is the work of the lovingkindness
 and grace of the father, that not only should he make him
 alive from the dead, but that he should also render his grace
 illustrious through the Spirit. Therefore, instead of cor-

^b Conf. Col. iii. 4. ὁ Χριστός—ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν. ^c Syr. στολή.

64 *Exhortation to sinners to return and abide with Christ.*

LETTER
VII.

ruption^d, he clothes him with an incorruptible garment^e; instead of hunger, he kills the fatted calf; that he should not henceforth travel afar off, [the father] busies himself on his return, providing shoes for his feet; and, what is most wonderful, putting a divine signet-ring upon his hand; whilst by all these things He begets him afresh^f in the image of the glory of Christ.

These are the gracious gifts of the Father, by which the Lord honours and nourishes those who abide with Him, and also those who return to Him and repent. For He promises, John 6, 35. saying, *I am the bread of life; he that cometh unto Me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on Me shall never thirst.* We, too, shall be counted worthy of these things, if, at all times, we cleave to our Saviour, and if we are pure, not only in these six days of Easter^g, but consider our whole course as a feast^h, and continue near and not far off, saying John 6, 68. to Him, *Thou hast the words of eternal life, and whither shall we go?* Let those of us who are far off return, confessing our iniquities and possessing nothing before men, but Rom. 8, 13. by the spirit mortifying the deeds of the body. For thus, having beforehand nourished the soul here, we shall partake, Matt. 25, 4—12. with angels, at that heavenly and spiritual table; not knocking, and being repulsed, like those five foolish virgins, but

In the Syr. Ms. there is an error through the transposition of letters, **سحل** being written instead of **لحل**.

^c Conf. Athan. op. tom. ii. p. 406. *ἵνα ἐκείθεν ἐνδύσῃ σε ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς ὑμῶν στολὴν δόξης, ἔνδυμα ἀφθαρσίας.* But vid. note g, p. 57.

^f Syr. **ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ**—So we find quoted in Castell s. v. **ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ** Ablutio **ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ** quæ denuo fit.

^g The word *πέντηκоста* appears to be applied in this place κατ' ἐξοχήν, to the Passion week, (*ἡ ἄγία καὶ μεγάλη ἑβδομάς—ἑβδομάς τῶν πασχῶν*). So we read (Athan. op. tom. i. p. 256.) μετὰ γὰρ τὰ ἑβδομα τοῦ πάσχα κ. τ. λ. The Greeks usually designated the days of the week, not after the preceding, but the following Sunday. Thus after the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, κυριακὴ τοῦ ἀσώτου (Latinis Dominica Septua-

gesimæ), those days that follow immediately, viz. the second, third, fourth feria, &c. were by the Greeks termed ἡ δευτέρα τῆς ἀποκρέως, ἡ τρίτη, &c. until the following Sunday, which was termed κυριακὴ τῆς ἀποκρέως (Latinis, Dominica Sexagesimæ), while the whole week was called ἑβδομάς τῆς ἀποκρέως. Vid. Suicer. Thes. in voc. ἀποκρέως, and the notes of Valeusius on Euseb. Orat. in laud. Constant. ch. ix. With us, Easter-week includes the six days following Easter-Sunday; with the Greeks, the ἑβδομάς τῶν πασχῶν was applied to the preceding six days, as here.

^h Athan. frequently speaks in these Epistles of the Easter-festival as designed to bring us nearer to Christ. *Our whole life is to be a continual spiritual feast of praise and thanksgiving to God, whereby we are to be prepared for Christ's presence in heaven.* Vid. supra, p. 57. and Letter v. sub init.

entering with the Lord, like those who were wise and loved the bridegroom; and, shewing the death of Jesus in our bodies, we shall receive life and the kingdom from Him. A. D. 335.
2 Cor. 4. 10.

We begin the fast of forty days on the twenty-third of Mecheir (Feb. 17.), and the holy fast of the blessed feast on the twenty-eighth of Phamenoth (Mar. 24.); and having joined to these, six days after them, in fastings and watchings, as each one is able, let us cease on the third of the month Pharmuthi (Mar. 19.), on the evening of the seventh day. Also that day which is holy and blessed in every thing, which possesses the name of Christ, the Lord's day^h, having risen upon us, (on the fourth of Pharmuthi, Mar. 30.), let us afterwards keep the holy feast of Pentecost. Let us at all times worship the Father through Christ, by Whom to Him and with Him be glory and dominion by the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.

All the brethren who are with me salute you: salute one another with a holy kiss.

Here endeth the seventh Festal Letter of holy Athanasius the Patriarch.

There is no eighth or ninth, for he did not send them, for the reason I have before mentionedⁱ.

^h κυρίωνυμος—κυριακή L. Vid. Suicer Thea. sub voc. κυριακή, tom. ii. p. 184. S. Athan. on the passage in the Psalms, 'This is the day which the Lord hath made,' says, σημαίνει δὲ ὁ λόγος τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, τὴν γε ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ γενομένην, δηλαδή, κυριακήν. Expos. in Psalmos, p. 957.

ⁱ See the Index. Athan. left Egypt

in this year to attend the synod at Tyre; thence repaired to the Emperor Constantine to plead his cause before him. Failing of success in this, he retired, as an exile, to Treviri, in Gaul. I have changed the order of the last two sentences from that in which they are written in the Syr. Ms.

LETTER X.

A.D. 338. *Coss. Ursus and Polemius; Præf. the same Theodorus, of Heliopolis; and after him, of the Catholics, for the second year, Philagrius^a; Indict. XI.; Easter-day, VII. Kal. Ap.^b XXX. Phamenoth; Moon 18½; Æra Dioclet. 54.*

‘ALTHOUGH I have been all this distance from you, my brethren, I have not forgotten the custom which obtains

^a The Syriac seems to admit of no other translation, though the passage is not without difficulty. The mention of ‘the same’ Theodorus would imply that Theodorus had been Præfect in the preceding year, (for which there is no Paschal Letter extant, vid. note m. p. 68.) The manner in which the name of Philagrius is introduced—‘for the second year,’—must refer to his having held the office of Præfect *once before, though not in the year immediately preceding*. His name has already appeared in the title to Letter vi. (where vid. note) and that to Letter vii. The words, ‘of the Catholics,’ used in connexion with the name of Philagrius, imply that the term ‘Arian’ is to be understood of Theodorus. This we might reasonably expect, if he were governor in the preceding year. But that Philagrius should be reckoned among the Catholics is less clear, seeing he is styled by S. Athan. an apostate; and was a close adherent of his fellow-countryman, Gregory, the Arian, towards whose intrusion into the see of Alexandria he was afterwards instrumental. He and Gregory are compared by S. Athan. to Pilate and Caiaphas respectively. Vid. S. Athan. Encyc. ad Episcopos Epist. p. 89—91. and p. 93. §. 7. To reconcile the manner in which S. Athan. and S. Greg. Naz. speak of Philagrius,

Pagius Valesius and others have supposed that there were two Præfects of that name, father and son. Vid. Historical Tracts of S. Athan. published in this series, p. 224, note; and pref. p. xiii. Such an opinion is borne out by the headings of these Epistles, which, indeed, can be reconciled in no other way. Philagrius is first mentioned (Letter vi.) as Præfect in 334. ‘The same’ Philagrius is mentioned (Letter vii.) as Præfect in 335. In the present instance, we have Philagrius Præfect ‘for the second year.’ Again in the heading to Letter xi. (A.D. 339,) we read of Philagrius the Cappadocian being Præfect ‘for his second time.’ There may have been, and there probably was, a confusion in the mind of the writer of these; but there seems to be no reasonable doubt from his words, that two persons of the name of Philagrius filled the office of Præfect at different times.

^b In the Chron. Pasch. tom. ii. p. 202. we find Easter-day given as falling on viii. Kal. Ap. This is probably an error, and should be corrected to vii. Kal. Ap. as here given, and which coincides with the 30th of Phamenoth.

^c Athanasius had been in exile in Gaul for two years previous. The devices of his enemies had, for a time, been successful with the Emperor, and a constant watch was kept over his

among you, which has been delivered to us by the fathers^d, A. D. 338. so as to be silent without notifying to you the time of the annual holy feast, and the day for its celebration. For although I have been kept in restraint by those afflictions of which you have doubtless heard, and severe trials have been laid upon me, and a great distance has separated us; while the enemies of the truth have also been on the watch against us, laying snares to discover a letter from us, so that, by their accusations, they might add to the pain of our wounds; yet the Lord, strengthening and comforting us in our afflictions, we have not feared, even when kept in the midst of such machinations and conspiracies, to indicate and make known to you our saving Easter-feast^e, even from the ends of the earth. Also when I wrote to the presbyters of Alexandria, I urged that these letters might be sent to you through their instrumentality, knowing the fear imposed on them by the adversaries. Still, I exhorted them to be mindful of the apostolic boldness of speech^f, and to say, *Nothing separates us from the love of Christ; neither affliction, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword.* Thus, keeping the feast myself, I was desirous that you also, my beloved, should keep it; and being conscious that an announcement like this is incumbent on me, I have not kept back from discharging the duty, since I was jealous of incurring the imputation implied in the Apostolic counsel; *Render to every man his due^g.* Rom. 8, 35.
Rom. 13, 7.

While I then committed all my affairs to God, I considered it as a duty to celebrate the feast with you, not taking into account the distance between us. For although place divides us, yet the Lord, the Giver of the feast, and

actions. The death of Constantine, in the year 337, changed the aspect of the affairs of the Church. Athanasius was again taken into favour, and permitted to return to Alexandria, Constantine the younger, who succeeded to the government of Gaul, furnishing a letter to the people of Alexandria, and declaring that it had been the intention of his father, had he lived, to act in the same manner. According to the Index, S. Athan. returned from Gaul

on the twenty-seventh of the month Athyr, answering to the twenty-fifth of November. The Egyptian year (be it remembered) commenced on the twenty-ninth of August.

^d Assembled at the Council of Nice.

^e We frequently meet with the expression *ἑβδομάς τοῦ σωτηριώδους πάσχα* towards the end of the Paschal discourses of S. Cyril.

^f *παρρησία* Syr.

^g Conf. Letter iii. p 22. and note a.

LETTER
X.

Who is Himself our feast^h, Who is also the Bestower of the Spiritⁱ, brings us together in mind, in harmony, and in the bond of peace^k. For when we mind and think the same things, and offer up the same prayers on behalf of each other, no place can divide us; but the Lord gathers and unites us together. For if He has promised, *that when two or three are gathered together in His name, He is in the midst of them*, it is plain that being in the midst of those who in every place are gathered together, He unites them, and receives the prayers of all of them, as if they were near, and listens to all of them, as they cry out the same Amen^l.

^m I have thus borne affliction like this, and all those trials which I mentioned, my brethren, when I wrote to you. And that we may give you pain in nothing, I would now

ⲏ ⲓⲟⲥⲓ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲣⲥⲁ ‘and who is our feast’ δε καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ (or, τὸ πᾶσχα) ἡμῶν ἐστὶ. ‘Christ our Passover.’ Larsow has missed the point of these words.

ⁱ The Holy Ghost is especially called the gift of God. Conf. Luke xi. 13. If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him? In Orat. ii. contra Arianos p. 383. He is called Θεοῦ δῶρον. S. Athan. speaks of Him as being in the hands of the Father Who sends, and of the Son Who brings Him. Expositio Fidei, p. 81. τὸ δὲ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐκπέρευμα ἐν τοῦ πατρὸς, αἰεὶ ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ πέμπτου πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ φέροντος υἱοῦ. S. Basil declares of Him (de Sp. s. 57.) δῶρον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα.

The Syriac here is ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲛⲟ ‘bestower,’ ‘giver,’ from ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲛⲟ concessit, donavit. The same expression is again employed in this Letter. We find elsewhere in S. Athan. the same title applied to Christ; e. g. Orat. i. contra Arianos, p. 359. ὁ τοῦ πνεύματος δοτὴρ αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος.

^k Conf. Eph. iv. 3. ‘The unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.’

^l Conf. Athan. ad Imperatorem Constantinum Apol. p. 242. Εἰ γὰρ κατὰ

τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπαγγελίαν, ἐὰν δύο συμφωνῆσαιεν περὶ παντός, οὐδὲν αἰτήσονται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς, τί ἐὰν τοσοῦτων λαῶν συνελθόντων μία γένηται φωνὴ, λεγόντων τῷ Θεῷ τὸ ἅμην; τίς γοῦν οὐκ ἐθαύμασε; τίς οὐκ ἐμακάρισέ σε, Βλέπων τὸν τοσοῦτον λαὸν ἐν ἐνὶ συνελθόντα τόπῳ; A somewhat similar passage occurs in Letter xi. where vide note.

^m Thus far in this Letter, S. Athan. has been referring to the circumstances attending his exile for the last two years. The principal subject of the remaining part consists of the duty incumbent on us to praise and thank God for deliverance from affliction, and to exercise forgiveness towards our enemies—both which points are illustrated by Scriptural examples. He several times speaks of his restoration to the Church of Alexandria. For instance, in p. 75, he says; ‘Those things which could not be accomplished by man, God hath shewn to be easy of accomplishment by bringing us to you.’ It is very observable, that more than once already (notwithstanding what was said at the end of Letter vii.—probably by the person who collected the Epistles) Athanasius speaks clearly of his not having neglected to send the usual announcement of the time for observing Easter, even when in exile in Gaul. The Letters at this time may have been, and probably were, very brief; but that they were sent, there can be no doubt.

also (only) briefly remind^a you of these things^b, because it is not becoming in a man to forget, when more at ease, the pains he experienced in tribulation; lest, like an unthankful and forgetful person, he should be excluded from the divine assembly. For at no time should a man inwardly praise God, more than when he has passed through afflictions; nor, again, should he at any time give thanks more than when he finds rest from toil and temptations. As Hezekiah, when the Assyrians perished, praised the Lord, and gave thanks, saying, *The Lord is my salvation^c, and I will not cease to bless Thee with harp all the days of my life, before the house of the Lord.* And those three blessed men who were tried in Babylon, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, when they were in safety and the fire became to them as dew, praised and gave thanks, singing a song unto God^d. I, too, like them, have written, my brethren, having these things in mind; for even in our time, God hath made possible those things which are impossible to men. And those things which could not be accomplished by man, God hath shewn to be easy of accomplishment, by bringing us to you. For God does not give us as a prey to those who seek

A. D. 338.

Is. 38, 20.

Song of the Three Children 25—28.

Perhaps for **ܐܘܨܘܢܐ** we should read **ܥܘܨܘܢܐ**.

^o There is nothing wanting in the text here, as Larsow erroneously supposes. Vid. note to p. 55.

^p I differ from Prof. Larsow, who states unhesitatingly that there is an error in the Syriac text, and that ?

(of) should be supplied after **ܕܢܐ** (Lord), rendering it; 'Lord of my salvation!' The translation of the words

ܕܢܐ ܥܘܨܘܢܐ, as they stand in the Syriac, is, 'The Lord [is] my salvation,—a translation which agrees well

with the text of the Peschito **ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ** 'The Lord will deliver us.'

The fact of the LXX. version being exclamatory—**Θεε της σωτηριας μου**—will not warrant a conjectural emendation of the Syriac text here in opposition to the sense of the Peschito. The other versions render the Heb.

יְהוָה יְהוֹשִׁיעָנִי either in the form of a prayer, as the Vulg. Domine, saluum me fac; or of a declaration, as the Peschito does; e. g. The Targum of Jonathan has it, **יְהוָה יְהוֹשִׁיעָנִי** : Dominus dixit se liberaturum nos. (Eng. vers. The Lord was ready to save me.) What is far more worthy of note is, that the Syriac translator must have found in the Greek copy the reading of the Codex Alex. **Κόριε**—the correct rendering of **יְהוָה**; not that of the Vatican text, **Θεε**.

^q Conf. Sermo contra omnes hæreses apud Athan. t. ii. p. 184. **ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν κάμνον τοῦ πυρός Ἀναβίαν, καὶ Ἀζαρίαν, καὶ Μισαήλ· καὶ τοῦ θεοσποιοῦ λόγου ἐν μέσφ αὐτῶν γινομένου, καὶ ἐξελάσαντος τὸ πῦρ, καὶ αὐτῶν δυνούντων.** The history is also referred to by Athan. Orat. ii. contra Arian. §. 71. and Epist. ii. ad Serapionem, §. 6. In the latter place, the miraculous effect is attributed to the presence of Christ—**τὸν μὲν ἰδὼν εἶδε (Δανιήλ) θεορίζοντα τὴν κάμνον.**

LETTER X. to swallow up not so much us, as the Church, and by wickedness to overwhelm faith and^r godliness. They indeed imagined such things; but God, who is good, multiplied His loving-kindness towards us, not only when He vouchsafed to us by His Word the common salvation of us all; but also now, when enemies have persecuted us, and have sought to seize upon us. As the blessed Paul saith in a certain place, when describing the incomprehensible riches of Christ: *But God, being rich in mercy, for the great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in follies and sins, quickened us through^s Christ.* For the might of man and of all creatures, is weak and poor; but the Might which is above man, and uncreated, is rich and incomprehensible, and hath no beginning, but is eternal. It does not, then, possess one method only of healing; but, being rich, it works in divers manners for our salvation by means of His Word, Who is not restricted or hindered in His dealings towards us; but since He is rich and manifold, He varies Himself according to the individual capacity of each soul^t. For He is the Word, and the Power, and the Wisdom of God, as Solomon testifies concerning Wisdom, that *being one, it can do all things, and remaining in itself, it maketh all things new; and passing upon holy souls, fashioneth the friends of God and the prophets^u.* To those then who have not yet attained to the perfect way—as a lamb—there is milk, and this was administered by Paul: *I have fed you with milk, not with meat.* To those who have advanced from the full stature of childhood, but still are weak as regards perfection, the food is according to their capacity, being again administered by Paul^v; *Let him that is weak eat herbs.* But as soon as ever a man begins to walk in the

^r The conjunction **ο**, seems wanting in the Syriac.

^s The Syriac seems to require this rendering. Or it may be, 'quickened us in Christ.' The Peschito (ܘܥܘܒܘܢ) agrees better with the original; *συνεζωονολησε τῷ Χριστῷ.*

^t All the various attributes and perfections of the Deity, as exhibited in the person of Christ, work together for the salvation of man. By His gospel, He instructs them; by His power, He

upholds and strengthens them; and by His wisdom, He guides them.

^u Conf. Letter i. p. 3.

^v The sense in the last few lines, and in those that follow, is clear, though the construction appears somewhat obscure. Milk, herbs, and meat, are severally mentioned in connection with the different advances made in the Christian course. The translation of Prof. Larsow is unsatisfactory, and, as I think, erroneous.

perfect way, he is no longer fed with the things before A. D. 338. mentioned; but he has the Word for bread, and flesh for food, for it is written, *Strong meat is for those who are of Heb. 5, 14. full age, for those who, by reason of their capacity, have their senses exercised.*

Further also, when the word is sown, it does not yield a uniform produce of fruit in this human life, but one various and rich; for it bringeth forth, some an hundred, and some Matt. 13, 8. sixty, and some thirty⁷, as the Saviour teaches—that Sower of grace, and Bestower of the Spirit². And this is no doubtful matter, nor one that receives no confirmation; but it is in our power to behold the field which is sown by Him; for in the Church the word is manifold and the produce^a rich. Nor are virgins alone signified by such a field; nor monks^b alone, but also honourable matrimony and the abstinence of each one. For in sowing, He did not compel the will beyond the power. Nor is the grace confined to the perfect alone; but it is sent down also among those who occupy the middle and the third ranks, so that He might rescue all men generally to salvation.

Therefore also He hath prepared many mansions with the John 14, 2. Father, so that although the dwelling-place is various in proportion to the advance in moral attainment, yet all of us are within the wall, and all of us enter within the same fence, the devil being cast out, and all his host expelled thence. For apart from light there is darkness, and apart from blessing there is a curse. The devil also is apart from the saints, and sin far from virtue. Therefore also the Gospel rebukes Satan, saying, *Get thee behind Me, Satan.* Matt. 4, 10. But us it calls to itself, saying, *Enter ye in at the strait* Matt. 7, 13. *gate.* And again, *Come, blessed of My Father, inherit the* Matt. 25, *kingdom which is prepared for you.* So also the Spirit³⁴.

⁷ In the Syriac text, as published by Mr. Cureton, as well as in the German translation by Prof. Larsow, there is a hiatus here, the next two or three pages, as far as the words 'He wept,' being wanting. Two more leaves were afterwards discovered among the fragments in the British Museum by the learned Editor, and to his courtesy I am indebted for the knowledge of their existence. One of them belongs to this part; the

other to the eleventh Letter. The Syriac text of both of them will be found in the Appendix.

² Vide note i to page 68.

^a In the Ms. ܐܘܪܘܫܐܝܡ (virtue) is written by mistake for ܐܘܪܘܫܐܝܡ (produce).

^b ܠܘܘܢܐ Vid. Cast. Lex. Syr. p. 660. not. Mich.

LETTER X. before cried in the Psalms, saying, *Enter into His gates with psalms*. For by means of virtue a man enters in unto God, as Moses did into the thick cloud where God was. But through vice a man goes out from the presence of the Lord; as Cain, when he had slain his brother, went out, as far as his will was concerned, from the face of God; while the Psalmist enters, saying, *And I will go in to the altar of God, even to the God that delighteth my youth*. But of the Devil the Scripture beareth witness, that the Devil went out from before God, and smote Job^c with sore boils. For this is the characteristic of those who go out from before God—to smite and to enter among the men of God. And this is the characteristic of those who fall away from the faith—to injure and persecute the faithful. The saints, on the other hand, take such to themselves, and look upon them as friends; as also the blessed David, using plainness of speech^d, says, *Mine eyes are on the faithful of the earth, that they may dwell with me*. But those that are weak in the faith, Paul urges that we should the rather take to ourselves. For virtue is philanthropic^e, just as in men of an opposite character, sin is misanthropic. In this manner Saul, in that he was a sinner, persecuted David; whereas David, though he altogether possessed the opportunity, did not kill Saul. Esau too persecuted Jacob, while Jacob sought to overcome his wickedness by meekness. And those eleven sold Joseph; but Joseph, in his loving-kindness, had pity on them.

But what need we many words? Our Lord and Saviour, when He was persecuted by the Pharisees, wept for their destruction. He was treated injuriously, but He threatened^f not; not when He was afflicted, not even when He was killed. But He suffered anguish for the sake of those who presumptuously did such things. They, however, contemptuously cast from them life, and light, and grace. All these were theirs through that Saviour Who suffered in

^c In the Ms. **ܘܥܘܫ** (Jesus) is written by mistake for **ܘܗܘܐ** (Job).

^d **ܡܢ ܫܘܒܘܬܐ** (Syr.) **ܘܚܘܪܐܝܢ**.

^e Conf. Letter xi. sub init.

^f The Syriac is **ܘܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܫ** 'was per-

secuted'—which supplies no good sense. I think it an error of the copyist, caused by the word occurring immediately before. My own emendation is quite conjectural.

our stead. It was in truth for such their darkness and blindness, He wept. For if they had understood the things which are written in the Psalms, they would not have been so vainly daring against the Saviour, the Spirit having said, *Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?* And if they had thought upon the prophecy of Moses, they would not have hanged Him Who was their life. And if they had examined with their understanding the things which were written, they would not studiously have fulfilled^s the prophecies which were against themselves, so as for their city to be now desolate, grace taken from them, and they also themselves without the law, being no longer called children, but strangers. For thus in the Psalms was it before declared, saying, *The strange children have acted falsely by Me.* Also by Isaiah the prophet; *I have begotten and brought up children, and they have rejected Me.* And, further, they are no longer called the people of God, and a holy nation, but rulers of Sodom, and people of Gomorrah; having exceeded in this even the iniquity of the Sodomites, as the prophet also saith, *Sodom is justified before thee.* For the Sodomites acted injuriously against angels, but these against the Lord, and God, and King of all, and dared to slay the Lord of angels; not knowing that Christ, Who was slain by them, is living, while those Jews who had conspired against the Lord died, having rejoiced a very little in these temporal things, and falling away from those which are eternal. They were ignorant of this—that the immortal promise has not respect to temporal enjoyment, but to the hope of those things which are everlasting. For through many tribulations, and labours, and sorrows, the righteous man enters into the kingdom of heaven; but when he arrives where sorrow, and distress, and sighing, shall flee away, he shall thenceforward enjoy rest; as Job, who, when tried here, was afterwards the familiar friend of the Lord. But the lover of pleasures,

A. D. 338.




Ps. 2, 1.

Deut. 18,
15. 28. 66.

Ps. 18, 46.

Is. 1, 2.

Lam. 4, 6.

^s Syr. . The sense 'fulfilled' not 'spoken' is required here, Larsow gives the latter. The two words  and  were anciently

confounded together, and that not merely by the Syriac copyists. Vid. Castell. Lex. Syriac. p. 500. not Mich.

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rejoicing for a little while, afterwards passes a sorrowful life; like Esau, who had temporal food, but afterwards was there condemned.

One may say that a distinction like this may be compared to the departure of the children of Israel and the Egyptians from Egypt. For the Egyptians, rejoicing a little while in their injustice against Israel, when they went forth, were all drowned in the deep; but the people of God, being for a time smitten and injured, by the conduct of the task-masters^h, when they came out of Egypt, passed through the sea unharmed, and walked in the wilderness as an inhabited place. For although, according to the mode of living customary among men, the place was desert; yet, through the gracious gift of the law, and also through their intercourse with angels, it was no longer desolate, but inhabited, yea, and more than inhabited. As also Elishaⁱ, when he thought he was alone in the wilderness, was with companies of angels; so, in this case, though the people were first afflicted, and in the wilderness, yet those who remained faithful^k afterwards entered the land of promise. In the same manner those also who suffer temporal afflictions here, after having remained stedfast, go forth to a place of comfort; while those who here persecute are trodden under foot, and have no good end. For even the rich man, according to the accurate description of the Gospel, having lived in pleasure here for a little while, suffered hunger there; and having drunk largely here, he was there parched with thirst. But Lazarus, after being afflicted in worldly things, found rest in heaven; and having hungered for bread ground from corn, he was there satisfied with that which is better than manna, even the

Luke 16,
19.

^h ἐργολώται.

ⁱ The reference is apparently to the history of Elisha as recorded in 2 Kings vi. 13—17, though the mention of the wilderness agrees better with the history of Elijah, as found in 1 Kings xix. 4—8. I cannot, however, agree with Prof. Larsow, who states that for Elisha we ought to read Elijah.

^k Syr. **ܡܘܨܝܘܢܐ ܥܘܕ** 'remained faithful.' Larsow erroneously

gives the sense of 'hoping' to **ܥܘܕ**. It is parallel to **ܥܘܕܐ**, 'remained stedfast' which occurs directly afterwards. In Letter vi. p. 55. we have **ܥܘܕܐ ܕܢܐ ܘܢܐ**. 'They continue without a feast.' In Rom. xi. 23. **ܥܘܕܐ ܥܘܕܐ** is, 'they remain in their unbelief.'

Lord who came down and said, *I am the bread which came down from heaven, and giveth life to mankind.* A. D. 338.
John 6, 51.

Oh! my dearly beloved, if we shall gain comfort from afflictions; if rest from labours; if health after sickness; if after death there is immortality; it does not become us to be much distressed by the temporal ills that afflict mankind. It is not right to be greatly moved because of the trials which befall us. It is not right to fear if the host¹ that contended with Christ, should conspire against godliness; but we should the more please God through these things, and should consider such matters as the probation and exercise of a virtuous life. For how shall patience be looked for, if there have not previously been labours and sorrows? Or how can experience be afforded of fortitude, when there has not first been an assault from enemies? Or how can a spectacle of fortitude^m be exhibited, when contumely and injustice have not preceded? Or how can long-suffering be expected, when opposition on the part of Antichristsⁿ has not first existed? And, finally, how can a man hope to witness virtue, when the iniquity of the very wicked has not previously displayed itself? Thus even our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ comes before us [as an example], when He would shew men how to suffer; Who, when He was smitten, bore it patiently; being reviled, He reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not; but He gave His back to the smiters, and His cheeks to buffetings, and turned not His face from spitting; and, at last, was willingly led to death, that we might behold^o in Him the image of all that is virtuous and im-

¹ The Syr. **ܠܗܘܐ** is to be translated 'host,' as above, vid. Castell. Lex. Syr. p. 308. cum notâ Mich. Larsow translates it differently, stating that there is an error in the text. I think it, however, correct as it stands.

^m I suspect an error in this word in the Syriac, the mistake having arisen from the same word having occurred just before.

ⁿ The term 'Antichrists' is applied to heretics generally, and, as in this instance, to the Arians *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Conf. Apol. contra Arian. t. i. p. 162. ἀποστρέφεται δὲ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν,

χριστομάχον ὄσαν, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου πρόδρομον. Damascenus lib. iv. Orthod. fidei, c. xxvii. p. 389. as quoted by Suicer, says, Πᾶς ὁ μὴ ὁμολογῶν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Θεὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ εἶναι Θεὸν τέλειον, καὶ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον τέλειον, μετὰ τοῦ μείναι Θεὸν, ἀντιχριστὸς ἐστιν. Vid. also S. Athan. Epist. Encyc. ad Episc. p. 314. §. 1. et infra p. 78. note z.

^o The Syr. **ܢܒܝܐ** 'rejoice' ought apparently to be **ܢܒܝܐ** 'see,' as it is here rendered.

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mortal; and all of us, conducting ourselves after these examples, might truly tread on serpents and scorpions, and on all the power of the enemy^p.

Thus, too, Paul, while he conducted himself after the example of the Lord, also exhorted us, saying, *Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ*. In this way, he prevailed against all the host of the devil, writing, *I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers^q, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Jesus Christ*. For the enemy presents himself to us in afflictions, and trials, and labours, doing every thing, and striving eagerly to cast us down. But the man who is in Christ, setting himself against those that oppose, and revisiting wrath by long-suffering, contumely by meekness, and vice by virtue, obtains the victory, and exclaims, *I can do all things through Christ, Who strengtheneth me*; and, *In all these things we are conquerors through Christ Who loved us*. This is the grace of the Lord, and these are the Lord's corrective measures towards the children of men. For He suffered to procure freedom from suffering for those who suffer in Him; and He descended^r that He might raise us up; He took on Him the trial of being born, that we might love Him Who is unbegotten; He went down to corruption, that corruption might put on immortality; He became weak for us, that we might rise with power; He descended to death, that He might bestow on us immortality, and give life to the dead. Lastly, He became man, that we who die as men might live again, and that death should no more reign over us; for the Apostolic word proclaims, *Death shall not have the dominion over us*^s.

^p A passage very similar to the above, in which Christ is proposed as an example to us in His sufferings, occurs in the treatise 'de Passione et Cruce Domini,' p. 73. §. 19.

^q The order of the words here is that found in some Mss. of the Greek Text. *ὅτι ἐνεστώτα, ὅτι μέλλοντα, ὅτι δυνάμεις.*

^r For *ἄνω* leg. *ἄνω*.

^s We have here a long passage which occurs, with only slight variations, in the treatise 'de Passione et Cruce Domini,' apud Athan. tom. ii. p. 68. As it exceeds in length any other in these Letters which I have been able to discover elsewhere, and as it is itself of so interesting a character, I shall not hesitate to quote it, at length. *Τὰνθρόπινα περιβαλλόμενος*

Now because they did not thus consider these matters, A. D. 338. the Ario-maniacs^t, being opposers of Christ, and heretics, smite Him who is their Helper, with their tongue, and blaspheme^a Him who set [them] free; and, referring all things to their wrong source, have become heterodox concerning the Redeemer. *Because of His coming down, which was on behalf of man, they have denied His essential

καὶ ἀμφιασόμενος, δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ἡμῶν προσήγαγε τῷ πατρὶ, ἵνα ὡς αὐτὸς πάσχων, ἀβλαβῆ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πάσχοντα κατασκευάσῃ, καὶ μικρὰ μεγάλους ἀντικαταλλάξῃται. καταβέβηκε γὰρ, ἵνα ἡμῶν τὴν ἄνοδον κατασκευάσῃ[†] καὶ πεπείραται γενέσεως, ἵνα ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ φιλιώσωμεν, ἡσθένησε δι' ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἐγερωθῶμεν ἐν δυνάμει, καὶ εἰπωμεν, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος πάντα ἰσχύων ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἔλαβε σῶμα φθαρτὸν, ἵνα τὸ φθαρτὸν ἐνδύσῃται τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ἐνεδύσατο τὸ θνητὸν, ἵνα τὸ θνητὸν ἐνδύσῃται τὴν ἀθανασίαν. καὶ τέλος, γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς οἱ ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκοντες, θεοποιηθῶμεν, καὶ μηκέτι τὸν θάνατον ἔχωμεν βασιλεύοντα, θάνατος γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐ κατακυριεύει, καὶ ὁ ἀποστολικὸς δὲ κηρύττει λόγος.

It may be remarked here, 1st, The treatise from which this is quoted is placed amongst the ἀμφιβαλλόμενα. Indeed, the learned editor of Athanasius hesitated whether to include it among the spurious works. In his prefixed remarks he says, 'animus fuerat eam inter spuria ablegare: quia tamen in antiquioribus codicibus, et in Athanasianis collectionibus reperitur, eo nomine inter dubia eam recensemus.' We have had more than one opportunity, beside the present, of adducing parallel passages from the same treatise in illustration. These observations will lead us to the conclusion, (the authenticity of the Festal Letters being placed beyond a doubt,) either that one of the writers transferred, not only the ideas, but the very words of the other into his writings; or else, that the treatise 'de Passione, &c.' emanated from the same mind which indited the Letters. Perhaps an accurate consideration of the question will decide us in favour of the latter opinion. 2dly, We may remark, that the Syriac ܐܘܨܬܝܢܐ 'unbegotten' fixes, if need were, the Benedictine reading ἀγεννήτῳ in opposition

to that of some Mss. ἀγενήτῳ. (For the distinction, between ἀγέννητον, ἀγεννητον, &c. see the remarks of the Benedictine editors. Athan. op. tom. i. p. 163.) 3dly, The connexion of the sentence in the Syriac, as well as the text of the Greek, would suggest a suspicion that a line has been omitted after the words, 'He went down to corruption, that corruption,' and that we should read, 'He went down to corruption, that corruption might put on incorruption; He clothed Himself with mortality, that mortality might put on immortality.' Compare with the whole passage, S. Cyril. Hom. Pasch. xx. p. 269. προσειληφῶς δὲ μᾶλλον ἔπερ οὐκ ἦν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμᾶς μεταστοιχειώσῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω τε καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν ζωὴν. The same ideas are also expressed in S. Athan. de Incarn. t. i. p. 693, without, however, the same correspondence of words and phrases.

^a The Syriac here is ܐܘܨܬܝܢܐ 'Arius and Manetes.' The same words are found twice in the next Letter. There seems little doubt that the translator mistook the Greek word Ἀρειομανῖται, a term applied to the Arians in other places by Athan. used also by Epiphanius.

^a Conf. S. Basil. Op. tom. ii. p. 189. ed. Par. 1839. Πού ὁ βλάσφημος; ποῦ ἡ Χριστομάχος γλῶττα; ἢ λέγουσιν, ἦν ποτὲ, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν: For the Syriac ܐܘܨܬܝܢܐ Prof. Larsoy has 'schwächen,' 'enfeeble'. Qu? Ought we to read 'schmähen,' 'revile.'

^x In the following lines we meet with what we find elsewhere in Athan. regarding the Arian and other heresies, viz. that they have their origin in truth, though a partial and circumscribed view of it, one doctrine of Scripture being dwelt upon, while others, equally important, are denied, as being incompatible with it. Vid. Letter ii. p. 19. note q.


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Godhead; and seeing that He came from the Virgin, they have questioned His being truly the Son of God; and, considering Him as become incarnate in time, they have denied His eternity; and, looking upon Him as having suffered for us, they have renounced their faith in Him as the incorruptible Son from the incorruptible Father. And, finally, because He was burdened for our sakes, they deny the things which concern His essential eternity; partaking of the deed of the unthankful, who rejected the Saviour, and offering Him insult instead of acknowledging His grace. To them may these words properly be addressed; Oh! unthankful opponent of Christ, altogether wicked, and the slayer of his Lord, mentally blind⁷, and a Jew in his conscience⁸, hadst thou understood the Scriptures, and listened Ps. 80, 7. to the saints, who said, *Cause Thy face to shine, and we shall be saved*; or again, *Send out Thy light and Thy truth*;—then wouldest thou have known that the Lord did not descend on His own account, but for us; and, for this reason, thou wouldest the more have admired His loving-kindness. And hadst thou considered what the Father is, and what the Son, thou wouldest not have blasphemed the Son, as [being come] of a mutable nature⁹. And hadst thou understood His work of loving-kindness towards us, thou wouldest not

⁷ Conf. Sermo contra omnes Hæreses, p. 183. τυφλὸς ἔχωντες τοὺς τῆς διαφωίας ὀφθαλμοὺς.

⁸ S. Athan. frequently designates the Arians as Jews; e. g. Orat. iii. contra Ar. p. 478. ὁ χριστομάχοι καὶ ἀχάριστοι Ἰουδαῖοι, where the other epithets also agree with those here employed—'opponent of Christ,' 'unthankful.' Vid. also p. 458. of the same discourse, where the parallel between the Arians and the Jews is fully drawn out. The words θεόμαχοι καὶ χριστομάχοι are often applied to the Arians by Athan. (conf. Acts xxiii. 9. μὴ θεομαχῶμεν.) In Ep. ad Episcop. Encycl. tom. i. p. 91. he speaks of them as ἀντιμαχόμενοι τῷ σωτήρι. The comparison between the Arians and the Jews occurs several times in these Letters. S. Alexander, the predecessor of S. Athan. in his Encyclic Epistle, speaks of the Arians as ἐγγύτεροι τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου γενόμενοι. When describing the Arian heresy, he says, εἰκότως ἂν τις πρόδρομον τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ὑπονόησειεν καὶ

καλέσειεν—again, εἰς τὴν αἰσχίστην ταύτην καὶ χριστομάχον ἀρεσιν. Vid. Athan. op. tom. i. p. 314, 315. A corresponding term to χριστομάχοι, as applied to the Arians, is that by which the Macedonian heretics were designated—πνευματομάχοι. Vid. supra p. 75. note n.

⁹ The Arians affirm the Son to be ἐκ τρεψίας, τρεπτότητος—that He is ἀλλοιωτός and τρεπτός: Athan. on the contrary (Ep. de Dec. Nic. Syn. t. i. p. 168.9; Orat. i. contra Ar. t. 1. pp. 359, 360.) maintains that ὁ υἱὸς ἄτρεπτός ἐστι καὶ ἀαλλοιωτός ὡς ὁ πατήρ. Again, Orat. i. contra Ar. i. 359. he says, ὁ κύριος ὁ ἀεὶ καὶ φύσει ἄτρεπτός· while of the Arians he says, (p. 360.) τρεπτόν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐπνοοῦντων (L.) Vide S. Athan. Treatises against Arianism, published in this series, p. 230. note a. p. 289. note h. and Suicer. Thes. t. i. p. 571. The Syriac  (the words here used) would be the translation of ἐκ τρεπτότητος.

have alienated the Son from the Father, nor have looked upon Him as a stranger^b, Who reconciled us to His Father. I know these are hard sayings, not truly to those who oppose Christ^c, but also to the Schismatics; for they are united together, as men of kindred feelings. For they have learned to rend the seamless coat^d of God: they think it not strange to divide the indivisible Son from the Father^e.

I know, indeed, that when these things are spoken, they will gnash their teeth upon us, with the devil who stirs them up, since they are troubled by the declaration of the true glory concerning the Redeemer. But the Lord, who always has scoffed at the devil, does the same even now, saying, *I am in the Father, and the Father in Me*. This is the Lord, Who is manifested in the Father, and in Him also the Father is manifested; Who, being truly the Son of the Father, at last became incarnate for our sakes, that He might offer Himself to the Father in our stead, and redeem us through His offering and sacrifice. This is He Who once, in old time, brought the people out of Egypt; but Who afterwards redeemed all of us, or rather the whole race of men, from death, and brought them up from the grave. This is He Who, in old time, was sacrificed as a lamb, having been typified in the lamb; but Who afterwards was slain for us, for *Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed*. This is He Who delivered us from the snare of the hunters;—I mean, that He cast out the opposers of Christ^f, and the Schismatics, —and again rescued us His Church. And because we were then victims of deceit^g, He hath now delivered us by His own self.

What then is our duty, my brethren, on account of these

^b Syr. *ξένος*. One of the erroneous assertions of the Arians, as given by S. Alexander in his Encyclic Epistle, (Athan. op. tom. i. p. 385.) is the following: *ξένος τε καὶ ἀλλότριος καὶ ἀπεσχομισμένος ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίας*.

^c i. e. the Arians. Vid. note z. p. 78.

^d Syr. *χιτών*. The words translated 'rend' and 'seamless' are cognate in the Syriac, and answer to *σχίζειν* and its derivatives.

^e The Arians are thence called *Διατομήται*. Vid. I. *Damascen. de hæresib.*

apud Cotel. eccles. gr. monum. p. 298. (L.) Conf. also, τὸ ἀδιαίρετον τοῦ υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, Orat. iii. contra Ar. p. 445.—*δείκνυσι τὸν υἱὸν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ ἀδιαίρετον αὐτοῦ*, id. p. 439.—*υἱὸς γὰρ ὢν, ἀχωριστός ἐστι τοῦ πατρὸς*, id. p. 458.—*ἀμέριστός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς*. De Passione et Cruce Domini apud Athan. t. ii. p. 74.

^f i. e. the Arians.

^g The connexion seems to require that a passive sense should be given to

κατακτείνεσθε, as is here done.

A. D. 338.

John 14, 11.

1 Cor. 5, 7.

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things, but to praise and give thanks to God, the King of all? And let us first exclaim in the words of the Psalms, Ps. 124, 26. *Blessed be the Lord, Who hath not given us over as a prey to their teeth.* Let us keep the feast in that way which He hath consecrated^b to us for salvation—the holy day of Easter—so that we may celebrate the feast which is in heaven with the angels. Thus, anciently, the people of the Jews, when they came out of affliction into a state of ease, kept the feast, singing a song of praise for their victory. Esther 3, 9. So also the people in the time of Esther, because they were delivered from a deadly decree, kept a feast to the Lord¹; reckoning it a feast, returning thanks to the Lord, and praising Him for having changed their condition. Therefore let us also, performing our vows to the Lord, and confessing our sins, keep the feast to the Lord, in conversation, moral conduct, and manner of life^k; praising our Lord, Who hath chastened us a little, but hath not utterly failed and forsaken us, nor altogether kept silence from us. For if, having also brought us out of the crafty and famous Egypt of the opposers of Christ^l, He hath caused us to pass through many trials and afflictions, as it were in the wilderness, to His holy Church, so that from hence, according to custom, we can send to you, as well as receive letters from you; on this account especially I both give thanks to God myself, and exhort you to thank Him with me and on my behalf, this being the Apostolic custom, which these opposers of Christ, and the Schismatics, wished to put an end to, and to break off. The Lord did not permit it; but both renewed and preserved that which was ordained by Him through the Apostle, so that we may keep the feast together, and together keep holy-day, the one with the other, according to the tradition and commandment of the fathers.

We begin the fast of forty days, on the nineteenth of the month Mecheir (Feb. 13.); and the holy Easter-fast on the twenty-fourth of the month Phamenoth (Mar. 20.) We cease

^b Syr. **ⲗⲣⲟⲩ** *ἐνεκαίνισεν*, as in Heb. x. 20. *ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν ἰδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ᾧσαν.*

¹ Conf. Letter iv. p. 32.

^k Syr. *πολιτεία*.

^l The crafty conduct of the Arians

towards the Christians is here compared with the subtlety of Pharaoh and the Egyptians towards the children of Israel; while their deliverance from such machinations is represented by the departure of the Israelites from Egypt.

from the fast on the twenty-ninth of the month Phamenoth A. D. 338 (Mar. 25.) late in the evening of the seventh day. And we thus keep the feast on the first day of the week which dawns on the thirtieth of the month Phamenoth (Mar. 26.); from which, to Pentecost, we keep holy-day, through seven weeks, one after the other. For when we have first meditated properly on these things, we shall attain to be counted worthy of those which are eternal, through Christ Jesus our Lord, through Whom to the Father be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

Greet one another with a holy kiss, remembering us in your holy prayers. All the brethren who are with me salute you, at all times being mindful of you. And I pray that ye may have health in the Lord, my beloved brethren, whom we love above all^m.

Here endeth the tenth Letter of holy Athanasius.

^m Conf. Epist. ii. ad Orisium tom. i. also Phil. iv. 1.—my brethren, dearly p. 694. ἐββῶσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ ἐβχομαι, beloved and longed for—stand fast in ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ποθεινότατοι ἀδελφοί (L) the Lord, my dearly beloved.

LETTER XI.

A. D. 339. *Coss. Constantius Augustus II., Constans I.; Præfect. Easter-day on Apr. 15. Philagrius, the Cappadocian, for the second time; Indict. XII.; Easter-day XVII. Kal. Mai.; XX. Pharmuthi; Æra Dioclet. 55.*

THE blessed Paul, being girt about with every virtue^a, and called faithful of the Lord—for he was conscious to himself of nothing but what was a virtue and a praise^b, or what was in harmony with love and godliness—familiarized
 2 Cor. 12, 4. these things to himself the more, and was carried up even to heavenly places, and was borne to Paradise; to the end that, as he surpassed the conversation of men, he should be exalted above men. And when he descended, he preached
 1 Cor. 13, 9. 12. to every man; *We know in part, and we prophesy in part; here I know^c in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.* For, in truth, he was known to those saints who are in heaven, as their fellow-citizen^d. And in relation to all that is future and perfect, the things known by him here were in part; but with respect to those things which were committed^e and entrusted to him by the Lord,
 Phil. 3, 15. he was perfect; as he said, *We who are perfect, should be thus minded.* For as the Gospel of Christ is the fulfilment and accomplishment of the ministration which was supplied by the law of Israel, so future things will be the accomplishment of such as now exist, the Gospel being then fulfilled, and the faithful receiving those things which, not seeing now, they yet hope for, as Paul saith; *For what a man*

Rom. 8, 24. 26.

^a Conf. Eph. vi. 14.

^b Conf. 1 Cor. iv. 4.

^c The reading of the Ms. ⲁⲓⲁⲓ must be an error for ⲁⲓⲁ.
 Conf. Eph. ii. 19.

^e I have no doubt that the Syriac Ms. is again faulty here, and that for ⲁⲓⲁⲓ we should read ⲁⲓⲁ as here rendered.

seeth, why doth he also hope for? But if we hope for those things we see [not^f], we then by patience wait for them^g. A. D. 339.


Since then that blessed man was of such a character, and an apostolic grace was committed to him, he wrote, wishing that all men should be as he was. For virtue is philanthropic^h, and the company of the kingdom of heaven is a large one; for thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads there serve the Lord. And though a man enters it through a strait and narrow way, yet, having entered, he beholds an immeasurable space, and a place greaterⁱ than any other, as they declare, who were eye-witnesses and heirs of these things. *Thou didst place afflictions before us.* But afterwards, having related their afflictions, they say, *Thou broughtest us forth into a wide place^k*; and again, *In affliction Thou hast enlarged us^l*. For truly, my brethren, the course of the saints here is a troubled one; since they either endure painfulness through longing for those things which are to come, as he who said, *Woe is me that my pilgrimage is prolonged*; or they are afflicted and wearied for the salvation of other men, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians, saying, *Lest, when I come to you, God should humble me, and I should bewail on account of many of those who have before sinned, and not repented for the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness which they have committed.* As Samuel bewailed for the destruction of Saul, and Jeremiah wept for the captivity of the people. But after this affliction, and sorrow, and sighing, when they depart from this world, a certain divine gladness, and pleasure, and exultation receives them, from which pain, and sorrow, and sighing, flee away.

^f The negative is omitted in the Ms.

^g S. Athan. has been distinguishing between the earthly and the heavenly perfection of a Christian. The Gospel, though the completion and fulfilment of the Jewish law, is not itself at present complete: this consummation is to take place hereafter, and with it the full perfection of the Christian. The words of Clemens Alexand. on Phil. iii. 15. are, *Τέλειον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἡγεῖται, ὅτι ἀπῆλλακται τοῦ προτέρου βίου, ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ κρείττονος, οὐχ ὡς ἐν γνώσει τέλειος, ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦ τελείου*

ἐφίμενος· διὰ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· "Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι, τοῦτο φρονοῦμεν. τελείωσιν δηλονότι λέγων τὸ ἀποτετάχθαι ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις, καὶ εἰς πίστιν τοῦ μόνου τελείου ἀναγεγεννησθαι, ἐκλαβομένου τῶν κατόπισθεν ἁμαρτιῶν. Psephagog. lib. i. cap. vi. ad fin.

^h The same comprehensive character of Christian virtue is enlarged upon in Letter x. p. 72.

ⁱ  'great,' 'extended,' as the context requires,—not 'elevated,' as Larsow renders it.

^k Or 'a place of refreshment.'

^l Or 'refreshed.'

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Since we are thus circumstanced, my brethren, let us never depart from the way of virtue; but also that we should be such persons, he (St. Paul) exhorted, saying, *Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ.* For he not only gave this advice to the Corinthians—since he was not their Apostle alone—but also, since he was *a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity*, us also, even all of us, he admonished by them; and, in short, the things he wrote to each particular person are commandments common to all men^m. On this account, when he wrote to others, some he exhorted, as, for instance, in the Epistles to the Romans, and the Ephesians, and Philemon. Some he reprov'd, and was indignant with them, as in the case of the Corinthians and Galatians. But to some he gave advice, as to the Colossians and Thessalonians. The Philippians he approved of, and was made glad by them. The Hebrews he taught that the law was a shadow to themⁿ. But to his elect sons, Timothy and Titus, when they were near, he gave instruction; when far away, he put them in remembrance. For he was all things to all men; and being himself a perfect man, he adapted his teaching to the need of every one, so that by all means he might rescue some of them. Therefore his word was not without fruit; but, in every place, it is planted and productive even to this day. And wherefore, my beloved? For it is necessary that we should search into the apostolic mind. Not only in the beginning, of the Epistles, but also at their close, and in the middle of them, he used persuasions and admonitions. I hope, therefore, that by your prayers, I shall, in no respect, give a false representation of the plan of that holy man. As he was well skilled in these divine matters, and knew the power of the divine teaching, he deemed it necessary, in the first place, to make known the word concerning Christ, and the mystery regarding Him; and then afterwards to point to the correction of habits, so that when they had learned to know the Lord, they might readily acquiesce in the observance of those things which He commanded. For when the

^m Conf. Letter ii. p. 15. and Letter iii. p. 28.

ⁿ Vid. note x to Letter vii. p. 62.

Guide to the laws^o is unknown, one does not readily pass A. D. 339. on to the observance of them.

The faithful Moses, the minister of God, adopted this method; for when he promulgated the words of the divine dispensation of laws, he first proclaimed the matters relating to the knowledge of God: *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord.* Deut. 6, 4. Afterwards, having shadowed Him forth to the people, and taught of Him in Whom they ought to believe, and informed their minds of Him Who is truly God; then he further lays down the law relating to those things whereby a man may be well-pleasing to Him, saying, *Thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal;* together with the other commandments. For also, according to the Apostolic teaching, *He that draweth near to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek Him.* Heb. 11, 6. Now He is sought by means of virtuous deeds, as the prophet saith; *Seek ye the Lord, and when ye have found Him, call upon Him; when He is near to you, let the wicked forsake his ways, and the lawless man his thoughts.* Is. 55, 6. 7. It will also be well if a man is not offended at the testimony of the Shepherd, saying in the beginning of his book, *Before all things believe that there is one God, Who created and established all these things, and from non-existence called them into being*^p. And, further, the blessed Evangelists—

^o The Syr. here is **ܐܘܢܝܘܨܘܢܐ**—*ὁδηγὸς τῶν νόμων*—Conf. Sap. c. vii. v. 15. where it is said of God, *ὅτι αὐτὸς τῆς σοφίας ὁδηγὸς ἐστί*, denoting that it is God who leads the way to wisdom, of which He is the Author, according to what follows—*καὶ τῶν σοφῶν διορθωτὴς*. So, the expression in this place is not only applied to God as the Framer of the laws, but also as the directing Guide to the observance of them.

^p This passage from the Shepherd of Hermas is quoted three other times by S. Athan. (De Incarn. Verbi Dei tom. i. p. 39. De Decret. Nic. Synod. tom. i. p. 176. Ad Afros Episcop. Epist. tom. i. p. 715.) It occurs in Lib. ii. Mandat. i. 'Primum omnium, credere quod unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit et consummavit, et ex nihilo omnia fecit.' Vid. Cotel. Patt. Apostol. p. 85.


vol. i. ed. 1724. The manner in which the quotation is here introduced alludes to what our Author says more distinctly elsewhere—that the book is not included in the Canon of Scripture. In the first place referred to, it is styled 'a most useful book'—*διὰ δὲ τῆς ὠφελιμοῦτάτης βιβλίου τοῦ Ποιμένου*. In the second passage, S. Athan. is speaking of the Eusebians quoting the work, and says, *ἐν δὲ τῷ Ποιμένῳ γέγραπται: ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοὶ μὴ ἔν ἐκ τοῦ κανόνος προφέρουσι*. In the Epistle to the African bishops, the sentence in question is again introduced as quoted by the Eusebians. The Greek text the Syriac translator had before him, as appears in the above passages, runs thus: *Πρώτον πάντων πιστεύουσι, ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας, καὶ καταρτίσας, καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα*. The same sentence is quoted by other fathers, as

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those who brought to remembrance the words of the Lord—in the beginning of the Gospels, wrote the things concerning our Saviour; so that, having first made known the Lord, the Creator, they might command belief, when narrating the events that took place. For how could they have been credited, when writing respecting him who [was blind] from his mother's womb, and those other blind men who recovered their sight, and those persons who rose from the dead, and the changing of water into wine, and those lepers who were cleansed; if they had not taught of Him as the Creator, writing, *In the beginning was the Word?* Or, according to Matthew, that He Who was born of the seed of David, was Emmanuel, and the Son of the living God? He from Whom the Jews, with the Arians, turn away their faces, but Whom we acknowledge and worship.

The Apostle, therefore, also, as was meet, sent to others; but his own son he plainly reminded, *that he should not despise the things in which he had been instructed by him.*
 He also enjoined him: *Remember Jesus Christ, who rose from the dead, of the seed of David, according to my Gospel.*
 But as he speaks of these things being delivered to him, to be always had in remembrance, so he immediately writes to him, saying, *Meditate on these things: be engaged in them.*
 For constant meditation, and the remembrance of divine words, strengthens piety towards God, and produces a love to Him inseparable and not merely formal^q; as he (S. Paul) entertaining such feelings, speaks in behalf of himself and others like-minded, saying boldly, *What shall separate us from the love of God?* For they^r who are such, being confirmed in the Lord, and possessing an unshaken disposition towards Him, and being one in spirit, (for *he who is joined*

well as by the Arians, who, however, perverted its meaning. In the fragment of the thirty-ninth epistle, the 'Shepherd' is also excluded from the Canon.

^q The Syriac here rendered 'not merely formal' is , which seems to take no other meaning than 'inexpiable'—a sense scarcely admissible in this place. The Greek

was probably *ἀγαπήν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀχώριστον καὶ οὐκ ἀφοσιουμένην*. This supposition would account for the Syriac misapprehension of the word.

^r The Syriac text from here to the words, 'There is also such a proverb as this,' p. 88, have been discovered since Mr. Cureton's edition of the Syriac. Vid. note γ, Letter x. p. 71. The Syriac will be found in the Appendix.

to the Spirit is one spirit^a;) are sure as the mount Sion; and although ten thousand trials may rage against them, they are founded upon a rock, which is Christ^c. In Him the careless take no delight; and while they entertain no imaginations of good thoughts, they are sullied by temporal attacks, and esteem nothing more than the unstable things here, being reproachable as regards the faith. For either the care of this world, or the deceitfulness of riches, chokes them; or, as Jesus said in that parable which had reference to them, since they have not established the faith that has been preached to them, but are only for a time, immediately, in time of persecution, or when affliction ariseth through the word, they are offended. Now of men of evil imaginations we say, [they regard] not truth, but falsehood; and not righteousness, but iniquity, for their tongue learneth to speak lies. They have done evil and have not ceased, that they might repent. For, persevering with delight in wicked actions, they hasten thereto without turning back, even treading underfoot the commandment with regard to neighbours, and, instead of loving them, devise evil against them, as the saint^d testifies, saying, *And those who seek me evil have spoken vanity, and imagined deceit all the day.* But that the cause of such meditation is none other than the want of instruction, the divine proverb has already declared; *The son that forsaketh the commandment of his father meditateth evil words^e.* But for such meditation as this, inasmuch as it is evil, the Holy Spirit chides in these, and reproves too in other terms, saying, *Your hands are polluted with blood, your fingers with sins; your lips have spoken lawlessness, and your tongue imagineth iniquity: no man speaketh right things, nor is there true judgment.* But what the end is of such perverse imagining, He immediately declares, saying, *They trust in vanities and speak falsehood; for they conceive mischief, and bring forth lawlessness.* They have

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Ps. 125, 1.

1 Cor. 10, 4.

Matt. 7, 25.

Matt. 13,

22.

Ps. 38, 12.

Is. 59, 3. 4.

Is. 59, 4. 5.

^a The proper reading of the text is, He that is joined unto the Lord is one Spirit.' The Peschito version adds 'with Him'—is one spirit with Him.

^c Conf. Pseudo-Chrys. 'As the Church built by Christ cannot be thrown down, so any such Christian who has built himself upon Christ no

adversity can overthrow, according to that, *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?* Catena Aurea, vol. i. p. 292. ed. Oxford, 1841.

^d Vid. note k, Letter v. p. 39.

^e The exact words do not occur in Scripture. The quotation is probably made up of more than one proverb.

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hatched the eggs of an asp, and woven a spider's web; and he who is prepared to eat of their eggs, when he breaks them finds gall, and a basilisk therein. But, again, what the hope of such is, He has already announced. *Because righteousness does not overtake them, when they waited for light, they had darkness; when they waited for brightness, they walked in a thick cloud. They shall grope for the wall like the blind, and as those who have no eyes shall they grope; they shall fall at noon-day as at midnight; when dead, they shall groan. They shall roar together as a bear, or [mourn] as a dove.*

This is the fruit of wickedness; these rewards are given to those that employ it; for perverseness does not deliver those who regard it. But, in truth, against them it opposes itself, and before them it tears, and rather prepares for them harm. Woe to them against whom these are borne!

Heb. 4, 12. *for it is sharper than a two-edged sword, slaying beforehand those who will lay hold of it. For their tongue, according*

Ps. 57, 5. *to the testimony of the Psalmist, is a sharp sword, and their teeth spears and arrows*¹. But the wonderful part is that while often he against whom men imagine [harm] suffers nothing, they are pierced by their own spears: for they possess, even in themselves, before they reach others, anger, wrath, malice, guile, hatred, bitterness. Although they may not be able to bring these upon others, they forthwith return upon and against themselves, as the Psalmist prays,

Ps. 37, 15. *saying, Let their sword enter into their own heart*². There

Prov. 5, 22. *is also such a proverb as this: The wicked is encircled by the chain of his sins.*

The Jews in their imaginings, and in their agreeing to act unjustly against the Lord, forgot that they were bringing wrath upon themselves. Therefore also does the

Ps. 2, 1. *[divine] word lament for them, saying, Why do the people exalt themselves, and the nations imagine vain things? For vain indeed was the imagination of the Jews, meditating death against the Life³, and devising unreasonable things*

¹ In his exposition on this passage in the Psalms, S. Athan. directly refers these words to the conduct of the Jews against our Lord in putting Him to death, as he also does here.

² Conf. S. Athan. Expos. in Psalmos, p. 844. ἡ βρομφαία αὐτῶν εἰσέλθοι εἰς

καρδίαν αὐτῶν—ταῦτα φησὶ, πεπόνθασιν οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες, ἃ ποιήσεν τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐπεβούλευσαν.

³ The parallel clause of this sentence would seem to determine, that by 'Life' here we must understand Christ.

against the Word of the Father^b. For who that looks A. D. 539.
 upon their dispersion, and the desolation of their city, may
 not aptly say, *Woe unto them, for they have imagined an* Is. 3, 9. 10.
evil imagination, saying against their own soul, let us bind
the righteous man, because he is not pleasing to us^c. And
 full well is it so, my brethren; for when they erred con-
 cerning the Scriptures, they knew not that *he who diggeth* Ecc1. 10, 8.
a pit for his neighbour falleth therein; and he who destroyeth
a hedge, a serpent shall bite him. And if they had not
 turned their faces from the Lord, they would have feared
 what was before written in the divine Psalms: *The heathen* Ps. 9, 15.
are caught in the pit which they made; in the snare which
they hid is their own foot taken. The Lord is known when
executing judgments: by the works of his hands is the sinner
taken. Let them observe this, and how that *the snare they* Ps. 35, 8.
know not shall come upon them, and the net they hid take
them. But they understood not these things, for had they
 done so, *they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.* 1 Cor. 2, 8.
 Therefore the righteous and faithful servants of the Lord,
 who *are made disciples for the kingdom of heaven, and bring* Mat. 13, 52.
forth from it things new and old; and who meditate on the Deut. 6, 7.
words of the Lord, when sitting in the house, when lying down
or rising up, and when walking by the way;—since they are
 of good hope because of the promise of the Spirit which
 said, *Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel* Ps. 1, 1.
of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the
seat of corrupters; but his delight is in the law of the Lord,
and in His law doth he meditate day and night;—being
 grounded in faith, rejoicing in hope, fervent in spirit^d, they

^b Syr. **ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܠܘܓܘܝܢ**. **Ἰ**
ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܠܘܓܘܝܢ *ἔλογοι κατὰ τοῦ Λόγου*
τοῦ Πατρὸς. Conf. Suicer. Thes. s. v.
 'Ἄλογος tom. i. p. 199. The term
 ἔλογοι is applied by Eriphanus to one
 class of her-tics. *Φάσκουσι τοίνυν οἱ*
ἔλογοι ταύτην γὰρ αὐτοῖς τίθημι τὴν
ἔπωνυμίαν—ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν λόγον οὐ δέ-
χονται τὸν παρὰ Ἰωάννου κεκηρυγμένον
ἔλογοι κληθήσονται. Eriph. op. (Hæres.
 li.) Par. 1622. tom. i. p. 423.

^c This passage is found in the LXX.
 version of Isaiah, c. iii. v. 9, 10. It is

quoted again in the 19th Letter. The
 latter part occurs also in Wied. ii. 12.
 where, however, we find *Ἐνεθρεύσωμεν*
 in place of *ἔλογοι*. Conf. *Questiones*
ad Antiochum apud Athan. tom. ii.
 p. 250. §. 8. *Περὶ δὲ τῶν δεσμῶν, ὧν*
ἔδησαν τὸν Χριστὸν, λέγει ταλανίζων
τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης οὐαὶ
τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν, διότι ἐβουλεύσαντο
βουλήν πονηρὰν καθ' αὐτῶν, λέγοντες.
ἔθσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον.

^d Syr. **ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܠܘܓܘܝܢ** 'in spirit
 fervent,' as in Rom. xii. 11.—not 'ex-
 ulting,' as Prof. Larsow renders it.

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Ps. 49, 3. again, *I have meditated on all Thy works, and on the work*
Ps. 143, 5. *of Thy hands has been my meditation.* And, *If I have re-*
Ps. 63, 6. *membered Thee on my bed, and in the morning have meditated*
Ps. 19, 5. *on Thee.* Afterwards, advancing in boldness^f, they say,
Ps. 19, 5. *The meditation of my heart is before Thee at all times.* And
Ps. 19, 15. he immediately after introduces us to the end of such an
one, saying, *The Lord is my Helper and my Redeemer.* For to those who thus examine themselves, and conform their hearts to the Lord, nothing adverse shall happen; for, indeed, their heart is strengthened by confidence in the
Ps. 125, 1. Lord, as it is written, *They who trust in the Lord [shall be]*
(LXX. vers.) *as the mount Sion: he who dwelleth in Jerusalem shall not be moved for ever.* For if, at any time, the crafty one shall be presumptuously bold against them, chiefly that he may break the rank of the saints, and cause a division among brethren; even in this they look to the Lord, not only as an avenger on their behalf, but also, when they have already been beaten, as a deliverer for them. For this is the divine promise; *The Lord shall fight for you.*
And further, although afflictions and trials from without overtake them, yet, being fashioned after the apostolic words, and *being stedfast in tribulations, and persevering in prayers*; by meditation, moreover, on the law; they stand against those things which befall them, are well-pleasing to God, and give utterance to the words which are written,
Ps. 119, 113. *Afflictions and distresses are come upon us; but Thy commandments are my meditation.* And whereas, not only in action, but also in the thoughts of the mind, do men attend to deeds of virtue, he afterwards adds, saying, *Mine eyes prevent the dawn, that I might meditate on Thy words.* For it is meet that the spiritual meditations of those who are whole should precede their bodily actions. And does not our Saviour, when intending to convey similar instruction,
Matt. 5, 28. begin with the thoughts of the mind? saying, *Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed*

^e Syr. *παρρησία.*

^f Syr. *παρρησία.*

adultery: and, *Whosoever shall be angry with his brother^s, A.D. 339. is guilty of murder.* For where there is no wrath, murder is ^{Matt. 5, 22.} prevented; and where lust is first removed, there can be no crime connected with adultery.

Necessary then is meditation on the law, and uninterrupted converse with virtue, *that the saint may lack nothing,* ^{1 Tim. 3, 17.} *but be perfect to every good work.* For by these things is

the promise of eternal life, as Paul wrote to Timothy, calling constant meditation exercise, and saying, *Exercise* ^{1 Tim. 4,} *thyself unto godliness; for bodily exercise profiteth little;* ^{7. 8.} *but godliness is profitable for all things, since it has the promise of the present life, and of that which is eternal.*

Worthy, indeed, of admiration is the virtue of that man, my brethren! for, through Timothy, he also enjoins upon all^b the necessity of devoting the mind to nothing in preference to godliness; yet, above every thing, to determine upon faith in God. For what favour has the perverse man to expect, though he may fancy he keeps the commandments? Nay, rather, the perverse man is unable even to keep a portion of the law; for, as is his conscience, such, of necessity, must be his actions; as also the Spirit reproves such, saying, *The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God.* ^{Ps. 14, 1.}

After this, the Word, shewing that actions correspond with the thoughts, says, *They are corrupt; they are profane in* ^{Ps. 14, 2.} *their machinations.* The perverse man, then, is in every respect corrupt in his body; stealing, committing adultery, cursing, being drunken, and doing such like things. Even as Jeremiah, the prophet, convicteth Israel of these things, crying out and saying, *Oh, that I had a lodge far off in the* ^{Jer. 9, 2.} *wilderness! then would I leave my people and depart from them: for they are all adulterers, an assembly of oppressors, who draw out their tongue as a bow; lying and not truth has prevailed upon the earth, and they proceed from iniquities to iniquities; but Me they have not known.* Thus, on account

^s The word *εικη* is omitted here, as in the Vulgate, Æthiopic, and Arabic. S. Jerome, among the Fathers, also rejects it. The Mss. for the most part, contain it.

^b Any command given to a Christian, as such, is equally applicable to all

Christians, to the end of time. Conf. Letter ii. p. 14. and Letter iii. p. 25. also Athan. ad Imp. Const. Apol. tom. i. p. 247. Ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ἐκάστω ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ παρήγαγε, λέγων· μὴ ἀμέλει κ. τ. λ.

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- of their wickedness and falsehood, and their deeds, in that they proceed from iniquity to iniquity, he reproves their machinations; but, because they knew not the Lord, and were faithless, he charges them with perverseness. For faith and godliness are allied to each other, and sisters; and he who believes in Him is godly, and he also who is godly, believes the moreⁱ. He therefore who is in a state of wickedness, undoubtedly also erreth from the faith; and he who falleth from godliness, falleth from the true faith. Paul, for instance, bearing testimony to the same point, advises his disciple, saying, *Avoid profane conversations; for they rather advance in ungodliness, and their word doth eat as doth a canker, of whom are Hymenæus and Philetus.*
- 2 Tim. 2, 16. 17. In what their perverseness consisted he declares, saying, *Who have erred from the faith, saying that the resurrection is already past^k.* But again, desirous of shewing that faith is yoked with godliness, the Apostle says, *And all those who will live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution.* Afterwards, that no man should renounce godliness through persecution, he counsels them to preserve the faith, adding, *Thou, therefore, continue in the things thou hast learned, and hast been assured of.* And as when brother is helped by brother, they become as a wall to each other; so faith and godliness, being of kindred growth, hang together; and he who is occupied in the one, of necessity is strengthened by the other. Therefore, wishing the disciple to be exercised in godliness unto the end, and to contend in faith, he counsels them, saying, *Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal life.* For if a man first put away the perverseness of idols, and properly confesses Him Who is truly God, he also then fights by faith with those who war against him. For of these two things we speak of—faith and godliness—the hope is the same, even everlasting life; for he saith, *Fight the good fight of faith; lay hold on eternal life.* And, *exercise thyself unto godliness, for it hath the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.*
- 2 Tim. 2, 18. *Who have erred from the faith, saying that the resurrection is already past^k.*
- 2 Tim. 3, 12. *And all those who will live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution.*
- 2 Tim. 3, 14. *Thou, therefore, continue in the things thou hast learned, and hast been assured of.*
- 1 Tim. 4, 7. *Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal life.*
- 1 Tim. 4, 7. 8. *Fight the good fight of faith; lay hold on eternal life.*

ⁱ Conf. John vii. 17. 'If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine.

^k Conf. Letter ii. p. 18, &c. note p.

For this cause, the Ario-maniacs¹, who now have gone A. D. 339. out from the Church, being opposers of Christ, have digged a pit of unbelief, into which they themselves have been thrust; and, since they have advanced in ungodliness, they *overthrow the faith of the simple*; blaspheming the Son of Rom. 16, God, and saying that He is a creature, and has His being 18. from things which are not^m. But as then against the adherents of Philetus and Hymenæusⁿ, so now the Apostle forewarns all men against ungodliness like to theirs, saying, *The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The* 2 Tim. 2, *Lord knoweth them that are His; and, Let every one that* 19. *nameth the name of the Lord depart from iniquity.* For it is well that a man should depart from wickedness and deeds of iniquity, that he may be able properly to celebrate the feast; for he who is defiled with the pollutions of the wicked is not able to sacrifice the Passover to the Lord our God. Thence, also, the people who were then in Egypt, said, *We* Exod. 8, *cannot sacrifice the Passover in Egypt to the Lord our God.* 26. For God, Who is over all, willed that they should go far away from the servants of Pharaoh, and from the furnace of iron; so that being set free from wickedness, and having carefully put away from them all strange notions, they might be recipients of the knowledge of God and virtuous deeds. For He saith, *Go far from them: depart from the* 2 Cor. 6, 17. *midst of them, and touch not the unclean things.* For a man will not otherwise depart from sin, and lay hold on virtuous deeds, than by meditation on his acts; and when he has been practised by exercise in godliness, he will lay hold on the reward of the confession of faith^o; which also Paul,

¹ Vid. note t, to Letter x. p. 77.

^m κτίσμα, καὶ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ (L.) In Orat. ii. contra Ar. p. 384. §. 19. we find the Arians saying to S. Alexander, of the Son, κτίσμα ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων. In other places, the words they use respecting Him are ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γέγονεν, or the like. Vid. Decret. Nic. Syn. p. 167. §. 6. and p. 176. §. 18. Aëtius afterwards asserted this doctrine of the creation of the Son 'out of nothing' more boldly; whence his followers were denominated Ἐξουκόντιοι (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων).

ⁿ The same comparison of the Arians with Hymenæus and Philetus had

been previously made by S. Alexander in his Encyclic Epistle. Vid. Socrates H. E. lib. i. cap. 6.

^o The Syriac **ܘܕܘܨܕܐ ܕܘܨܘܒܐ** seems to require this meaning—**ܘܕܘܨܐ** is 'a confessor.'

It appears to be a bad translation of κρατήσῃ τῆς ὁμολογίας τῆς πίστεως (conf. Heb. iv. 14.), and that we must understand the promised reward attached to faith. Bretschneider translates ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος, in the passage referred to, by promissa bona, quæ speramus. Vid. Lex. in Nov. Test. s. v. Ὁμολογία.

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after he had fought the fight, possessed, namely, the crown of righteousness which was laid up; which the righteous Judge will give, not to him alone, but to all who are like him.

For meditation like this, and exercise in godliness, since it was always familiar to the saints, should be familiar to us also, at such a time as the present, when the divine word requires us to keep the feast with them. For what is the feast, but the constant worship of God, and the recognition of godliness, and unceasing^p prayers, with concord, from the whole heart? In this manner, Paul, wishing
¹ Thess. 5, 16. us to be thus disposed, enjoins, saying, *Rejoice evermore; pray without ceasing; in every thing give thanks.* Not, therefore, in a divided manner, but unitedly and collectively, let us all keep the feast together, as the prophet exhorts,
 Ps. 95, 1. saying, *O come, let us rejoice in the Lord; let us make a joyful noise unto God our Saviour.* Who then is so negligent, or who so disobedient to the divine command, as not to forsake every thing, and run to the general and common assembly of the feast? which is not in one place only, for
 Ps. 19, 4. not one place alone keeps the feast; but *into all the earth their song has gone forth, and to the ends of the world their*
 Mal. 1, 11. *words.* And the sacrifice is not offered in one place, but *in every nation, incense and a pure sacrifice is offered unto God.* When in this united manner from all those who are in every place, praise and prayer shall ascend to the gracious and good Father; when the Catholic Church, which is in every place, with gladness and rejoicing, celebrates together the same worship to God; when all men in common send up a song of praise and say, Amen^q; how blessed will it not be, my brethren! who will not, at that time, be engaged, praying devoutly? For even the walls of every adverse power, yea even of Jericho especially, falling down, and the gift^r of the Holy Spirit being then richly poured upon all-

^p Vid. note e, to Letter iii. p. 23. also Letter vii. p. 57.

^q For a parallel passage to this in S. Athan. vid. Letter x. p. 68. and note l. The correspondence is *there* more marked by reference to the same Scripture: *here* by the general mode of expression.

^r Conf. Letter x. p. 68. and note i. Vid. also John vii. 39. Rom. v. 9. John xx. 22. S. Chrysostom (Hom. li. 2.) says that the enmity of the flesh must be first removed, and we must be made the friends of God, in order that we may be capable of receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit.

men, every man perceiving the coming of the Spirit shall A. D. 339.
 say, *We are all filled in the morning with Thy favour, and* Ps. 90, 14.
we rejoice and are made glad in our days.

Since then these things are so, let us make a joyful noise with the saints, and let no one of us fail of his duty in these things; thinking nothing of the affliction or the trials which, especially at this time, have been enviously directed against us by the party of Eusebius. They even now wish to injure us, and, by their accusations, to compass our death, on account of godliness, whose defender is the Lord. But, as faithful servants of the Lord, (since ye know that there is salvation for us in the time of trouble; for our Lord also promised, saying, *Blessed are ye when men revile you and* Matt. 5, 11, 12.
persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely,
for My sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for your reward is great in heaven. Again, it is the word of the Redeemer, that affliction shall not befall every man in this world, but only those who have a holy fear of Him,)—on this account, the more the enemies afflict us, the more should we be enlarged¹; although they revile us, we should still contend¹; and in proportion as they would turn us aside from godliness, we should boldly² preach it, saying,

All these things are come upon us, yet have we not forgotten Ps. 44, 17.
Thee. And we have not acted perversely with the Ariomaniacs³, who say that Thou hast existence from those things that exist not. The Word, which is eternally with the Father, is also from Him.

Let us therefore keep the feast, my brethren, celebrating it not as worthy of grief and mourning; neither let us be confounded with heretics through temporal troubles brought upon us by godliness. But if any thing that would promote joy and gladness should offer, let us attend to it; so that our heart may not be sad, like that of Cain; but that, like faithful and good servants of the Lord, we may hear the words, *Enter into the joy of thy Lord.* For we do not Mat. 25, 21.

¹ Vid. supra, note d, p. 87.

² For **αὐτοῦ** 'collect ourselves together,' I read **ἀλλήλων** 'contend.' In afflictions, we are to rejoice; when reviled, to contend for the faith; when

tempted, to renounce our profession, boldly to propose its acceptance by others.

³ μετὰ παθησίας.

⁴ Conf. supra, p. 96. and note a; also Letter x. p. 77. note t.

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introduce days of mourning and sorrow, as a man may consider those of the Passover to be; but we keep the feast, being filled with joy and gladness. We keep it then, not regarding it after the deceitful error of the Jews; nor according to the teaching of the Arians, which takes away the Son from the Godhead, and numbers Him among creatures; but as viewing it according to the correct doctrine we derive from the Lord. For the deceitful error of the Jews, and the unbounded impiety of the Arians, involve nothing but sad reflections. The former, indeed, commenced with killing the Lord; the latter remove the occasion of His conquering that death which was brought upon Him by the Jews, in that they say He is not the Creator, but a creature. For if He were a creature, He would have been holden by death; but if He was not holden by death, as the Scriptures aver, He is not a creature, but the Lord of the creatures, and the substance^y of this immortal feast. For the Lord of death would abolish death; and being Lord, what He would was accomplished; for we have all passed from death unto life. But the imagination of the Jews, and of those who are like them, was vain in regard to Him, since the result was not such as they contemplated, but turned out adverse to themselves; and *at them He that sitteth in the heaven shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision.* Farther, when our Saviour was led to death, He restrained the women who followed Him weeping, saying unto them, *Weep not for Me*; meaning to shew that the Lord's death is an event, not of sorrow, but of joy, and that He Who dies for us, is alive. For He does not derive His being from those things which are not, but from the Father.

Ps. 2, 4.

Luke 23,
28.

It truly is a subject of joy, that we can see the signs of victory against death, even our own incorruptibility, through the body of the Lord. For since He rose gloriously, it is clear that the resurrection of all of us will take place; and since His body remained without corruption, there can be no doubt regarding our incorruption^z. For as by one man,

Rom. 5,
12. 18.

^y Syr. *ὁπόθεσις*. 'Christ our Passover.' Conf. Letter x. p. 68. note h.

^z Conf. S. Athan. de Incarn. Verbi

Dei, p. 73. §. 50. *τίς δὲ ἄλλος περὶ ἀθανασίας οὕτως ἐπιστάσασα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σταυρὸς, καὶ ἡ τοῦ*

as saith Paul, (and it is the truth,) sin passed upon all men, A. D. 339. so by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall all rise. For, he says, *this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.* ^{1 Cor. 15, 53.} But this took place in the time of the Passion, in which also our Lord died for us, for *our Passover, Christ, is sacrificed.* ^{1 Cor. 5, 7.} Therefore, because He was sacrificed, let each of us feed upon Him, and with alacrity and diligence partake of His sustenance; since He is given to all without grudging, and is in every one *a well of water flowing to everlasting life.* ^{John 4, 14.}

We begin the fast of forty days on the ninth of the month Phamenoth (Mar. 5.); and having, in these days, served the Lord with abstinence, and first purified ourselves*, we also commence the holy Easter on the fourteenth of the month Pharmuthi (April 9.) Afterwards, extending the fast to the seventh day, on the seventeenth of the month, let us rest late in the evening. And the light of the Lord having before dawned upon us, the first day of the week will illumine us, on which our Lord arose. It behoves us, then, to rejoice and be glad with the joy which arises from good works, during the seven weeks which remain—to Pentecost—giving glory to the Father, and saying, *This is the day which the Lord hath made: we will rejoice and be glad in it,* ^{Ps. 148, 24.} through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through Whom

σώματος ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ; Again, p. 53. §. 22. τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπαιον ταύτην ἐπιδειξασθαι πᾶσι, καὶ πάντας πιστώσασθαι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπάλειψιν, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀφαρσίαν, ἧς πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρον καὶ γνῶρισμα τῆς ἐπι πάντας ἐσομένης ἀναστάσεως τετήρηκεν ἄφρατον τὸ ἐαυτοῦ σῶμα. The word *τρόπαιον* is used by S. Athan. in other passages of this treatise with reference to the crucifixion of Christ, and is applied by him to the cross itself. Vid. p. 58. §. 30. ad init. and p. 60. §. 32. ad fin. In §. 46. p. 70. it is used with reference to the resurrection of Christ. It is also employed by other fathers, as S. Chrysostom and S. Ignatius. The latter, in his epistle to the Philippians, speaks of the cross of Christ as the trophy erected against the power of the devil—τὸ τρόπαιον κατὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως. Cotel. tom. ii. p. 113. ed. Amst. 1724. The Syriac here rendered 'signs

of victory' is **ܐܘܪܘܟܐ**, which is most likely the translation of *τρόπαια νίκης*. By faith, we look upon Christ crucified, and see in His cross the trophy He has erected against the great enemy whom He has subdued. We see further in it, the glorious results of that victory, even our own deliverance from death, and our resurrection to eternal life. Conf. Gal. iii. 1. Theophilus, the predecessor of S. Cyril, employs the same figure in his first Paschal Letter, as preserved in the Latin translation of S. Jerome. Igitur dominicum Pascha celebrantes, sanctis Scripturarum purificemur eloquiis, et ad *trophæa Salvatoris* respicientes, cuncta offendicula, quibus vitæ nostræ curriculum retardatur, auferamus e medio. Bibliotheca Vett. Patt. La Bigne, vol. iii. p. 93. ed. Paris, 1646.

* Vid. note k, Letter vi. p. 52.

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' XI. to the same, and to His Father, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

Salute one another with a holy kiss. All the brethren who are with me salute you. That ye may have health in the Lord, I pray, brethren beloved.

Here endeth the eleventh Letter of holy Athanasius.

*To the Beloved Brother, and our fellow-labourer in the
Ministry, Serapion^a.*

THANKS be to Divine Providence for those things which, at all times, it vouchsafes to us; for it has vouchsafed to us now also to come to the season of the festival. Having, therefore, according to custom, written the Letter respecting the festival, I have sent it to thee, our beloved; that through thee all the brethren also may be able to know the day of rejoicing. But because some Meletians, being come from Syria, have boasted that they had received what does not belong to them; I mean, that even they were reckoned in the Catholic Church; on this account, I have sent unto thee a copy of one letter of our fellow-labourers in the ministry^b who are of Palestine, that when it reaches thee, thou mayest know the fraud of the pretenders in this matter. For because they boasted, as I have said before, it was necessary for me to write to the Bishops who are in Syria; and immediately those of Palestine sent us a reply, having coincided in^c the judgment against them in the manner you may learn from the copy. That thou mayest not have occasion to peruse the letters of all the Bishops one after the other, I have sent thee [only] one, which is of like character with the rest, in order that from it, thou mayest

^a This Letter being introduced, (as it is in the Ms.) after the eleventh, with the remark at the end of it, that there is no twelfth; together with the exhortations concerning fasting contained in it; we can have little doubt that it bears the same date as the eleventh, and may suppose that it was sent together with it. This point regarding the date is of importance in the identification of the names of the Bishops mentioned at the close of it. Serapion, to whom it is addressed, we may conclude to be the same of that name, who was Bishop of Thmuis, and to whom

there are four other Letters extant in the works of S. Athan. as well as one on the subject of the death of Arius. This last is addressed, *Σεραπίωνι ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ ἐν Κυρίῳ*. The expression rendered in the text 'fellow-labourer in the ministry,' (lit. son of our ministry,) was probably the Greek *συλλειτουργός*. The translation of this Letter is given nearly in the words of Mr. Cureton, in his preface to the Syriac text.

^b *συλλειτουργοῦ*

^c Or, 'fulfilled the judgment.'

know the purport of all of them. I know also that when they are convicted in this matter, they will incur perfect odium at the hands of all men. And thus far concerning the pretenders.

But I have further deemed it highly necessary and very urgent, to make known to your modesty—for I have written this to each one—that thou shouldest proclaim the fast of forty days to the brethren, and persuade them to fast; to the end that, while all the world is fasting, we who are in Egypt should not become a laughing-stock, as the only people who do not fast, but take our pleasure in these days. For if we do not fast, because the Letter is [only] then read, it is right that we should take away this pretext also, and that it be read before the fast of forty days, so that they may not make this an excuse for neglect of fasting. Also, when it is read, they may be able to learn respecting the fast. But, O, our beloved, whether in this way or any other, exhort and teach them to fast forty days. For it is even a disgrace that when all the world does this, those alone who are in Egypt, instead of fasting, should find their pleasure. For even I also, being grieved because men make a laughing-stock of us for this, have been constrained thus to write to thee. When thou, therefore, receivest the letters, and hast read them and given the exhortation, write to me in return, our beloved, that I also may rejoice upon learning it.

^d But I have also thought it necessary to inform you of

^d There is a similar notification of the appointment of fresh Bishops, appended to the nineteenth Letter. Theophilus, the predecessor of S. Cyril in the see of Alexandria, at the close of his first Paschal Letter, as translated by S. Jerome, imitates S. Athanasius in this respect, adopting almost his very words. *Salutate invicem in osculo sancto. Salutant vos omnes qui mecum sunt fratres. Et hoc necessario scribimus, ut sciatis pro sanctis et beatis Episcopis qui in Domino dormierunt ordinatos esse; in Lemnado pro Herone Naseam. . . . His ergo scribite, et ab iis accipite pacificas juxta Ecclesiasticum morem literas. Bibliotheca Vett. Patt. La Bigne vol. iii. p. 94. ed. Paris, 1646. There is a*

similar ending to his third Paschal Letter. Indeed, some such form appears to have become customary, whereby the ordaining Bishops notified to the different districts the appointment of those whom they ordained to any diocese. The Primate of Alexandria, as we know, had the sole privilege of ordaining all the suffragan Bishops. Probably the Paschal Letters, being sent annually, became, by degrees, the ordinary channel of such communication. Such was the case, as we have seen, with two out of the three Letters of Theophilus, which are extant. Valerius says, (*Observat. in Socrat. H. E. lib. vii. §. 30.*) *Notanda est diligens cautela sanctorum patrum, qui deposito hæretico sacerdote, nomen catholici*

the fact, that Bishops have succeeded those who have fallen asleep. In Tanis, in the stead of Elias, is Theodorus^e. In Arsenoitis, Silvanus^f instead of Calosiris. In Paralus, Nemesion is instead of Nonnus^g. In Bucolia^h is Heraclius. In Tentyra, Andronicus is instead of Saprionⁱ, his father.

episcopi qui in ejus locum substitutus fuerat, cunctis episcopis significant, ut scilicet sciant, a quo ecclesiasticas litteras accipere, et ad quem scribere debeant.—Sed et quoties mortuis episcopis alii in eorum locum fuerant ordinati, eorum nomina reliquis episcopis indicare consueverat ordinator, ut scirent ad quos scribere, et a quibus pacificas litteras accipere deberent, ut discimus ex Theophili epistolis paschalibus. The Greek of what is rendered in the text, 'so that to these you may write, and from these receive the canonical Letters,' is, according to what we find in the passage of Socrates referred to above; (which passage is an extract of a Letter of the Council of Antioch, on the subject of the deposition of Paul of Samosata, and the appointment of Domnus in his stead;) *ἵπαις τοῖτοις γράφητε, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦτων κανονικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα* (or, *τὰς κανονικὰς ἐπιστολάς*. Can. viii. Concil. Antioch.) Such Letters were called by the Latins, *communicatoria litteræ*. The epithet *εἰρημικὰ* was also applied to them. Vid. Zonar. Observat. apud Bever. Synod. tom. i. p. 438. So in the quotation from Theophilus, given above, we find *pacificas—litteras*. Tertullian makes mention of such Letters. De Præscript. adv. Hæret. cap. 20. Communicatio pacis et appellatio fraternitatis et contesseratio hospitalitatis, quæ jura non alia ratio regit, quam ejusdem sacramenti una traditio.

^e In the Apologia contra Ar. Athan. Op. tom. i. p. 133. we have a list of ninety-four Egyptian Bishops, among others, who were present at the Council of Sardica. As this was held A. D. 347. we might naturally expect to find among them some of the names of those mentioned above as recently appointed. A reference to this list has enabled me to give, with a degree of certainty, some names which otherwise would have been more obscure, and which have been mistaken by Prof. Larsow. For a list of the Egyptian Bishoprics, the reader is referred to Neale's Hist. of the

Holy Eastern Church. Gen. Introd. vol. i. p. 115, 116. To the list there given must be added the names of Bucolia, Stathma, the Eastern Garyathis, the Southern Garyathis. The mention of the last two would favour the supposition that there were also Bishoprics in the Western and the Northern Garyathis. The Syriac of the word given in the text 'Elias' is

ܐܠܝܐ. This name is doubtless to be taken thus. There were two Egyptian Bishops of that name who subscribed their names at the Council of Sardica. Prof. Larsow writes it 'Ilius.' Tanis is situate in Augustamnica Prima. Vid. Quatremère Mémoires geogr. et histor. sur l'Égypte, tom. i. p. 284. &c. (L.) The word *Tanis* is the LXX. rendering of *Ἰνύς* in the various places where it is found.

^f Silvanus was succeeded by Andreas, as we learn from the postscript to the nineteenth Letter.

^g The Syriac is ܐܢܘܢ, which Prof. Larsow writes Nunos. I think it is meant for Nonnus, which was the name of an Egyptian Bishop who was present at the Synod of Tyre. Apol. contra Ar. tom. i. p. 154. §. 79.

^h Bucolia. For a dissertation on the situation of Bucolia, see the treatise by Quatremère, already referred to, (tom. i. p. 224—233.) In p. 233, he writes; La contrée de l'Elearchie ou des Bucolies, telle qu'elle nous a été décrite par les auteurs anciens, est, si je ne me trompe, parfaitement identique avec la province de Baschmour—peut-être le Baschmour s'étendoit à l'occident du bras de Damiette, le long des côtes de la mer, jusqu'au lac de Bourlos. Fabricius, in his Index Geographicus Episcopatum orbis Christiani, mentions among the Egyptian Bishoprics, 'Elearchiæ, in provinciâ Ægypti secundâ.'

ⁱ An Egyptian Bishop of the name of Saprion was among those assembled at the Synod of Tyre. Apol. contra Ar. tom. i. p. 154. §. 79.

102. *Names of recently appointed Bishops with their dioceses.*

In Thebais, Philon instead of Philon. In Maximianopolis, Herminus instead of Atras. In the lower Apollon is Sarapion instead of Plution^k. In Aphroditon, Serenus is in the place of Theodorus. In Rhinocoruron^l, Salomon. In Stathma, Arabion, and in Marmarica. In the eastern Garyathis, Andragathius^m in the place of Hierax. In the southern Garyathis, Quintusⁿ instead of Nicon^o. So that to these you may write, and from these receive the canonical Letters.

Salute one another with a holy kiss. All the brethren who are with me salute you.

He (Athanasius) wrote this from Rome. There is no twelfth Letter.

^l Syr. ܩܘܪܘܪܘܢ.

^l In this word a Dolath is written in the Ms. instead of a Risch.

^m Syr. ܐܢܕܪܘܓܐܬܝܘܨ. I have little

doubt, that this is for Andragathius, as given in the text. One of the Egyptian Bishops at the Council of Sardica bore this name. Larsow writes it Andragathos.

ⁿ Syr. ܩܘܢܬܘܨ. Larsow writes

this word Kyanitos. There can be little doubt that it is Quintus, probably the same of that name who is enumerated among those present at the Council of Sardica.

^o An Egyptian Bishop of that name had been present at the Synod of Tyre.

LETTER XIII.

Coss. Marcellinus, Probinus; Præf. Longinus; Indict. XIV.; A.D. 341.
Easter-day, XIII. Kal. Maii; XXIV. Pharmuthi; Æra Easter-day
on April 19.
Dioclet. 57.

EVEN now, my beloved brethren, I do not shrink from notifying to you the saving feast^a, which occurs according to annual custom. For although, with afflictions and sorrows, the opposers of Christ^b have oppressed you also together with us; yet, God having comforted us by our mutual faith^c, behold, I even write to you from Rome^d. Keeping the feast here with the brethren, still I also keep it with you in will and in spirit; for we send up prayers in common to God, *Who hath granted us not only to believe in Him, but also now to suffer for His sake.* For, troubled as Phil. 1, 29.

^a Vid. Letter x. p. 67. note e.

^b The Arians (*of χριστομάχοι*). Vid. Letter x. p. 75. note n. and p. 78. note z.

^c By that faith which we hold in common. Conf. Rom. i. 12.

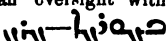
^d S. Athan. had been obliged to leave Alexandria some time before, (A.D. 339.) having fled from the violence of Gregory the Cappadocian, on which occasion he left the city (according to the Index) on the twenty-third of Phamenoth (Mar. 19.). Gregory, immediately upon being constituted Bishop of Alexandria, became conspicuous by his acts of violence. S. Athan. after his withdrawal from Alexandria, remained for a short time at no great distance from the city, though it is uncertain where. It was during this period that he wrote the Encyclical Letter to the Bishops, against the illegal intrusion of Gregory into his see. He afterwards took ship

to Italy, and came to Rome. In the life of Athanasius, prefixed to the Benedictine edition, we read, (p. xxxix.) *Et anno (341.) incidit Paschatis solemnitas in diem decimam nonam Aprilis; arbitramurque profectum Athanasium postremis hujus mensis diebus, mense Maio ad Italiae oras appulisse.* This Letter would, however, favour the opinion that he reached Rome earlier than May. In the Index it is stated expressly that Gregory sent no Paschal Letter either for this year, or for those immediately preceding and following. In 340, his acts of tyranny and oppression left him no leisure. In this, and the following year, his illness is there stated as the preventing cause. 'Nor did this Pope write any Festal Letter even this year, (341,) the commencement of his illness taking place in it.'—'Because Gregory was severely ill in the city, (A. D. 342,) the Pope was unable to send [any Letter].'


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we are, because we are so far from you, He moves us to write, that by a letter we might comfort ourselves, and provoke one another to good^e. For, indeed, numerous afflictions and bitter persecutions directed against the Church have been against us. For heretics, depraved in their mind, untried in the faith, rising against the truth, violently persecute the Church; and of the brethren, some are scourged, and others torn asunder by the rack; and, what is still more hard, the ill-treatment reaches even to the Bishops. Nevertheless, it is not becoming, on this account, that we should neglect the feast. So far from neglecting the commemoration of it, even for a time, we should the rather bear it in remembrance.

Now such things as seasons for feasts are not thought of by the unbelievers, because they spend all their lives in revelling and follies; and the feasts that obtain among them are an occasion of grief rather than of joy. But to us in this present life they are especially an uninterrupted^f passage [to heaven]—it is indeed our season. For such things as these serve for exercise and trial, so that, having approved ourselves zealous and chosen servants of Christ, we may be fellow-heirs with the saints. For thus Job: *The whole world is a trial to men upon the earth.* Nevertheless, they are proved in this world by afflictions, labours, and sorrows, to the end that each one also may receive of God such reward as is meet for him; as He saith by the prophet, *I am the Lord, Who trieth the hearts, and searcheth the reins, to give to every one according to his ways.* But he does not first know the things of a man on his being tried; for He knows them all before they come to pass: but because He is good and philanthropic, He distributes to each a due reward according to his works, so that every man may exclaim, Righteous is the judgment of God! As the prophet saith again, *The Lord trieth justice, and understandeth the reins.* And further, for this cause He trieth each one of us,

^e Conf. Heb. x. 24. 'Provoke unto love and to good works.' Prof. Lar-
sow has translated this passage erro-
neously, through an oversight with
respect to the word 

is the rendering of *eis paroexumōn* in the
verse quoted.

^f Syr. —the rendering of
ἀνεμπόδιστος in Letter v. Vid. note i,
p. 39.

either that to those who know it not, our virtue may be discovered by means of the trials laid upon us: as was said respecting Job; *Thinkest thou that I was revealed to thee for any other cause, than that thou shouldest be seen righteous?* Or that, when men come to a sense of their deeds, they may know the temper of them, and may therefore either repent of their wickedness, or remain stedfast in the faith. Now the blessed Paul, when troubled by afflictions, and persecutions, and hunger and thirst, *in every thing was a conqueror, through Jesus Christ, Who loved us.* Through suffering, he was weak indeed in body; yet, believing and hoping, he was strong in spirit, and his strength was made perfect in weakness. A. D. 341.
Job 40, 3, 4.
(1, X, X.
vers.)

But the other saints also, who had a like confidence in God, accepted a probation^s such as this with gladness; as Job said, *Blessed be the name of the Lord.* But the Psalmist, *Search me, O Lord, and try me: prove my reins and my heart.* For since, when the strength is proved, it convinceth the foolish; therefore they, perceiving the purity and the advantage resulting from the divine fire, did not draw back in trials like these. But they rather received a character^h from them, suffering no injury at all from the things which happened, but appearing more bright, like gold from the fireⁱ; as he said, who was tried by such exercise as this; *Thou hast tried my heart; Thou hast visited me in the night-season; Thou hast proved me, and hast not found iniquity in me, so that my mouth shall not speak of the works of men.* But, on the other hand, those who are lawless in their actions, so that they know nothing more than eating and drinking and dying, account trials as danger^k. They soon Rom. 8, 37.
Job 1, 21.
Prov. 26, 2.
Ps. 17, 3.

^s The words here, and in the following lines, rendered 'probation,' 'prove,' &c. are all from the root **לָבַט** 'tentavit,' 'probavit,' and convey the idea of purification by fire, which idea is enlarged upon a few lines farther. The Syriac word answers to the Hebrew **הִלָּבַט**; Gr. **πυρώω**, as in Ps. lxxvi. 10. Conf. S. Greg. Nazian. Poem. in laudem virginittatis v. 600—2.

ⁱ **ὦτι καὶ κατχαλῶσα, καὶ ἦν ἀποθόμια βάλλα**

Χαίρω, καὶ με τίθησιν ἐλαφροτέρην καὶ ἀνίη,
ὦς χρυσὸν χροάνοισι καθαίρομενον βυπῶντα.

^h There appears to be an error in the Syriac **ⲉⲓⲛⲉⲃⲟ** It is rendered in the text as from **ⲟⲓⲛⲉⲃⲟ** 'signavit,' which agrees with the context.

ⁱ Conf. Mal. iii. 3. and 1 Pet. i. 7.

^k Syr. **κίνδυνος**.

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- stumble at them¹, so that, being untried in the faith, they are given over to a reprobate mind, and do those things which are not seemly. Therefore the blessed Paul, when urging us to such exercises as these, and having before measured himself by them, says, *Therefore I take pleasure in afflictions, in infirmities.* And again, *Exercise thyself unto godliness.* For since he knew the persecutions that accompanied those who chose to live in godliness, he wished his disciples to meditate beforehand on the difficulties connected with godliness; that when trials should come, and affliction arise, they might be able to bear them easily, as having been exercised in these things. For in those things wherewith a man has been conversant in mind, there is a hidden joy which he ordinarily experiences. In this way, the blessed martyrs, since they were first conversant with trials, were quickly perfected in Christ^m, not at all regarding the injury of the body, while they contemplated the expected rest. But all those who *call their lands by their own names*, and have wood, and hay, and stubbleⁿ in their thoughts; such as these, since they are strangers to troubles, are aliens from the kingdom of heaven^o. Had they, however, known that *tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed*, they would have exercised themselves, after the example of Paul, who said, *I keep under my body and bring it into*
- 2 Cor. 12,
10.
1 Tim. 4, 7
- Ps. 49, 11.
- Rom. 5, 3.
- 1 Cor. 9,
27.

¹ Syr. ܐܘܨܘܪܐ 'stumble at them.' I think the word here used is the translation of the Greek *πρωτο*, which it represents in James ii. 10. and iii. 2. Trials are looked upon by the righteous, as sent upon them by God, to refine and purify them. By the wicked, on the contrary, they are regarded as dangerous; as obstacles in the way. They stumble against them for a time; then emerge from them worse than they were before.

^m The previous trials of the martyrs had advanced them to Christian perfection. Conf. Col. i. 28. *τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.*

ⁿ Conf. 1 Cor. iii. 12.

^o Prof. Larow has entirely mistaken this passage. It does not contain the slightest allusion to the invocation of

Saints, which he finds in it, and to which he draws attention in a note. The translation, as given above, is obvious, and the sense consecutive. Two different characters are described; the martyrs and others, who suffer tribulation for the kingdom of heaven, are contrasted with those who seek all their enjoyment in this life, occupying their thoughts with nothing better than wood, and hay, and stubble, and 'calling their lands after their own names.'

The plural form (ἄσπι) 'lands,' is worthy of notice. It is the Peschito translation of *χώρας* in John iv. 35. 'Lift up your eyes, and look upon the fields;' and again, in James v. 14. 'The hire of the labourers, who have reaped down your fields.'

subjection, lest when I have preached to others, I myself should A. D. 341.
 be a castaway. But they would easily have borne the Lam. 3, 27.
 afflictions which were brought upon them from time to time, if the prophetic admonition had been listened to by them, *It is good for a man to take up Thy yoke in his youth; he shall sit alone and shall be silent, because he hath taken Thy yoke upon him. He will give his cheek to him who smiteth him; he will be filled with reproaches. Because the Lord does not cast away for ever; for when He afflicteth, He is gracious, according to the multitude of His tender mercies^p.*

For if all these things should proceed from the enemies, stripes, insults, reproaches, yet they shall avail nothing against the tender mercies of God; since from them we shall quickly recover, they being temporal things, but God being always gracious, pouring out His tender mercies on those who please [Him]. Therefore, my beloved brethren, we should not look at temporal things, but fix our attention on those which are eternal. Though affliction may come, it will have an end; though insult and persecution, yet are they nothing to the hope which is in reserve. For all present matters are trifling compared with those which are future; the sufferings of this present time not being worthy to be compared with the hope that is to come^q. For what can be compared with the kingdom? or what is like to everlasting life? Or what is all we could give here, compared with what we shall inherit yonder? For we are *heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ*. There- Rom. 8,
 fore it is not right, my beloved, to consider afflictions and 17.
 persecutions, but the hopes which are laid up for us because of persecutions.

Now to this even the example of Issachar, the patriarch, may persuade, as the Scripture saith, *Issachar desires that* Gen. 49,
which is good, resting between the heritages; and when he 14.

^p Serapion quotes the first part of this passage of Scripture in his *Epistola ad Monachos*, in praise of the ascetic life. Vid. A. Mai. Spicileg. Rom.

tom. iv. p. li. (L.)

^q Conf. Rom. viii. 8. 2 Cor. iv. 17.

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saw that the rest was good, and the land fertile; he bowed his shoulder to labour, and became a husbandman. Being consumed by divine love, like the spouse in the Canticles, he collected from the holy Scriptures that which is profitable; for his mind was captivated not by the old alone, but by both the heritages. And further, like one expanding his wings; he beheld the rest which is in heaven, while [he looked upon] the earth as full of good deeds—rather, in truth, the heavenly—since that is always new, and never grows old. For this earth passes away, as the Lord said; but that which is ready to receive the saints is immortal. Now when Issachar, the patriarch, saw these things, he joyfully made his boast of afflictions and toils, bowing his shoulders that he might labour. And he did not contend with those who smote him, neither was he disturbed by insults; but like a man triumphing the more by these things, and the more earnestly tilling his land, he received profit from it. The Word, indeed, scattered the seed, but he watchfully cultivated it, so that it brought forth fruit, even a hundred-fold.

Now what is this, my beloved, but that we also, when the enemies are set against us, should glory in afflictions; and that when we are persecuted, we should not be discouraged, but should the rather press after the crown of the high

﴿نَدًا﴾ Larsow translates the last of these words by 'heavenly,' stating in a note that the context requires it. But I think it better to take the root as ﴿نَدَّ﴾, and to consider it an exact translation of the *πῶς* of the LXX. vers. This will not be opposed to the context. The primary and literal translation may be adhered to, without affecting the more hidden and spiritual explanation. Jarchi translates the passage figuratively of Issachar being strong to bear the yoke of the law. The Jerusalem Targum thus paraphrases the verse. 'And he saw the rest of the world to come, that it was good, and the portion of the land of Israel, that it was pleasant; therefore he inclined his shoulders to work in the law, and his brethren brought gifts unto him.' This paraphrase appears to me in substance very similar

to the comment of S. Athan. on the passage. The patriarch looked upon this world as the present portion assigned him by God; he duly estimated the blessings connected with it, notwithstanding its trials and afflictions; and he therefore willingly and cheerfully acquiesced in his lot. But he looked forward to another and better heritage to be enjoyed hereafter, and it was the prospect of this especially, that was his stay and support. The *literal* explanation of resting between the heritages must be sought in the particular tract of land in which the tribe was situated.

* Conf. S. Aug. Enarratio in Psalmum ciii. 13. (tom. iv. p. 1139. ed. Ben.) *Pennæ ergo animarum virtutes, bona opera, recte facta.*—*Quisquis dilexerit Deum et proximum, animam habet pennatam, liberis alis, sancto amore volentem ad Dominum.*

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calling[†] in Christ Jesus our Lord? and that being insulted, A. D. 341. we should not be disturbed, but should give our cheek to the smiter, and even bow the shoulder? For the lovers of pleasure and the lovers of enmity are tried, as saith the blessed Apostle James, *when they are drawn away by their own lusts and enticed.* But let us, knowing that we suffer for the truth, and that those who deny the Lord smite and persecute us, *count it all joy, my brethren,* according to the words of James, *when we fall into trials of various temptations, knowing that the trial of our faith worketh patience.* Let us even keep the feast with rejoicing, my brethren, knowing that our salvation is reserved in the time of affliction. For our Saviour did not redeem us by ease; but He abolished death by suffering for us. And respecting this, He intimated to us before, saying, *In the world ye shall have tribulation.* But He did not say this to every man, but to those who diligently and faithfully perform good service to Him, knowing beforehand, that they should be persecuted who would live godly to Him. *But evil-doers and deceivers will wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived.* If therefore, like the expounders of dreams and false prophets, who professed to give signs, these ignorant men, in the same manner, being drunk, not with wine, but with their own wickedness, make a profession of priesthood, and glory in their threats, believe them not; but since we are tried, let us humble ourselves, not being drawn away by them. For so God warned His people by Moses, saying, *If there shall rise up among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and shall give signs and tokens, and the sign or the token shall come to pass which he spake to thee, saying, Let us go and serve strange gods, which ye have not known; ye shall not hearken unto the words of that prophet or that dreamer of dreams. For the Lord your God trieth you, that He may know whether you will love the Lord your God with all your heart.* So we, when we are tried by these things, will not separate ourselves from the love of God. But let us also now keep the feast, my beloved, not as introducing a day of

James 1, 14.

James 1, 2.

John 16, 33.

2 Tim. 3, 13.

Deut. 13, 1.

[†] Syr. **ܕܐܝܢܐ** 'calling,' not 'city,' Phil. iii. 14. τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἀνω κλήσεως.
as Prof. Larsow translates it. Conf.

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suffering, but of joy in Christ, by Whom we are fed every day. Let us be mindful of Him Who was sacrificed in the days of the Passover; for we celebrate this, because Christ the Passover was sacrificed. He Who once brought His people out of Egypt, and hath now abolished death, and him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, will also now turn him to shame, and again grant aid to those who are troubled, and cry unto God day and night.

We begin the fast of forty days on the thirteenth of Phamenoth (9 Mar.), and the holy week of Easter on the eighteenth of Pharmuthi (Apr. 13.); and having ceased on the seventh day, being the twenty-third (Apr. 18.), and the first of the great week having dawned on the twenty-fourth of the same month Pharmuthi (Apr. 19.), let us reckon from it till Pentecost. And at all times let us sing praises, calling on Christ, being delivered from our enemies by Christ Jesus our Lord, through Whom to the Father be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

Greet one another with a holy kiss. All those who are here with me salute you. I pray, my beloved brethren, that ye may have health in the Lord.

He (Athanasius) wrote this also from Rome. Here endeth the thirteenth Letter.

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Coss. Augustus Constantius III., Constans II.; Præf. the same Longinus; Indict. XV.; Easter-day III. Id. Apr.; XVI. Pharmuthi; Æra Dioclet. 58. A. D. 342.
Easter-day on Apr. 11.

THE gladness of our feast, my brethren, is always near at hand, and never fails those who wish to celebrate it^a. For the Word is near, Who is all things on our behalf; even our Lord Jesus Christ, Who, having promised that His habitation with us should be perpetual, in virtue thereof cried, saying, *Lo, I am with you all the days, [even to the end] of the world.* For as He is the Shepherd, and the High Priest, and the Way and the Door, and every thing at once to us, so further, He has been revealed to us as the feast, and the holyday, according to the blessed Apostle; *Our Passover, Christ, is sacrificed.* He also was waited for; ^{Matt. 28, 20.} He, too, caused a light to shine at the prayer of the Psalmist, who said, [*Thou art*] *my joy; deliver me from those who surround me;* this being indeed true rejoicing, this being a true feast, even deliverance from wickedness, whereto a man attains by altogether adopting an upright conversation, and by his mind being bent on pious obedience towards God^b. For thus also the saints all their lives long, were like men rejoicing at a feast. One found rest in praying to God, as blessed David, who rose in the night, not once but seven times. ^{1 Cor. 5, 7.} Another was celebrated for songs of praise, ^{Ps. 31, 7.} ^{Ps. 119, 164.}

^a Conf. Letter v. p. 38. 'For the grace of the feast is not limited to one time, nor does its splendid brilliancy suffer an eclipse; but it is always near, enlightening the conscience of those who earnestly desire it.'

^b Conf. Letter iii. p. 23. 'For what else is the feast, but the service of the soul? And what is that service, but prolonged prayer to God, and unceasing thanksgiving?'

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Exod. 15. as the great Moses, who sang a song of praise for the victory over Pharaoh, and those task-masters. Others performed worship with unceasing cheerfulness, like the great Samuel and the blessed Elijah; who have ceased from their perfect conversation, and now keep the feast in heaven, and rejoice in their former instruction, which was by emblems, and out of types understand the truth.

But what sprinklings shall we now employ, while we celebrate the feast? Who then will thus be our guide, as we haste to this festival? None can do this, my beloved, but Him Whom ye will name with me, even our Lord
 ✕ **John 14, 6.** Jesus Christ, Who said, *I am the Way.* For it is He Who,
John 1, 29. according to the blessed John, *taketh away the sin of the world.* He also purifies our souls, as Jeremiah the prophet
Jer. 6, 16. says in a certain place, *Stand in the ways and see, and enquire, and look which is the good path, and ye shall find in it cleansing for your souls.* Of old time, the blood of the he-goats and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkled upon those who were unclean, were adapted only to purify the flesh; but now, through the grace of God the Word, every man is thoroughly cleansed. Following Him, we may, even here, as on the threshold of the Jerusalem which is above, meditate beforehand on the feast which is eternal; as also, the blessed Apostles, when they together followed the Saviour, Who was their Leader, have now become teachers of a like readiness of disposition, saying, *Behold, we have left all, and followed Thee.* For the following of the Lord, and the feast which is of the Lord, is not accomplished by words only, but by deeds, every enactment of laws and commands involving a distinct performance. For as the great Moses, when administering the holy laws, exacted a promise from the people, respecting the practice of them; so that having promised, they might not neglect them, and be accused as liars: thus also, the celebration of the feast of the Passover^c moves no question, and demands no reply; but when the word is given, the obedience of it follows, for
Exod. 19, 8. He saith, *And the children of Israel shall keep the Passover;*
Exod. 12, 47. intending that there should be a ready performance of the

^c The o in **پاسخ** should probably be omitted.

commandment, while the thing itself, at the same time, A. D. 342. should be rendered more easy^d. But respecting these matters, I have confidence in your wisdom, and your doctrinal care. Such points as these have been touched upon by us often and in various Letters.

But now, which is above all things most necessary, I wish to remind you, and myself with you, how that the command would have us not come to the Paschal feast profanely and without preparation; but with sacramental and doctrinal rites, and prescribed observances; as indeed we learn from the historical account, *A man who is of another nation, or* Exod. 12, 43. 48. *bought with money, or uncircumcised, shall not eat the Passover.* Neither should it be eaten in *any* house^e; but He commands it to be done in haste; inasmuch as before we groaned and were made sad by the bondage to Pharaoh, and the commands of the task-masters. For when, in former time, the children of Israel acted in this way, they were counted worthy to receive the type. For that (the type) had respect to this feast, nor was the feast now introduced on account of the type. As also the Word of God, when desirous of this, said to His disciples, *With desire I have* Luke 32, 15. *desired to eat this Passover with you.* The account, given us as it is, is a wonderful one; for a man might have seen^f them equipped as for a show or a dance, and going out with staves, and sandals, and unleavened bread. These things took place before, as it were, in shadows, and were typical.

But now, the Truth is nigh unto us, *the Image of the invi-* Col. 1, 15. *sible Gods,* our Lord Jesus Christ, the true Light; Who,

^d The argument appears to be this. Moses, as we read in Exodus, ch. xix. v. 3—7. heard from God the terms of the covenant He would make with the children of Israel, obedience to all that God should command being imposed on them. Moses repeated these words to the Israelites, who promised obedience: 'All that the Lord hath spoken will we do.' (v. 8.) *After* that, the promulgation of the law takes place. The command to keep the Passover is renewed. (Levit. iv. 9.) The Israelites were therefore bound to keep it, as well in virtue of their promise, as by their duty of obedience to God.

lated 'in any part of the house.' But what is given above appears to be required by the reference. Conf. Letter v. p. 47. 'In one house, even in the Catholic Church, eating the Passover of the Lord.'

^e I have given this as the translation of *בבית* not *בביתו*. The word is rather indistinct in the Ms. but it may be meant for the former word.

^f Prof. Larsow translates this passage, 'the invisible image of God.' But it is clearly the translation of *εικὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀόρατου*, (Col. i. 15.) God the Father cannot be seen, but Christ, His Only-begotten Son, hath manifested Him. Conf. John i. 18.

* The Syriac is here *ܩܘܪܒܢܐ* which would be more correctly trans-

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instead of a staff, is our sceptre; instead of unleavened bread, is the bread which came down from heaven; Who, instead of sandals, hath furnished us with the preparation of the Gospel; and Who, to speak briefly, by all these hath guided us to His Father. And if enemies afflict us, through persecution, He again, in the place of Moses, will encourage with more than the words of that man, saying, *Be of good cheer; I have overcome the wicked one*^b. And if also, after we have passed over the Red sea, heat should again vex us, or some bitterness of the waters befall us, again even there the Lord will appear to us, imparting to us of His sweetness, and His life-giving fountain, saying,

John 16,
33.

John 7, 37. *If any man thirst, let him come to Me, and drink.*

Why therefore do we tarry, and why do we delay, and come not with all eagerness and diligence to the feast, trusting that it is Jesus who calleth us? Who is all things for us, and was laden in ten thousand ways for our salvation; Who indeed hungered and thirsted for us, though He nourishes and gives us to drink of His saving gifts¹. For this is His glory, this the miracle of His divinity, that He changed our sufferings for His happiness. For, being life, He died that He might make us alive; being the Word, He became flesh, that He might, by the Word, instruct that which is flesh; and being the fountain of life, He thirsted our thirst², that thereby He might urge us to the feast,

John 7, 37. saying, *If any man thirst, let him come to Me, and drink.*

At that time, Moses proclaimed the beginning of the feast, Exod. 12, saying, *This month is the beginning of months to you.* But the Lord, Who came down in the end of the ages³, pro-

Exod. 12,
2.

^b Gr. ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον. This passage is quoted in two other places by S. Athan. (contra Apoll. lib. 2. tom. i. p. 755. §. 9. and Expos. in Psalm. 138, 7. tom. i. p. 977.) and in both the word κόσμον is found. The expression in the text, 'the wicked one,' includes the idea conveyed by κόσμος in the verse, 'the unbelieving part of the world,' as in v. 20. ὁ δὲ κόσμος χαρήσεται, and in ch. 17, 9. οὐ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἐρωτῶ. We may conclude the quotation to have been made from memory.

¹ Conf. S. Athan. in Illud, Omnia mihi tradita sunt. tom. i. p. 83. πάσχων

γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνέπαυσε, καὶ πεινῶν αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἔτρεφε, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἕδην καταβαίνων ἡμᾶς ἀνέφερε.

² Syr. ܐܝܢܝܢ ܕܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ 'He thirsted our thirst,' not, 'he will quench our thirst,' as Larsow renders it.

³ ܡܘܫܝܐ ܡܘܫܝܐ ܐܢܝ ܣܘܢ-
τελεία τῶν αἰώνων, Heb. ix. 26. Conf. Heb. i. 1. ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ. Also Gal. iv. 4. ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. The time of the Mosaic dis-

claimed a different day,—not as though He would abolish A. D. 342. the law, far from it—but that He should establish the law, and be the end of the law. *For Christ is the end of the law* Rom. 10, 4. *to every one that believeth in righteousness;* as the blessed Rom. 3, 31. Paul saith, *Do we make void the law by faith? by no means: we rather establish the law.*

Now these things astonished even the officers who were sent by the Jews, so that wondering they said to the Pharisees, *No man ever thus spake.* What was it then that astonished those officers, or what was it which so affected the men as to make them marvel? It was nothing but the boldness and authority¹ of our Saviour. For on former occasions of their applying to the prophetic writings, and those skilled in the law, they perceived that they referred those who applied, not to themselves, but elsewhere. Moses, for instance, *A prophet will the Lord raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; to him hearken in all that he commands you.* Deut. 18, 15. Isaiah again, *Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and ye shall call his name Emmanuel^m.* Is. 7, 14. By others also, prophecies were uttered differently, and in various ways, concerning the Lord. But by the Lord, of Himself, and of no other, were these things prophesied; to Himself He limited them all, saying, *If any man thirst, let him come to Me*—not to any other person, but to *Me*. John 7, 37. A man may indeed hear of those concerning My coming; but he must not henceforth drink from others, but from Me. Therefore let us also, when we come to the feast, no longer come as to old shadows, for they are accomplished; neither as to common feasts; but let us hasten as to the Lord, Who is Himself the feastⁿ, not looking upon it as an indulgence and delight of the belly, but as a manifestation of virtue. For the feasts of the heathen are full of greediness, and utter indolence, since they consider they celebrate a feast when

1 *παρόνσια καὶ ἀθένητα* Syr.

^m These two texts are also quoted together in Orat. i. contra Ar. tom. i. p. 363. §. 54.

ⁿ 'Christ our passover.' The Syr. *ܘܫܘܥܐ* is apparently an error for *ܘܫܘܥܐ* (is).

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they are idle^o; and they then work the works of perdition when they feast. Our feasts, on the contrary, are the scenes of virtuous exercises, and the practice of temperance; as also the prophetic word testifies in a certain place, saying, *The fast of the fourth, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth [month], shall be to the house of Judah for gladness, and rejoicing, and for pleasant feasts.*

Psalm 7, 3.

Since therefore this occasion for exercise is before appointed, and such a day as this is come, and the prophetic voice gone forth to celebrate the feast, let us give all diligence to this good proclamation, and like those who are opposed to each other in the race course, vie with each other in observing the purity of the fast^p; by watchfulness in prayers; by practice in the Scriptures; by distributing to the poor, and by reconciliation with our enemies. Let us bind up those who are scattered abroad; banish pride; and instead thereof put on lowliness of mind, being at peace with all men, and urging the brethren to love. Thus also the blessed Paul was often engaged in fastings and watchings, and was willing to be accursed for his brethren. Also, again, the blessed David, having humbled himself by fastings, used boldness, saying, *O Lord my God, if I have done this, if there is any iniquity in my hands, if I have repaid those who dealt evil with me, then may I fall from my enemies as a vain man.* Acting thus, we shall conquer death; and receive an earnest^q of the kingdom of heaven.

^o Conf. Letter vii. p. 57. 'The feast is not an indulgence in food, nor splendour of clothing, nor days of leisure.'

^p Conf. 1 Corinth. ix. 24—27. Syr. *ἔν σπασίῃ*. The exhortation is, to be as ready to celebrate the feast, when the divine command is given, as were the runners in the races to start when the signal was made; and then to vie with each other in properly keeping it, as the runners strove to surpass each other in speed.

^q Syr. *Ἀρραβών*. Vid. note to Letter vi. p. 50. Conf. Eph. i. 13, 14.—'that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest (*Ἀρραβών*) of our inheritance. In both the other places in the

N. T. where the word occurs, viz. 2 Corinth. i. 22. and 2 Corinth. v. 5. the word is applied to the Holy Ghost. The words of Theodoret on 2 Corinth. i. 22. are these. 'Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχρισε, καὶ τῆς τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος σφραγίδος ἤξιωσεν, οὐδὲν τινα ἀρραβῶνα τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν δωρησάμενος ταύτην ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν διὰ μέν τοι τοῦ ἀρραβῶνος ἠλίξαστο τῶν δοθησομένων τὸ μέγεθος· ὁ γὰρ ἀρραβῶν μικρόν τι μέρος ἐστὶ τοῦ παντός. Vide Suicer. Thes. in v. ἀρραβῶν. vol. i. p. 512. 'dare Arrham Spiritus Sancti.' i. e. præsensione felicitatis animum his in terris imbueri, tanquam arrha futuræ felicitatis. Bretschneider.

We begin the holy Easter feast on the tenth of Pharmuthi (April 5.), desisting from the holy fasts on the fifteenth of the same month Pharmuthi (April 10.), on the evening of the seventh day. And let us keep the holy feast on the sixteenth of the same month Pharmuthi (April 11.); adding one by one [the days] till the holy Pentecost, passing on to which, as through a succession of feasts, let us keep the festival to the Spirit, Who is always near us, in Jesus Christ, through Whom and with Whom to the Father be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

The fifteenth and sixteenth are wanting.

LETTER XVII.

A. D. 345. *Coss. Amantius, Albinus; Præf. Nestorius of Gaza; Indict. Easter-day on April 7.* III.; *Easter-day, VII. Id. Apr.; XII. Pharmuthi; Moon 19; Æra Dioclet. 61.*

ATHANASIUS, to the Presbyters and Deacons of Alexandria, and the beloved brethren in Christ, greeting.

According to custom, I give you notice respecting Easter, my beloved; that you also may notify the same to the districts of those who are at a distance, as is usual. Therefore, after this present festival^a, I mean this which is on the twentieth of the month Pharmuthi, the first of the Paschal week ensuing will be on the vii Id. April; or, according to the Alexandrians, on the twelfth of Pharmuthi. Give, therefore, notice in all those districts, that the first day of the Paschal week is on the vii Id. April, on the twelfth of Pharmuthi according to the Alexandrian reckoning. That ye may be in health in Christ, I pray, my beloved brethren.

^a It is observed here by Mr. Cureton, (who has also given the translation of this Letter), that S. Athan. gave notice at Easter A. D. 344, upon what day Easter was to be observed in A. D. 345, and not immediately after the succeeding Epiphany, as Cassian asserts to have been the custom of the Patriarch of Alexandria. (Cassian. Collat. x. cap. i. Edit. Lugduni 1606, p. 364.) The same period for forwarding the Paschal notice was observed with regard to the next Letter. In previous Epistles, we not unfrequently find reference made to Easter, as in course of celebration, at the time they were written. Thus the second com-

mences: 'Again, my beloved, is Easter come, and gladness.' The fourth: 'Now again, my beloved, has God also brought us to the season of the feast.' Perhaps we should not be wrong in supposing that some of the Epistles were, in the first instance, delivered as homilies, at the places where they were written, and afterwards, with slight alterations, and the addition of the concluding parts, sent as Paschal Letters to the various dioceses. However, we know that, in consequence of the troubles of the Church, the usual period for forwarding the Letters was not always adhered to. (Vid. Letter iv. p. 31.)

LETTER XVIII.

Coss. Constantius IV., Constans III.; Præf. Nestorius; A. D. 346.
Indict. IV.; Easter-day III. Kal. Apr.; IV. Pharmuthi; Easter-day
Moon 21; Æra Dioclet. 62. on Mar. 30.

ATHANASIUS; to the Presbyters and Deacons of Alexandria, brethren beloved in the Lord, greeting.

Ye have done well, dearly beloved brethren, that ye have given the customary notice of the holy Easter in those districts; for I have seen and acknowledged your exactness. By other letters I have also given you notice, that, when this year is finished, ye may know concerning the next. Yet now I have thought it necessary to write the same things that, since ye are exact, ye may also write with care. Therefore, after the conclusion of this feast, which is now at its termination, on the twelfth of the month Pharmuthi, which is on the vii Id. Apr.^a, Easter-day is on the iii Kal. April; the fourth of Pharmuthi, according to the Alexandrians. When therefore the feast is finished, give notice again in these districts, according to the early custom, thus: The first of the Paschal week is on the iii Kal. April, which is the fourth of Pharmuthi, according to the Alexandrian reckoning. And let no man hesitate concerning the day; neither let any one contend, saying, It is requisite that Easter should be held on the twenty-seventh of the month Phamenoth; for it was discussed in the holy

^a The number vii is omitted in the Ms.

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Synod^b, and all there settled^c it to be on the iii Kal. April. I say then that it is on the fourth of the month Pharmuthi; for the week before this is much too early^d. Therefore let there be no dispute, but let us act as becometh us. For I have thus written to the Romans also. Give notice then as it has been notified to you, that it is on the iii Kal. April; the fourth of Pharmuthi, according to the Alexandrian reckoning.

That ye may have health in the Lord, I pray, my dearly beloved brethren.

^b This could not have been the Synod of Sardica, as Larsow states in a note, misled by an error in the index prefixed to the Letters. The Synod of Sardica was not held till the following year, (A.D. 347.) In the index (Letter xv.) it is said, that the Council of Sardica was held in that year, (A.D. 343.) and published directions with respect to the time of Easter. The translator of the Letters appears to have confused between the Synod of Antioch and that of Sardica. At a Synod held at Antioch in A.D. 341, the Paschal question was discussed, (vid. Bever. Synod. tom. i. p. 430.), and this I conclude to be the Synod to which S. Athan. refers.

^c I think the Syr. ܕܡܝܫܝܬ 'misit' is an error for ܕܡܝܫܝܬ 'confirmavit.' In Letter xix. p. 126. we find ܕܡܝܫܝܬ

ܕܡܝܫܝܬ ܕܡܝܫܝܬ 'As Paul affirms.'

^d I am indebted to the kindness of J. C. Adams, Esq. M.A. Fellow of Pembroke College, for the following calculation.

The 14th day of the Moon, reckoning from the time of *mean* New Moon, took place on Sunday the 23d. According to the rule which obtained in later times, and continued in use until the Gregorian reformation of the Calendar, the 14th day of the *Ecclesiastical* Moon took place on Saturday the 22d, which would make Easter-day happen on the 23d. It would seem, therefore, that the decision of the Synod referred to, brought the Ecclesiastical Moon into closer accordance with that of the heavens, than the later Calendar would have done.

LETTER XIX.

Coss. Rufinus, Eusebius; Præf. the same Nestorius; Indict. A.D. 347.
V.; Easter-day, Prid. Id. Apr.; Pharmuthi XVII.; Æra Easter-day
on Apr. 12.
*Dioclet. 63; Moon 15.**

BLESSED is God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for Eph. 1, 3.
 such an introduction is fitting for an Epistle; and now more especially, when accompanied with thanksgiving to the Lord, in the Apostle's words^b, because He hath brought us from a distance, and granted us again to send openly^c to you, as usual, the Festal Letters. For this is the season of the feast, my brethren, and it is near; being not now proclaimed by trumpets, as the history records^d, but made known and brought near^e to us by the Saviour, Who suffered on our behalf and rose again; even as Paul preached, saying, *Our Passover, Christ, is sacrificed.* The feast of the 1 Cor. 5, 7.
 Passover then is *ours*, not that of a stranger, nor of the Jews any longer^f. For the time of shadows is abolished, and these old things have ceased; and now the month of new things is at hand, in which every man should keep the feast, in obedience to Him who said, *Observe the month of* Deut. 16, 1.
new things, and keep the Passover to the Lord thy God^g.

* This was the year in which the Council of Sardica was held.

^b 'Who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly things (ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις) in Christ.' S. Athan. is comparing the rest God had given the Church from their enemies, and the opportunity of improvement by spiritual privileges, (vid. p. 129.) with the blessings for which the Apostle thanked God in the passage quoted. He had been absent at Rome nearly three years.

^c Syr. παρρησία.

^d Conf. l.etter i. p. 4—7.

^e Or, 'made known and offered up.'

^f Vid. note g, to Letter vi. p. 45.

^g Vid. note o, to Letter i. p. 12, and

note d, to Letter v. p. 37. S. Cyril, in his 29th Paschal discourse, beautifully enlarges on the season at which the Pasch (including therein the quadragesimal fast) is kept, viz. in the spring, when all nature is joyful around us, and bursting, as it were, into new life. S. Cyril. Op. tom. vi. p. 336. Lutet. 1638. S. Chrysostom, in allusion to the same, calls the quadragesimal fast, the spiritual spring of the soul. Ὁ τῆς νηστείας καιρὸς τὸ πνευματικὸν τῶν ψυχῶν ἔαρ. tom. 4. λογ. α'. ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς, p. 645. ed. 1718—38. With ourselves, the season gives the name to the fast. In Sax. we have **Lencten**, 'the spring,' **Lencten-jærtten**, 'the spring-fast,' 'Lent.'

- LETTER XIX. Even the heathen fancy they keep festival, and the Jews hypocritically feign therein. But the feast of the heathen He reproves, as the bread^h of mourners; and He turns His face from that of the Jews, inasmuch as they are outcasts, saying, *Your new moons and your sabbaths My soul hateth.* For actions not done lawfully and piously, are not of advantage, though they may be reputed to be so, but they rather argue hypocrisy in those who venture upon them. Therefore, although such persons as these fancy to themselves that they offer sacrifices, yet they hear from the Father, *Your whole burnt-offerings are not acceptable, and your sacrifices do not please Me; and although ye bring fine flour, it is vanity; incense also is an abomination unto Me.* For God does not need any thingⁱ; and, since there is nothing which can defile Him, He is full in regard to them, as He testifies, saying by Isaiah, *I am full.*
- Is. 1, 14.
- Jer. 6, 20
- Is. 1, 11.

Now there was a law given respecting these things, for the instruction of the people, and to prefigure things to come; for Paul saith to the Galatians, *Before faith came, we were kept guarded under the law, being shut up in the faith which should afterwards be revealed unto us; wherefore the law was our instructor in Christ, that we might be justified by faith^k.* But the Jews knew not, neither did they understand; therefore they walked in the day-time as in darkness; feeling for, but not touching, the truth we possess, which [was contained] in the law^l; conforming to the letter, but not attending to the spirit. And when Moses was veiled, they looked on him, but turned away their faces from him when he was uncovered. For they knew not what they read, but erroneously substituted^m one thing for another. The prophet, therefore, cried against them, say-

Gal. 3, 23. 24.

^h Syr. *ἄρτος*. Conf. Letter ii. p. 17. and Letter iv. p. 32. The festivals of the heathen are productive of mourning and sorrow: their food is *ἄρτος δακρύων*. (Ps. cii. 10.) Those of the Christian, on the contrary, attended with real and substantial joy: their food is *ἄρτος ἀγγέλων, ἄρτος οὐρανοῦ*.

ⁱ ἄλλ' οὐδενός ἐστιν ἐνδεής ὁ Θεός. Orat. ii. contra Arian. tom. i. p. 392. (L) εἰ γὰρ περὶ Θεοῦ λόγος ἐστὶ, μηδενὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιδεῖα εἶναι, ἀλλ' αὐτάρκη καὶ

πλήρη ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα συστήκειν κ. τ. λ. Orat. contra Gentes tom. i. p. 21.

^k The Syriac of the text in this place is much more vague, compared with the original Greek, than the Peshito version is. The word *εἰς* before *πίστιν* and *Χριστὸν* is rendered in both places by the particle answering to *ἐν*.

^l i. e. Christ.

^m *ἴσως* as in Letter ii. p. 17. where vid. note l.

ing, *Falsehood and faithlessness have prevailed among them.* A. D. 347.
 The Lord also therefore said concerning them, *The strange children have dealt falsely with me; the strange children have waxen old.* Ps. 18, 45. 46. (LXX.)
 But how gently now does He reprove them, saying, *Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me,* John 5, 46.
for he wrote of Me. But being faithless, they further also dealt falsely respecting the law, affirming things after their own pleasure, but not understanding them according to the Scripture; and, further, having as with hypocrisies distorted the plain text of Scripture, and this being their confidence, He is angry with them, saying by Isaiah, *Who hath required these of your hands?* Is. 1, 12.
 And by Jeremiah, since they were very bold, he threatens, *Gather together your whole burnt-offerings with your sacrifices, and eat flesh; for I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices.* Jer. 7, 21. 22.
 For they did not act as was right, neither was their zeal according to law; but they rather sought their own pleasure in such days, as the prophet accuses them; thrusting their bondsmen, and gathering themselves together for strifes and quarrels. They also smote the lowly with the fist, and did all things that tended to their own gratification.

For this cause, they continue without a feast^a until the end, although they make a display now of eating flesh, out of place and out of season. For, instead of the legally-appointed lamb, they have learned to sacrifice to Baal; instead of the true unleavened bread, *they collect the wood, and their fathers kindle the fire, and their wives prepare the dough, that they may make cakes to the host of heaven, and pour out libations to strange gods, that they may provoke Me to anger, saith the Lord.* Jer. 7, 18.
 They have the just reward of such devices; since, although they pretend to keep the Passover, yet joy and gladness is taken from their mouth, as saith Jeremiah, *There hath been taken away from the cities of Judah, and the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of those who are glad, and the voice of those who rejoice; the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride.* Jer. 7, 34.
 Therefore now, *he who among them sacrificeth an ox, is as he who smiteth a* Is. 66, 3.

^a ἀνότροι.

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- man: and he who sacrificeth a lamb is as he who killeth a dog; he that offereth fine flour, is as [if he offered] swine's blood; he that giveth frankincense for a memorial, is as a blasphemer*°. Now these things will never please God, neither hath the [divine] word required them of them.
- Is. 66, 3. But He saith, *These have chosen their own ways; and their abominations are what their soul delighteth in.* And what is this, my brethren? For it is right for us to investigate the saying of the prophet, and especially with regard to those who heretically devise imaginations contrary to the law. By Moses then, God gave commandment respecting sacrifices; and all the book called Leviticus, is entirely taken up with the arrangement^p of these matters, so that He might accept the offerer. He therefore, by the Prophets, finds fault with him who despised these things, as disobedient to the commandment, saying, *I have not required these at your hands. Neither did I speak to your fathers respecting sacrifices, nor command them concerning whole burnt-offerings.*
- Is. 1, 12. *Neither did I speak to your fathers respecting sacrifices, nor command them concerning whole burnt-offerings.*
- Jer. 7, 22. *Neither did I speak to your fathers respecting sacrifices, nor command them concerning whole burnt-offerings.*

Now it has been ventured as an opinion, that the Scriptures do not agree together, or that God, Who gave the commandment, is false. But there is no disagreement whatever; far from it; neither can the Father, Who is truth, lie; for it is impossible that God should lie, as Paul affirms. But these things are plain to those who rightly consider them, and to those who receive with faith the writings of the law. Now it appears to me—may God vouchsafe, by your prayers, that the remarks I presume to make may not be far from the truth—that not *at first* were the commandment and the law concerning sacrifices, neither did the mind of God, Who gave the law, regard whole burnt-offerings, but those things which were pointed out and prefigured by them. *For the law contained a shadow of good things to come.* And, *Those things were appointed until the time of reformation.* Therefore, the whole law did not treat of sacrifices, though there was in the law a commandment concerning sacrifices, by their means imparting instruction beforehand, withdrawing men from idols, and bringing them near to God, teaching them to understand the true character of the time then present. Therefore neither at the beginning, when God

° *ὡς βλάσφημος* (LXX. vers.)

^p Syr. *τάξις*.

brought the people out of Egypt, did He command them A. D. 347. concerning sacrifices or whole burnt-offerings, nor even till they came to mount Sinai. For God is not as man, that He should have a care of these things beforehand; but His commandment was given, that they might know Him Who is truly God, and also His Word; and might disregard those which are falsely called gods¹, which exist not, but only attain to the outward show². Thus He would be known to them by those [signs] whereby He brought them out of the land of Egypt, causing them to pass through the Red Sea. But when they would serve Baal, and dared to offer sacrifices to those that have no existence, and forgot the miracles which were wrought in their behalf in Egypt, and thought of returning thither again; then indeed, *after* the law, a commandment also was given to serve as a law concerning sacrifices; so that with their mind, which at one time had meditated on those [gods] which did not exist, they might turn to Him Who is truly God; and learn not, in the first place, to sacrifice, but to turn away their faces from idols, and give heed to what God commanded. For when He saith, *I have not spoken concerning sacrifices, neither given* Jer. 7, 22. *commandment concerning whole burnt-offerings,* He immediately adds, *But this is the thing which I commanded them,* Jer. 7, 23. *saying, Obey My voice, and I will be to you a God, and ye shall be to Me a people, and ye shall walk in all the ways that I command you.* Thus then, being before instructed and taught, they learned not to give their service to any one but the Lord. They attained to know what time the shadow should last, and not to forget the time that was at hand, in which no longer should the bullock of the herd be a sacrifice to God, nor the ram of the flock, nor the he-goat, but all Exod. 12, 5. these things fulfilled in a purely spiritual manner, and by constant prayer, and upright conversation, with godly words; as David sings, *May my meditation be pleasing to Him. Let* Ps. 104, *my prayer be set forth before Thee as incense, and the lifting* Ps. 141, 2. *up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.* The Spirit also, who is in him, commands, saying, *Offer unto God the sacri-* Ps. 50, 14. *fice of praise, and pay to the Lord thy vows. Offer the* Ps. 4, 5. *sacrifice of righteousness, and put your trust in the Lord.*

¹ θεοὶ ψευδώνυμοι. (1 Tim. 6, 20.)

² Syr. φαρτασία.

- LETTER XIX.** The great Samuel also not the less pointedly reproved Saul, saying, *Is not the word better than a gift**? For by these things a man fulfils the law, and pleases God, as He Ps. 50, 23. saith, *The sacrifice of praise shall glorify Me.* Let a man Hosea 6, 6. *learn what this is, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice,* and Mat. 9, 13. not condemn the adversaries. But this displeased them. 1 Cor. 2, 8. They were not anxious to understand, *for had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.* And what is the end of these, the prophet before pronounced, saying, *Woe unto their souls, for they have devised an evil thought, saying, let us bind the just man, because he is not pleasing to us^t.* The end of such abandonment as this is nothing but error, as the Lord, when reproving them, saith, Mat. 22, 29. *Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures.* Afterwards when, through reproof, they should have come to their senses, they John 9, 28. rather waxed bold, saying, *We are Moses' disciples; and we know that God spake to Moses;* dealing the more falsely by that very expression, and accusing themselves. For had they believed him who heard, they would not have denied the Lord, Who spake by Moses, at a time when He was near^u. But such was not the eunuch in the Acts; for when he Acts 8, 30. heard, *Understandest thou what thou readest?* he was not ashamed to confess his ignorance, and implored to be taught. Therefore, because he was like a learner, the grace of the Spirit was given. But as for them [the Jews], because they persisted in their ignorance, as the proverb saith, Prov. 5, 22. *Death came upon them. For the fool dies in his sins.* Like Ps. 55, 15. these too, are the heretics, who, having fallen from a true Ps. 14, 1. conscience, dare to imagine to themselves atheism, *For the fool saith in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, and become abominable in their doings.* Of such as are fools Mat. 12, 34. in their thoughts, the actions are wicked. For, as He saith, *can ye, being evil, speak good things?* They were evil, because they thought wickedness. Or how can those

* Apparently a loose quotation from 1 Sam. xv. 32. ἰδοὺ ἀκοή ὑπὲρ θυσίας ἀγαθῆν, καὶ ἡ ἐπακρόασις ὑπὲρ στέαρ κοιῶν.

^t Vid. note to Letter xi. p. 91.

^u The Jews professed to be Moses' disciples. The reason they assigned

was their knowledge that God had spoken to him. Therefore, using their own argument, they ought the more to have believed Christ, Who spake to them directly in His own person. Compare the fragment of the twenty-seventh Letter in the Appendix.

do just acts, whose minds are set upon fraud? Or how shall he love, who is prepared beforehand to hate? How shall he be kind, who is bent upon the love of money? How shall he be chaste, who looks upon a woman to lust after her? *For from the heart proceed evil thoughts, fornications, adulteries, murders.* By them the fool is wrecked, as by the waves of the sea, being led away and enticed by these fleshly pleasures^v; for this also stands written, *The whole body of fools is entirely shipwrecked*^x. Having then associated with folly, he is afterwards caught by a tempest, and perishes; as Solomon says in the Proverbs, *The fool and he who lacketh understanding shall perish together, and shall leave their wealth to strangers*^y. Now they suffer such things, because there is not among them^z one sound of mind to guide them. For where there is sagacity, there the Word, which is the pilot of souls, accompanies the vessel; *for he that hath understanding shall possess government*; they who are without government falling like the leaves. A. D. 347.
Mat. 15, 19.
Pr. 49, 10.
Prov. 1, 5.

Who then is it that altogether falls away, as Hymenæus and Philetus, because they entertained evil conceits respecting the resurrection, and suffered shipwreck in regard to the faith of it^a? Judas also, being a betrayer, fell away from the Pilot, and perished with the Jews^b. But the [other] disciples since they were wise, and therefore remained with the Lord, although the sea was agitated, and the ship covered with the waves, there being a storm^c, and the wind contrary, yet fell not away. For they awoke the Word, Who was sailing with them, and immediately the sea became smooth at the command of its Lord, and they were saved. They then together became preachers and teachers; relating the miracles of our Saviour, and also teaching us to imitate their example. These things were written on our account and for our profit, in order that by these tokens, we may acknowledge the Lord Who wrought Matt. 1,
35—41.
Mark 4,
37—41.

^v ܐܠܘܘܬܝܐ appears to be an as referred to.

error for ܐܠܘܘܬܝܐ.

^z The word ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡ appears to be wrongly inserted in the Ms.

^x I know not what passage is intended here. The word translated 'body' is ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡ literally 'flesh.'

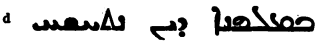

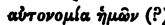
^a Conf. Letter ii. p. 18.
^b Conf. Letter vii. p. 63. 'Judas—having abandoned his Life, hanged himself.'

^y This passage is not to be found in the Proverbs. It occurs in the Psalms,

^c Syr. ܘܥܡܘܢ.

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- them. Let us therefore, in the faith of the disciples, hold converse with our Master^d. For the world is like the sea to us, my brethren, of which it is written, *This is the great and wide sea; there go the ships; the Leviathan, which Thou hast created to play in it.* We are carried along then in this, as by the wind, through our own free-will^e; for every one directs his course according to his will, and either, under the pilotage of the Word, he enters into rest; or, laid hold on by pleasure, he suffers shipwreck, and is in peril^f by storm. For, as in the ocean, there are tempests and waves, so in the world there are many afflictions and trials.
- Mark 4, 17. The unbelieving, therefore, *when affliction or persecution ariseth, is offended*, as the Lord said. For being unconfirmed in the faith, and regarding temporal things, he cannot resist the difficulties which arise from afflictions. But as the house, built on the sand by the foolish man, so he, since
- Luke 6, 49. he is without understanding, falls before the assault of temptations, as it were by the winds. But the saints,
- Heb. 5, 14. having their senses exercised by reason of practice, and being strong in faith, and understanding the word, do not become faint in trials; but although, from time to time, circumstances of greater trial arise against them, yet they continue faithful; and, awaking the Lord, Who is with them, they are delivered. So, passing through water and fire, to a place where they can breathe freely, they duly keep the feast, offering up prayers, with thanksgiving, to God Who hath redeemed them. For either, being tempted, they are known, as Abraham; or, suffering, they are approved, as Job; or, being oppressed and guilefully treated, as Joseph, they patiently endure it; or, being persecuted, they are not
- Pa. 18, 29. overtaken; but, as it is written, through God they *leap over the wall* of wickedness, which divideth and separateth between brethren, and turns them from the truth. After this example, the blessed Paul, when he took pleasure in infirmities, in reproach, in necessities, in persecutions, and in distresses for Christ, rejoiced, and wished all of us to rejoice,
- 1 Thess. 5, 18. saying, *Rejoice always; in every thing give thanks.*

^d  faulty.
^e 
 'But hold converse with [our] Master.'
 Prof. Larow translates these words
 differently, considering the text as  *αὐτονομία ἡμῶν (P)*
 'κίνδυνον (Syr.) ποιεῖ.'

For what is there so consonant with the feast, as turning A. D. 347.
 from wickedness, and a pure conversation, and prayer offered without ceasing to God, with thanksgiving? Therefore let us, my brethren, looking forward to celebrate the eternal joy in heaven, keep the feast here also; rejoicing at all times, praying incessantly, and in every thing giving thanks to the Lord. I also give thanks to God, as well for those other wonders He has done, as for the various helps that have now been afforded us, in that though He hath chastened us sore, He did not deliver us over to death, but brought us from a distance, even as from the ends of the earth, and hath united us again with you. I then, while I keep the fast myself, have been anxious to give you also notice of the great feast of the Passover, so that we may go up together, as it were, to Jerusalem, and eat the Passover, not in a divided manner, but as in one house; not sodden as Exod. 12,
8. 9. 46.
 in water, let us divide the word of God; nor having, as it were, broken its bones, let us make void the commands of the Gospel. But, as it were, roasted with fire, with bitter herbs, being fervent in spirit, in fastings and watchings, with lying on the ground, let us keep it with penitence and thanksgiving^ε.

We begin the fast of forty days on the sixth day of Phamenoth (Mar. 2.); and having passed through that properly, with fasting and prayers, we may be able to attain to the holy day. For he who regards lightly the fast of forty days, as one who rashly and impurely treadeth on holy things, cannot celebrate the Easter festival. Further, let us put one another in remembrance, and stimulate one

^ε When the flesh is sodden, the water becomes mixed with it. This was forbidden to the Jews. The simplicity which is in Christ is to be observed by us: we are to know nothing *save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.* (1 Cor. 2, 2) The bones of the Paschal lamb were not to be broken. The commands of God are not to be frustrated by us. *Τὰ δὸτὰ τῆς σοφίας τὰ ἕγια δόγματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶν, ἅπερ ἐν τῷ πάσχα μὴ συντριβεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις νενομισθένται.* Athan. expos. in Psalms, (Ps. xxi. 15.) tom. i. p. 827.

The Passover was to be eaten in one house. We are to celebrate our Christian festival with unity of spirit; not in a divided manner, as the Schismatics, but in one house, 'even in the Catholic Church.' Vid. Letter v. p. 41. As the Paschal lamb was to be roasted with fire, so we are to be fervent in spirit, 'burning like a flame.' Vid. Letter iii. p. 25. As it was to be eaten with bitter herbs, so we are to observe our feast with watchings and fastings, 'bringing forth worthy fruits of penance.'

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another not to be negligent, and especially that we should fast those days; so that fasts may receive us in succession, and we may duly bring the feast to a close. The fast of forty days begins then, as was before said, on the sixth of Phamenoth (Mar. 2); and the great week of the Passion on the eleventh of Pharmuthi (Apr. 6). And let us rest from the fast on the sixteenth of it (Apr. 11.), on the seventh day, late in the evening. Let us keep the feast when the first of the week rises upon us, on the seventeenth of the month Pharmuthi (Apr. 12.). Let us then add, one after the other, the seven holy weeks of Pentecost, rejoicing and praising God, that He hath by these things made known to us beforehand, joy and rest everlasting, prepared in heaven for those of us, who truly believe in Christ Jesus our Lord; through Whom, and with Whom, be glory and dominion to the Father, with the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

Salute one another with a holy kiss. The brethren who are with me salute you.

^hI have also thought it necessary to give you accurate information respecting the appointment¹ of Bishops, which has taken place in the stead of our blessed fellow-labourers in the ministry; that ye may know to whom to write, and from whom ye should receive letters. In Syene therefore, Nilammon, instead of Nilammon of the same name. In Laton, Masis, instead of Ammonius. In Coptos, Psenosiris^k, instead of Theodorus^l. In Panos, because Artemidorus^m desired it, on account of his old age, and weakness of body, Ariusⁿ is appointed in conjunction with him. In Hypsele, Arsenius^o, having become reconciled to the Church. In

^h Vid. Letter to Serapion, p. 98. note.

ⁱ Syr. *kardoraais*, a word not uncommon with S. Athan., to denote the ordination of Bishops. Vid. du Fresne, Glossar. Græc. s. v.

^k Probably the same of that name mentioned as having been present at the Council of Sardica. Athan. op. tom. i. p. 133.

^l In the Syr. Ms. this word is erroneously written 'Theododus.' It is cor-

rectly written in the other places in which it occurs in this Letter.

^m A Bishop of this name was present at the Council of Tyre, A. D. 334. Athan. op. tom. i. p. 155.

ⁿ Several Bishops of this name were present at the Council of Sardica.

^o There is a Letter extant of this Arsenius to S. Athan. wherein he retracts his schismatical errors, and seeks re-admission into the Catholic Church. Athan. op. tom. i. p. 146.

Lycos, Eudæmon^p, in the stead of Plusianus^q. In Antinous, Arion^r, instead of Ammonius and Tyrannus^s. In Oxyrynchus, Theodorus, instead of Pelagius. In Nilopolis, instead of Theon, Amatus^t, and Isaac, having been reconciled to each other. In Arsenoitis, Andreas, instead of Silvanus^u. In Prosopontis^v, Triadelphus, instead of Serapammon. In Diosphacus^w, on the river side, Theodorus, instead of Serapammon. In Saiton [*Sais*], Paphnutius, instead of Nemesion. In Xoïs, Theodorus, instead of Anubion; and there is also with him Isidorus, being reconciled to the Church. In Sethroitis^x, Orion, instead of Potammon^a. In Clysmā, Tithonas, instead of Jacob^b; and there is with him Paulus, having been reconciled to the Church.

^p Probably the same of that name who was present at the Council of Sardica.

^q This name occurs in the Letter of Arsenius referred to in note o.

^r This name is also found among the Bishops present at the Council of Sardica.

^s Syr. ܐܡܡܘܢܝܘܨ (Tyrianus.) This is most probably meant for Tyrannus, the Bishop of that name who was present at the Council of Tyre. Athan. op. tom. i. p. 154. There were several Egyptian Bishops of the name of Ammonius. A reference to the other writings of S. Athan. mentioned in the preceding notes will serve to verify several of the succeeding names.

^t Syr. ܐܡܢܝܘܨ an error for Amantius. (Qu.) Vid. tom. i. p. 133.

^u Silvanus is mentioned in the postscript to the Letter to Serapion, p. 101. His successor Andreas, here mentioned, was present at the Synod held at Alexandria A.D. 362. Athan. op.

tom. i. p. 619. §. 10.

^v Prosopitis, (Qu.) Neither of the names is known from other sources as that of one of the Egyptian bishoprics.

^w Probably an error for Diospolis.

^x In the three words Triadelphus, Xoïs, and Sethroitis, a Nun is printed instead of a Yud. The Ms. often makes little or no distinction between the two letters; but independent testimony fixes it in these particular cases.

^a Syr. ܐܡܢܝܘܨ. An error for ܐܡܢܝܘܨ (?). *Tithonas* was one of the Egyptian Bishops at the Council of Sardica. tom. i. p. 133.

^b Probably the Bishop of that name, whose death was caused by the injuries inflicted on him during a persecution of the Church, as recorded by Athan. in his *Hist. Ar. ad Monachos*, tom. i. p. 277. His successor, Orion, we may suppose to have been the same who was among those assembled at Sardica.

LETTER XX.

A. D. 348. *Coss. Philippus, Salia; Præfect. the same Nestorius; Indict. Easter-day on April 3. VI.; Easter-day III. Non. Apr.; VIII. Pharmuthi; Æra Dioclet. 64; Moon 18.*

LET us now keep the feast, my brethren; for as our Lord then gave notice to His disciples, so does He now beforehand to us; that *after some days is the Passover*. Therein the Jews indeed betrayed the Lord, but *we* celebrate His death as a feast, while we rejoice that then we obtained rest from our afflictions, and eagerly assemble ourselves together, whereas we formerly were dispersed. And whereas we were lost, we have been found; from having been far off, we are brought nigh; and from having been strangers, we have become His, Who suffered for us, and was nailed on the cross; Who bore our sins, as the prophet saith, and was afflicted for us, that He might remove from all of us grief, and sorrow, and sighing. When we thirst, He too satisfies us with the feast, standing and crying, *If any man thirst, let him come to Me, and drink*. For such is the love of the saints at all times, that they never once leave off, but offer the uninterrupted, constant sacrifice to the Lord, and continually thirst, and ask of Him to drink^a; as David sang, *My God, my God, early will I seek Thee; my soul thirsteth for Thee; many times my heart and flesh longeth for Thee in a barren land, without a path, and without water. Thus was I seen by Thee in the sanctuary*. Isaiah the prophet also says, *From the night my spirit seeketh Thee early, O God, because Thy command-*

^a Conf. Letter vii. p. 60, 61. The and the twentieth Letters has been striking similarity between the seventh already noticed.

ments are light. And another says, *My soul fainteth for the longing it hath for Thy judgments at all times.* And again he says, *For Thy judgments I have hoped, and Thy law will I keep at all times.* Another boldly cries out, saying, *Mine eye is ever towards the Lord.* And with him one says, *The meditation of my heart is before Thee at all times.* And Paul further advises, *At all times give thanks; pray without ceasing.* Those then who are thus continually engaged, are altogether waiting for the Lord, while they say, *Let us follow on to know the Lord: we shall find Him ready as the morning, and He will come to us as the early and the latter rain for the earth.* For not only does He satisfy them in the morning; neither alone does He give them to drink as often as they ask; but He gives them abundantly according to His loving-kindness, vouchsafing to them, at all times, the grace of the Spirit. And what it is they thirst for He immediately adds, saying, *He that believeth on Me.* For, *as cold waters are pleasant to those who are thirsty,* according to the proverb, so to those who believe in the Lord, the coming of the Spirit is better than all refreshment and delight.

It becomes us also then in these days of the Passover, to rise early with the saints, and approach the Lord with all our soul; with purity of body, with confession and godly faith in Him; so that when we have here first drunk, and been filled with these divine waters which [flow] from Him, we may also be able to sit at table with the saints in heaven, and may share in the one voice of gladness which is there. For this, sinners having evinced no inclination, are properly cast out, with the words sounding in their ears, *Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?* It is true that sinners also thirst, but not for the grace of the Spirit; but, being inflamed with wickedness, they are altogether set on fire by pleasures, as saith the Proverb, *All day long he desires evil desires.* But the Prophet cries against them, saying, *Wo unto those who rise up early, and follow strong drink; who continue until the evening, for wine inflameth them.* And since they run wild

^b For ἄσολα leg. ἴσολα.

LETTER XX. in wantonness, they dare to thirst for the destruction of others. Having first drunk deceitful waters, which cannot be trusted, those things come upon them, which are stated by the Prophet; *My wound, saith he, is grievous; how shall I be healed; it hath surely been to me like deceitful waters, in which there is no trust.* The second, again, while they drink with those who are with them, lead astray and throw into confusion the mind [which was desirous] of truth, and turn away the simple from it. And what does he [the prophet] cry? *Wo unto him who causeth his neighbour to drink turbid destruction, and maketh him drunk, that he may look upon his caverns^c.* But those who dissemble, and steal away the truth, quiet their hearts. Having first drunk thereof, they go on to say those things which the whorish woman saith in the Proverbs, *Lay hold with delight on hidden bread, and sweet stolen waters.* They lay snares secretly, because they have not the freedom of virtue, nor the boldness of Wisdom, who praiseth herself in the streets, and employeth freedom of speech in the broad ways^d, preaching on high walls. For this reason, they are bidden to *lay hold with delight^e*, because, having chosen carelessness^f and pleasure, they steal the sweetness of truth, and with it disguise their own bitter waters [to escape] from the blame of their wickedness, which would be speedy and public. On this account, the wolf puts on the skin of the sheep, sepulchres deceive by their whitened exteriors^g. Satan, that is^h,

Jer. 15, 18.

Hab. 2, 15. (LXX. vers.)

Prov. 9, 17.

Prov. 8, 2.

Matt. 7, 15.

Matt. 23, 27.

.

^c The Syriac translator appears to have had before him the words *ἀνατροπήν θολερῶν*, as some Mss. read, and as the passage is quoted in the *Tomus ad Antiochenes*, Athan. op. tom. i. p. 619. not *ἀνατροπή θολερῶν*. The last word in the verse 'caverns' (*σπήλαια*) arises from the similarity between the words *מְעִרִים* (nakedness) and *מְעָרֹת* (caves).

^d *ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις* Syr.
^e Conf. Letter vii. p. 59.

^f For *ܡܫܘܒܝܢܐܝܢ* leg.

ܡܫܘܒܝܢܐܝܢ

^g Conf. Letter ii. p. 19. The same method of disguising wickedness by an admixture of truth is there reprobated; the same scriptural illustrations of the wolf with the sheep's clothing, and the whitened sepulchres, are there adopted; while in both places, immediately after these, Satan himself is introduced. There is this difference: *there* S. Athanasius treats of *errors of doctrine*; *here*, of *immorality of life*.

^h The Syriac Ms. (which is imperfect) ends here. The fragments that follow are derived from different sources, mention whereof is made in the notes.

APPENDIX.

LETTER XXVII.

From the twenty-seventh Festal Letter of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria and Confessor; of which the commencement is, "Again the season of the day of the living Passover^a."

FOR who is our joy and boast, but our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Who suffered for us, and by Himself made known to us the Father? For He is no other than He Who of old time spake by the Prophets; but now He saith to every man, *I Who speak am near*^b. Right well is this word spoken; for He does not at one time speak, at another being silent; but continually and at all times, from the beginning without cessation, He stirs up every man, and speaks to every man in his heart.

^a The fragment here given of the twenty-seventh Letter, as well as the succeeding fragments of the twenty-ninth and forty-fourth, are from Syriac translations, discovered by Mr. Cureton as quoted by Severus Patriarch of Antioch, in his work against Johannes Grammaticus, contained in the Syriac collection of the British Museum, (Cod. Add. 12, 157. fol. 202.) and published by him with the preceding Letters. Their style would argue them to be part of the same translation.

^b **ܐܢܝ ܐܘܨܪ ܕܡܘܨܝܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ**
These words are observable. There can be little doubt that they are meant for the passage referred to, (John iv. 26.)

Ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὁ λαλῶν σοι. There can be as little doubt that they are the translation of *αὐτοῦς ὁ λαλῶν πάρεμι*, Epistola i. ad Serapionem, tom. i. p. 526. §. 10. The context shows that S. Athan. understood the words, *ὁ λαλῶν*, as denoting the person of Christ, probably by connexion with the preceding verse, where the woman of Samaria says of the expected Messias, *ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν πάντα*. Conf. Heb. i. 1. *ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατέρας . . . ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν*. Vid. also Letter xix. p. 126. where we have a very similar phrase referring to Christ, Who is at one time represented as *speaking* to Moses, at another, as being *near*.

LETTER XXIX.

And again, from the twenty-ninth Letter, of which the beginning is, "Sufficient for this present time are the things which were before written by us."

Mark 4,
37—41.

And the Lord proved the disciples, when He was asleep on the pillow, at which time a miracle was wrought, which is especially calculated to put even the wicked to shame. For when He arose, and rebuked the sea, and silenced the storm, He plainly shewed two things; that the storm of the sea was not from the winds, but from fear of its Lord, Who walked upon it; and that the Lord, Who rebuked it, was not a creature, but rather its Creator, since a creature is not obedient to a creature. For although the Red Sea

Exod. 14,
21.

Joshua 10,
12.

was divided before Moses, yet it was not Moses who did it; for it took place, not because he spake, but because God commanded. And also if the sun stood still in Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon, yet this was the work, not of the son of Nun, but of the Lord, Who heard his prayer. He it was, Who both rebuked the sea, and on the cross caused the sun to be darkened.

Matt. 27,
45.

LETTER XXXIX.

Of the particular books and their number, which are received by the Church. From the thirty-ninth Letter of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, which treats of the Paschal festival; wherein he defines canonically which are the divine books which are received by the Church^a.

.

But since we have made mention of heretics as dead, but of ourselves as possessing the Divine Scriptures for salvation; and since I fear lest, as Paul wrote to the ²Cor. 11, 3. Corinthians, some few of the simple should be beguiled from their simplicity and purity^b, by the subtilty of certain men, and should afterwards read other books—those called apocryphal—led astray by the similarity of their names with the true books; I beseech you to bear patiently, if I also write, by way of remembrance, of matters with which you are acquainted, influenced by the need and advantage of the Church.

In proceeding to make mention of these things, I shall adopt, to commend my undertaking, the pattern of Luke the Evangelist, saying, *Forasmuch as some have taken in* Luke 1, 1. *hand, to reduce into order for themselves the books termed*

^a The above fragment of the thirty-ninth Letter has long been before the world, having been preserved in the original Greek, by Theodorus Balsamon. It may be found in the first volume of the Benedictine edition of the works of S. Athan. tom. i. p. 767. ed. 1777. A Syriac translation of it has been discovered by Mr. Cureton in an anonymous Commentary on the Scriptures in the collection of the British Museum, (Cod. 12, 168.) and appended to his volume. This translation does not contain quite so much as the fragment of the original, commencing only at the quotation from S. Luke. The heading above given is translated from the Syriac. A careful consideration of the style, compared with that of the other Letters, has led

me to consider it as the work of a different translator. It adheres less closely to the Greek, than is the case in the other Letters with the few fragments that are extant; more than once introducing explanations of the word *Apocryphal*. The quotation from St. Luke differs *widely* in the choice of words from the same quotation, as found in Letter ii. p. 20. Lastly, the word 'heretics' is written very differently in this fragment from the mode uniformly adopted in the other Letters.

In this we find it written, ܩܘܪܝܢܐ; elsewhere, ܩܘܪܝܢܐ.

^b The Greek has the words καὶ τῆς ἀγνόητος, found in some Mss. of the Scriptures.

apocryphal, and to mix them up with the divinely inspired Scripture, concerning which we have been fully persuaded, as they who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, delivered to the fathers; it hath seemed good to me also, having been urged thereto by the brethren, and having learned from the beginning, to bring before you the books included in the Canon, and handed down, and accredited as Divine; to the end that any one who has fallen into error may correct those who have led him astray; and that he who continues steadfast in purity, may again rejoice, having these things brought to his remembrance.

There are, then, of the Old Testament, in all twenty-two books in number: for, as I have heard, they are handed down the same in number as the letters among the Hebrews, their respective order and names being as follows. The first is Genesis, then Exodus, next Leviticus, after that Numbers, and then Deuteronomy. Following them, we have Joshua, the son of Nun, and Judges, then Ruth. And again next, four books of Kings, and of them the first and second are reckoned one book, and so likewise the third and fourth, one. And again, after these, the first and second of the Chronicles are similarly reckoned as one book. Esdra again, the first and second as one. After these there is the book of Psalms, then Proverbs, next Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. Job follows, then the Prophets, the twelve being reckoned as one book. Then Isaias, Jeremias, and with him Baruch, Lamentations, and^c the epistle; afterwards, Ezekiel and Daniel. Thus far constitutes the *Old Testament*.

But we must not look upon it as a task to speak of the books of the *New Testament*. These then are, the four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Afterwards, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic Epistles, called of the Apostles, seven in number^d, viz. of James, one; of Peter, two; of John, three; and then, one of Jude. Besides these, there are fourteen Epistles of the

^c The Syriac has the conjunction, editors.
which is rejected by the Benedictine ^d Syr. 'And the seven Epistles.'

Apostle Paul^e, written in this order. The first, to the Romans; then two to the Corinthians; after these, to the Galatians; next, to the Ephesians; then to the Philippians and to the Colossians; after these, two to the Thessalonians, and that to the Hebrews; and again, two to Timothy; one to Titus; and lastly, that to Philemon. To these, the Revelation of John.

These are the fountains of salvation, that he who thirsteth may be satisfied with the words^f they contain. In these alone is proclaimed the doctrine of godliness. Let no man add to them, neither let him take ought from them. For on this point the Lord put to shame the Sadducees, saying, *Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures.* And He reproved ^{Matt. 22,} the Jews, saying, *Search the Scriptures, for they testify of* ^{29.} *Me.* ^{John 5, 39.}

But for greater exactness, I add this also, considering it necessary so to write; that there are other books besides these, not indeed included in the Canon, but appointed by the Fathers to be read by those who are come of late, wishings^g for admonition and instruction in godliness. The Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Sirach^h, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit, and that which is called the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Shepherd. But the former, my brethren, are included in the Canon, the latter being [merely] read; nor is there any mention of apocryphal writings. But this is an invention of heretics, writing them to favour their own views, bestowing upon them their approbation, and assigning to them a date, and producing them as ancient writings, that thereby they might find occasion to lead astray the simple.

^e Syr. 'Of Paul.'

^f Syr. 'living words.'

^g The Syriac translator appears to

have had before him the Benedictine reading, *καὶ βουλομένοις.*

^h Syr. 'The Son of Sirach.'

LETTER XLIV.

And again, from the forty-fourth Letter, of which the commencement is, "All that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ did in our stead and for us."

WHEN, therefore, the servants of the Chief Priests and the
 John 7, 37. Scribes saw these things, and heard from Jesus, *Whosoever is athirst, let him come to Me and drink*; they perceived that this was not a mere man like themselves, but that this was He Who also gave water to the saints, and that it was He Who was acknowledged by the prophet Isaiah. For He was truly, as it were, the splendour of the light*, and the Word of God; thus too He was the river from the fountain which gives drink. And then to Paradise, and now to all
 John 7, 37. men, He gives the same gift of the Spirit, and says, *If any 38. man thirst, let him come to Me and drink. Whosoever believeth on Me, as saith the Scripture, rivers of living water shall flow out of his belly.* This was not for man to say, but for the living God, Who truly vouchsafes life, and gives the Holy Spirit.

* Conf. Heb. i. 3. ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης—αὐτοῦ.

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ADDENDA.*

LETTER XL.

YE are they that have continued with Me in My temptations; and I appoint to you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me, that ye may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom. Being called, then, to the great and heavenly Supper, in that upper room which has been swept, let us *cleanse ourselves*, as the Apostle exhorted, *from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God*; that so, being spotless within and without,—without, clothing ourselves with temperance and justice; within, by the Spirit, rightly dividing the word of truth—we may hear, *Enter into the joy of thy Lord.*

Luke 22,
28—30.

2 Cor. 7, 1.

Matt. 25,
21.

LETTER XLII.

For we have been called, brethren, and are now called together, by Wisdom, and according to the Evangelical parable, to that great and heavenly Supper, and sufficient for every creature; I mean, to the Passover,—to Christ, Who is sacrificed. Again, a little afterwards: They, therefore, that are thus prepared shall hear, *Enter into the joy of thy Lord.*

Matt. 25,
21.

* The following fragments are appended, though not existing in the Syriac version. They are, however, preserved in the original Greek, by Cosmas Indicopleustes. *Christiana Opinio de Mundo*, lib. x. p. 317—319.

LETTER XLIII.

Of us, then, whose also is the Passover, the calling is Phil. 3, 20. from above, and *our conversation is in heaven*, as Paul says; Heb. 13, 14. *For we have here no abiding city, but we seek that which is to come*, whereto, also, looking forward, we properly keep the feast. And again, a little afterwards: heaven truly is high, Ps. 115, 16. and its distance from us infinite; for *the heaven of heavens*, says he, *is the Lord's*. But not, on that account, are we to be negligent or fearful, as though the way thereto were impossible; but rather should we be zealous. Yet not, as in the case of those who formerly, removing from the east and finding a plain in Senaar, began [to build a tower], is there need for us to bake bricks with fire, and to seek slime for mortar; for their tongues were confounded, and their work was brought to nought. But for us the Lord has consecrated a way through His blood, and hath made it easy. And again. For not only has He afforded us consolation respecting the distance, but also in that He hath come and opened the door for us which was once shut. For, indeed, it was shut from the time He cast out Adam from the delight of Paradise, and set the Cherubim and the flaming sword, that turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life—now, however, opened wide. And He that sitteth upon the Cherubim having appeared with greater grace and loving-kindness, led into Paradise with himself the confessing thief, and having entered heaven as our fore-runner, opened the gates to all. And again. Paul also, Phil. 3, 14. *pressing toward the mark for the prize of the high calling*, by it was taken up to the third heaven, and having seen those things which are above, and then descended, he teaches us, announcing what is written to the Hebrews, and Heb. 12, 18—23. *saying, For ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, and clouds, and darkness, and a tempest, and to the voice of words. But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, and to the general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven. Who would not wish to enjoy the high companionship with these! Who not desire to be*

enrolled with these, that he may hear with them, *Come, ye* Matt. 25,
blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you 34.
from the foundation of the world.

LETTER XLV.

Let us all take up our sacrifices, observing distribution to the poor, and we enter into the holy place, as it is written; *whither also our forerunner Jesus is entered for us, having* Heb. 6, 20.
obtained eternal redemption. . . . From the same. . . . And 9, 12.
 this is a great proof that, whereas we were strangers, we are called friends; from being formerly aliens, we are become fellow-citizens with the saints, and made children of the Jerusalem which is above, whereof that which Solomon built was a type. For if Moses made all things according to the pattern shewed him in the mount, it is clear that the service performed in the tabernacle was a type of the heavenly mysteries, whereto the Lord, desirous that we should enter, prepared for us the new and abiding way. And as all the old things were a type of the new, so the festival that now is, is a type of the joy which is above, to which coming with psalms and spiritual songs, let us begin the fasts.

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