

0295-0373 – Athanasius – Historia Acefala

The Historia Acefala

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Letters of Athanasius,

with Two Ancient Chronicles of His Life.

The Letters cannot be arranged in strict sequence of time without breaking into the homogeneity of the *corpus* of Easter Letters. Accordingly we divide them into two parts: (1) all that remain of the Easter or Festal Epistles: (2) Personal Letters. From the latter class we exclude synodical or encyclical documents, or treatises merely inscribed to a friend, such as those printed above pp. 91, 149, 173, 222, &c., &c., the *ad Serapionem, ad Marcellinum, &c.* There remain a number of highly interesting letters, the survivals of what must have been a large correspondence, all of which, excepting six (Nos. 52, 54, 56, 59, 60, 61), now appear in English for the first time. They are arranged as nearly as possible in strict chronological order, though this is in some cases open to doubt (e.g. 60, 64, &c.). They mostly belong to the later half of the episcopate of Athanasius, and are therefore placed after the Festal Collection, which however itself extends to the end of the Bishop's life. The immemorial numbering of the latter collection is of course retained, although many of the forty-five are no longer to be found.

Prefixed to the Letters are two almost contemporary chronicles, the one preserved in the same ms. as Letters 46, 47, the other prefixed to the Syriac ms., which is our sole channel for the bulk of the Easter Letters. A memorandum appended to Letter 64 specifies certain fragments not included in this volume. The striking fragment *Filiis suis* has been conjecturally placed among the remains of *Letter 29*.

For the arrangement of the Letters, the reader is referred to the general Table of Contents to this volume. We now give

- a. The *Historia Acephala* or Maffeian fragment, with short introduction.
- b. The *Chronicon Prævium* or *Festal Index*, with introduction to it and to the Festal Letters.

A.—The *Historia Acephala*.

This most important document was brought to light in 1738 by the Marchese F. Scipio Maffei († 1755), from a Latin ms. (uncial parchment) in the Chapter Library at Verona. It was reprinted from Maffei's *Osservazioni Letterarie* in the Padua edition of Athanasius; also in 1769 by Gallandi

(*Bibl. Patr.* v. 222), from which edition (the reprint in Migne, xxvi. 1443 *sqq.* being full of serious misprints) the following version has been made. The Latin text (including letters 46, 47, and a Letter of the Council of Sardica) is very imperfect, but the annalist is so careful in his reckonings, and so often repeats himself, that the careful reader can nearly always use the document to make good its own gaps or wrong readings. Beyond this (except the insertion of the consuls for 372, §17 *ad fin.*) the present editor has not ventured³⁷⁶⁷ to go. The importance and value of the fragment must now be shewn.

The annalist evidently writes under the episcopate of Theophilus, to which he hurriedly brings down his chronology after the death of Athanasius (§19). At the fortieth anniversary of the episcopate of Athanasius, June 8, 368, he makes a pause (§17) in order to reckon up his dates. This passage is the key of the whole of his chronological data. He accounts for the period of forty years (thus placing the accession of Ath. at June 8, 328, in agreement with the Index), shewing how it is exactly made up by the periods of 'exile' and of 'quiet' previously mentioned. To 'quiet' he assigns 'xxii years v months and x days,' to 'exile' xvii years vi months xx days; total xl years. He then shews how the latter is made up by the several exiles he has chronicled. As the text stands we have the following sum:

Table A.

Exiles		
(1)		xc months iii days
[(2)]		
(3)		lxxii " xiv "
(4)		xv " xxii "
(5)		iv "
'exact result'	xvii years	vi months xx days

Now the exact result of the figures as they stand is 182 months, 9 days, *i.e.* 15 years 2 months and 9 days, or 2 years 4 months and 11 days too little. Moreover of the well-known 'five exiles,' only four are accounted for. An exile has thus dropped out, and an item of 2 years 4 months 11 days. Now this corresponds exactly with the interval from Epiphi 17 (July 11), 335 (departure for Tyre, *Fest. Ind.* viii), to Athyr 27 (Nov. 23), 337 (return to Alexandria *F. I.* x). The annalist then (followed apparently by Theodt. *H. E.* ii. 1) reckoned the *first* exile at the above figure. But what of the first figure in our table, xc months iii days? It again exactly coincides with the interval from Pharm. 21 (Apr. 16, Easter Monday), 339 to Paophi 24 (Oct. 21), 346, on which day (§1) Athan. returned from his *second* exile. This double coincidence cannot be an accident. It demonstrates beyond all dispute that the missing item of 'ann. ii, mens. iv, d. xii' has dropped out after 'Treveris

³⁷⁶⁷ The corrections were made before he could obtain the essay and text of Sievers (*Zeitsch. Hist. Theol.* 1868), where he now finds them nearly all anticipated. Sievers' discussion has been carefully and gratefully used, but his text is defective, especially from the accidental omission of one of the key-clauses of the whole (§17).

in Galliis,' and that 'mens. xc, dies iii' *relates to the second exile*, so that, in §1 also, the annalist wrote not 'annos vi' but 'annos *vii menses vi dies iii*,' which he repeats §17 by its equivalent 'mens. xc, d. iii,' while words have dropped out in §1 to the effect of what is supplied in brackets. (Hefele, ii. 50, Eng. Tr., is therefore in error here).

I would add that the same obvious principle of correcting a clearly corrupt figure by the writer's own subsequent reference to it, enables us also to correct the last figures of §2 by those of §5, to correct the items by the sum total of §§6, 7, and lastly to correct the corrupt readings 'Gregorius' for Georgius, and 'Constans' for Constantius, by the many uncorrupt places which shew that the annalist himself was perfectly aware of the right names.

In one passage alone (§13 'Athyr' twice for Mechir, cf. *Fest. Ind.* viii) is conjecture really needed; but even here the consuls are correctly given, and support the right date.

We are now in a position to construct tables of 'exiles' and 'quiet' periods from the *Historia* as corrected by itself.

Table B. *Exiles &c., of Athanasius.*

Exiles lasted				
No.	Years	Months	Days	beginning
	(a) ii	iv	xi	(b) Epiphi 17, 335 (July 11)
	vii	vi	iii	(b) Pharmuthi 21, 339 (Apr. 16)
	vi	xiv		Mechir 13, 356 (Feb. 8)
		iii	xxii	Paophi 27, 362 (Oct. 24)
		iv		Paophi 8, 365 (Oct. 5)
<i>Total Exiles</i>	xvii	vi	xx	
Quiet periods lasting				
No.	Years	Months	Days	beginning
	vii		iii (b)	Payni 14, 328 (June 8)
		iv	xxiv (b)	(b) Athyr 27, 337 (Nov. 23)
	ix	iii	xix (§5)	Paophi 24, 346 (Oct. 21)
		viii	(§10)	Mechir 27, 362 (Feb. 21)
		vii	xvii (b)	(c) Mechir 19, 364 (Feb. 14)

	ii	iv	vii (a)	Mechir 7, 366 (Feb. 1)
<i>Total 'quiet' (to June 8, 368)</i>	xxii			

N.B. In the above Table, (a) denotes dates or figures *directly implied* in the existing text, (b) those implied by it *in combination* with other sources, (c) those based on *conjectural* emendation of the existing text. All unmarked data are expressly given.

Table B shews the deliberate and careful calculation which runs through the system of our annalist. Once or twice he indulges in a round figure, exiles 1 and 5 are each a day too long by the Egyptian calendar, and this is set off by his apparently reckoning the fifth quiet period as two days too short. But the writer clearly knew his own mind. In fact, the one just ground on which we might distrust his chronology is its systematic character. He has a thorough scheme of his own, which he carries out to a nicety. Now such a chronology is not necessarily untrustworthy. Its consistency *may* be artificial; on the other hand, it may be due to accurate knowledge of the facts. Whether this is so or not must be ascertained partly from a writer's known opportunities and capacity, partly from his agreement or discrepancy with other sources of knowledge. Now our annalist wrote in the time of Theophilus (385–412), and may therefore rank as a contemporary of Athanasius (cf. Prolegg. ch. v.) His opportunities therefore were excellent. As to his capacity, his work bears every trace of care and skill. He is no historian, nor a stylist, but as an annalist he understood what he was doing. As to agreement with other data, we remark to begin with that it was the publication of this fragment in the 18th century that first shed a ray of light on the Erebus and Chaos of the chronology of the Council of Sardica and its adjacent events; that it at once justified the critical genius of Montfaucon, Tillemont and others, against the objections with which their date for the death of Athanasius³⁷⁶⁸ was assailed, and here again upset the confused chronological statements of the fifth-century historians in favour of the incidental evidence of many more primary authorities³⁷⁶⁹. But most important of all is its confirmation by the evidence of the *Festal Letters* discovered in 1842, and especially by their *Index*, the so-called 'Chronicon Athanasianum.' It is evident at a glance that our annalist is quite independent of the *Index*, as he gives many details which it does not contain. But neither can the *Index* be a compilation from the annalist. Each writer had access to information not embodied in the other, and there is no positive evidence that either used the other in any way. When they agree, therefore, their evidence has the greatest possible weight. Their main heads of agreement are indicated in the Chronological Table, Prolegg. *sub fin.*

³⁷⁶⁸ But our annalist gives May 3, while *Fest. Ind.* gives May 2, the day solemnised in the Coptic Martyrologies (Mai, *Script. Vett.* vol. 4, part 2, pp. 29, 114), and doubtless the right one. Perhaps, if Athanasius died in the night of May 2–3, the former day might be chosen for his commemoration, while our annalist may still be literally exact.

³⁷⁶⁹ See Tillem. viii. 719 *sqq.*

It remains to notice shortly the two digressions on the doings of Eudoxius and the Anomœans (§§2, 12 of Migne, paragraphs II, IX of Gallandi). Here the annalist is off his own ground, and evidently less well informed. In §2 we learn nothing of interest: but the ‘Ecthesis’ of the Anomœans in par. IX is of importance, and only too evidently authentic. It still awaits a critical examination, and it is not easy to give it its exact place in the history of the later Arianism. Apparently it belongs to the period 360–364, when the Anomœans were organising their schism (Gwatkin, pp. 226, 180) the names being those of the ultra-Arians condemned by the Homœans in 360 (Prolegg. ch. ii. §8 *fin.*).

The contrast between the vagueness of statement in these digressions, and the writer’s firmness of touch in dealing with Alexandrian affairs is most significant.

The fragment runs as follows:

Historia Acephala.

I. 1. The Emperor Constantius also wrote concerning the return of Athanasius, and among the Emperor’s letters this one too is to be found.

2. And it came to pass after the death of Gregory that Athanasius returned from the city of Rome and the parts of Italy, and entered Alexandria Paophi xxiv, Coss. Constantius IV, Constans III (October 21, 346); that is after [vii] years vi [months and iii days,] and remained quiet at Alexandria ix³⁷⁷⁰ years iii³⁷⁷¹ months [and xix days].

II. Now after his return, Coss. Limenius³⁷⁷² and Catulinus (349), Theodore³⁷⁷³, Narcissus³⁷⁷⁴, and George, with others, came to Constantinople, wishing to persuade Paul to communicate with them, who received them not even with a word, and answered their greeting with an anathema. So they took to themselves Eusebius of Nicomedia³⁷⁷⁵, and laid snares for the most blessed Paul, and lodging a calumny against him concerning Constans and Magnentius, expelled him from CP. that they might have room there, and sow the Arian heresy. Now the people of CP., desiring the most blessed Paul, raised continual riots to prevent his being taken from the city, for they loved his sound doctrine. The Emperor, however, was angry, and sent Count Hermogenes to cast him out; but the people,

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³⁷⁷⁰ Corrected from §§5, 17, *infr.*; text ‘xvi.’

³⁷⁷¹ Corrected from §5; text ‘6 months.’

³⁷⁷² Text ‘Hypatius.’

³⁷⁷³ Of Heraclea.

³⁷⁷⁴ Cf. *Apol. Fug.* 1, &c., &c.

³⁷⁷⁵ Bishop of CP. 338–341. On his death Paul was restored, but Maccdonius appointed by the Arians. This was in 341–2.

The final expulsion and death of Paul was about the date given in the text; but the events of several years are lumped together without clear distinction.

hearing this, dragged forth Hermogenes through the midst of the town. From which matter they obtained a pretext against the Bishop, and exiled him to Armenia. Theodore and the rest wishing to place in the See of that Town Eudoxius, an ally and partisan of the Arian heresy, ordained [Bishop] of Germanicia, while the people were stirred to riot, and would not allow any one to sit in the See of blessed Paul,—they took Macedonius, a presbyter of Paul, and ordained him bishop of the town of CP., whom the whole assembly of bishops condemned, since against his own father he had disloyally received laying on of hands from heretics.

However, after Macedonius had communicated with them and signed, they brought in pretexts of no importance, and removing him from the Church, they instal the aforesaid Eudoxius of Antioch³⁷⁷⁶, whence [the partakers] in this secession are called Macedonians, making shipwreck concerning the Holy Spirit.

III. 3. After this time Athanasius, hearing that there was to be disturbance against him, the Emperor Constantius³⁷⁷⁷ being in residence at Milan (353), sent to court a vessel with v Bishops, Serapion of Thmuis, Triadelphus of Nicotas, Apollo of Upper Cynopolis, Ammonius of Pachemmon,... and iii Presbyters of Alexandria, Peter the Physician, Astericus, and Phileas. After their setting sail from Alexandria, Coss. Constantius VI Augustus, and Constantius³⁷⁷⁸ Cæsar II, Pachom xxiv (May 19, 353), presently four days after Montanus of the Palace entered Alexandria Pachom xxviii, and gave a letter of the same Constantius³⁷⁷⁹ Augustus to the bishop Athanasius, forbidding him to come to court, on which account the bishop was exceedingly desolate, and the whole people much troubled³⁷⁸⁰. So Montanus, accomplishing nothing, set forth, leaving the bishop at Alexandria.

4. Now after a while Diogenes, Imperial Notary, came to Alexandria in the month of Mensor (August, 355) Coss. Arbetion and Lollianus: that is ii years and v months³⁷⁸¹ from when Montanus left Alexandria. And Diogenes pressed every one urgently to compel the bishop to leave the town, and afflicted all not a little. Now on the vi day of the month Thoth, he made a sharp attempt to besiege the church, and he spent iv months in his efforts, that is from the month Mensor, or from the [first] day of those intercalated until the xxvi day of Choiac (Dec. 23). But as the people and the judges strongly resisted Diogenes, Diogenes returned without success on the xxvi day of the said month Choiac, Coss. Arbetion and Lollianus, after iv months as aforesaid.

IV. 5. Now Duke Syrianus, and Hilary the Notary, came from Egypt to Alexandria on the tenth day of Tybi (Jan. 6, 356) after Coss. Arbetion and Lollianus. And sending in front all the legions of soldiers throughout Egypt and Libya, the Duke and the Notary entered the Church of Theonas

³⁷⁷⁶ In 360.

³⁷⁷⁷ Text 'Constans.' This passage (3–5), is used by Soz. iv. 9.

³⁷⁷⁸ Text 'Constans.' This passage (3–5), is used by Soz. iv. 9.

³⁷⁷⁹ Text 'Constans.' This passage (3–5), is used by Soz. iv. 9.

³⁷⁸⁰ Fatigatus,' Soz. ἐταράχθησαν

³⁷⁸¹ Cf. *Apol. Const.* 22; read ii years ii months.

with their whole force of soldiers by night, on the xiii day of Mechir, during the night preceding the xiv. And breaking the doors of the Church of Theonas, they entered with an infinite force of soldiers. But bishop Athanasius escaped their hands, and was saved, on the aforesaid xiv of Mechir³⁷⁸². Now this happened ix years iii months and xix days from the Bishop's return from Italy. But when the Bishop was delivered, his presbyters and people remained in possession of the Churches, and holding communion iv months, until there entered Alexandria the prefect Cataphronius and Count Heraclius in the month Pahyni xvi day, Coss. Constantius³⁷⁸³ VIII and Julianus Cæsar I (June 10, 356).

V. 6. And four days after they entered³⁷⁸⁴ the Athanasians were ejected from the Churches, and they were handed over to those who belonged to George³⁷⁸⁵, and were expecting him as Bishop. So they received the Churches on the xxi day of Pahyni. Moreover George³⁷⁸⁶ arrived at Alexandria, Coss. Constantius³⁷⁸⁷ IX, and Julianus Cæsar II, Mechir xxx (Feb. 24, 357), that is, eight months and xi days from when his party received the Churches. So George³⁷⁸⁸ entered Alexandria, and kept the Churches xviii whole months: and then the common people attacked him in the Church of Dionysius, and he was hardly delivered with danger and a great struggle on the i day of the month Thoth, Coss. Tatianus and Cerealis (Aug. 29, 358). Now George³⁷⁸⁹ was ejected from Alexandria on the x³⁷⁹⁰ day after the riot, namely v of Paophi (Oct. 2). But they who belonged to Bishop Athanasius, ix days after the departure of George, that is on the xiv of Pa[ophi], cast out the men of George³⁷⁹¹, and held the Churches two months and xiv days; until there came Duke Sebastian from Egypt and cast them out, and again assigned the Churches to the party of George on the xxviii day of the month Choiac (Dec. 24).

7. Now ix whole months after the departure of George from Alexandria, Paulus the Notary arrived Pahyni xxix, Coss. Eusebius, Hypatius (June 23, 359), and published an Imperial Order on behalf of George, and coerced many in vengeance for him. And [ii years and] v months after, George came to Alexandria Athyr xxx (Coss. Taurus, and Florentius) from court (Nov. 26, 361), that is iii years and two months after he had fled. And at Antioch they of the Arian heresy, casting

³⁷⁸² Text throughout 'Methir.'

³⁷⁸³ Text 'Constans.' This passage (3–5), is used by Soz. iv. 9.

³⁷⁸⁴ *Supr.* p. 290.

³⁷⁸⁵ Text 'Gregory;' §§6, 7 are used by Soz. iv. 10, §8 by Soz. v. 7.

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³⁷⁸⁹ Text 'Gregory;' §§6, 7 are used by Soz. iv. 10, §8 by Soz. v. 7.

³⁷⁹⁰ Read '34th.'

³⁷⁹¹ Text 'Gregory;' §§6, 7 are used by Soz. iv. 10, §8 by Soz. v. 7.

out the Paulinians from the Church, appointed Meletius. When he would not consent to their evil mind, they ordained Euzoios a presbyter of George³⁷⁹² of Alexandria in his stead.

VI. 8. Now George, having entered Alexandria as aforesaid on the xxx Athyr, remained safely in the town iii days, that is [till] iii Choiac. For, on the iv day of that same month, the prefect Gerontius announced the death of the Emperor Constantius, and that Julianus alone held the whole Empire. Upon which news, the citizens of Alexandria and all shouted against George, and with one accord placed him under custody. And he was in prison bound with iron from the aforesaid iv day of Choiac, up to the xxvii of the same month, xxiv days. For on the xxviii day of the same month early in the morning, nearly all the people of that town led forth George from prison, and also the Count who was with him, the Superintendent of the building of the Church which is called Cæsareum, and killed them both, and carried their bodies round through the midst of the town, that of George on a camel, but that of Dracontius, men dragging it by ropes; and so having insulted them, at about the vii hour of the day, they burnt the bodies of each.

VII. 9. Now in the next...day of Mechir the x day of the month, after Coss. Taurus and Florentius (Feb. 4, 362), an order of the Emperor Julian was published commanding those things to be restored to the idols and temple attendants and the public account, which in former times had been taken away from them.

10. But after iii days, Mechir xiv, an order was given of the same Emperor Julian, also of the Vicar Modestus, to Gerontius prefect, ordering all Bishops hitherto defeated by factions and exiled to return to their towns and provinces. Now this letter was published on the following day Mechir xv, while subsequently an edict also of the prefect Gerontius was published, by which the Bishop Athanasius was ordered to return to his Church. And xii days after the publication of this Edict Athanasius was seen at Alexandria, and entered the Church in the same month Mechir, xxvii day, so that there is from his flight which took place in the times of Syrianus and Hilary till his return, when Julianus...Mechir xxvii. He remained in the Church until Paophi xxvi, Coss. Mamertinus and Nevitta (Oct. 23, 362), viii whole months.

11. Now on the aforesaid day, Paophi xxvii, he [the prefect] published an Edict of the Emperor Julianus, that Athanasius, Bishop, should retire from Alexandria, and no sooner was the Edict published, than the Bishop left the town and abode round about Thereu³⁷⁹³. Soon after his departure Olympus the prefect, in obedience to the same³⁷⁹⁴ Pythiodorus, and those who were with him, most difficult persons, sent into exile Paulus and Astericius, presbyters of Alexandria, and directed them to live at the town of Andropolis.

VIII. 12. Now Olympus the same prefect, in the month Mensor, xxvi day, Coss. Julianus Augustus IV. and Sallustius (Aug. 20, 363), announced that Julian the Emperor was dead, and that Jovianus a Christian was Emperor. And in the following month, Thoth xviii, a letter of the Emperor

³⁷⁹² Text 'Gregory;' §§6, 7 are used by Soz. iv. 10, §8 by Soz. v. 7.

³⁷⁹³ Compare 'Chereu' in *Vit. Ant.* 86.

³⁷⁹⁴ The previous reference to him has dropped out; see *Fest. Ind.* xxxv.

Jovianus came to Olympus the prefect that only the most high God should be worshipped, and Christ, and that the peoples, holding communion in the Churches, should practise religion. Moreover Paulus and Astericius, the aforesaid presbyters, returned from exile at the town of Andropolis, and entered Alexandria, on the x day of Thoth, after x months.

13. Now Bishop Athanasius, having tarried as aforesaid at Thereon, went up to the higher parts of Egypt as far as Upper Hermopolis in the Thebaid, and as far as Antinoopolis. And while he was staying in these places, it was learned that the Emperor Julian was dead, and that Jovian a Christian was Emperor. So the Bishop entered Alexandria secretly, his arrival not being known to many, and went by sea to meet the Emperor Jovian, and afterwards, Church affairs being settled³⁷⁹⁵, received a letter, and came to Alexandria and entered into the Church on the xix day of Athyr³⁷⁹⁶ Coss. Jovianus and Varronianus. From his leaving Alexandria according to the order of Julian until he arrived on the aforesaid xix day of Athyr³⁷⁹⁷ after one year and iii months, and xxii days.

IX. Now at CP. Eudoxius of Germanicia held the Church, and there was a division between him and Macedonius; but by means of Eudoxius there went forth another worse heresy from the spurious [teaching] of the Arians, Aetius and Patricius³⁷⁹⁸ of Nicæa, who communicated with Eunomius, Heliodorus, and Stephen. And Eudoxius adopting this, communicated with Euzoius, Bishop at Antioch, of the Arian sect, and they deposed on a pretext Seleucius³⁷⁹⁹ and Macedonius, and Hypatian³⁸⁰⁰, and other xv Bishops belonging to them, since they would not receive ‘Unlike’ nor ‘Creature of the Uncreated.’ Now their Exposition is as follows:—

Exposition of Patricius³⁸⁰¹ and Aetius, who communicated with Eunomius, Heliodorus, and Stephen.

These are the attributes of God, Unbegotten, without origin, Eternal, not to be commanded, Immutable, All-seeing, Infinite, Incomparable, Almighty, knowing the future without foresight; without beginning³⁸⁰². These do not belong to the Son, for He is commanded, is under command, is made from nothing, has an end, is not compared [with the Father], the Father surpasses Him...of Christ is found: as pertaining to the Father, He is ignorant of the future. He was not God, but Son of God; God of those who are after Him: and in this He possesses invariable likeness with the

³⁷⁹⁵ Used by Soz. vi. 5.

³⁷⁹⁶ Read Mechir, i.e. Feb. 14, 364.

³⁷⁹⁷ Read Mechir, i.e. Feb. 14, 364.

³⁷⁹⁸ Can this be the Hypatius of Philst. ix. 19? For Heliodorus and Stephen, see *Hist. Ar.* p. 294; *de Syn.* 12; Theod. *H. E.* ii. 28 and Gwatkin, *Studies*, pp. 226, 180 note.

³⁷⁹⁹ i.e. Eleusius.

³⁸⁰⁰ i.e. Eustathius.

³⁸⁰¹ Can this be the Hypatius of Philst. ix. 19? For Heliodorus and Stephen see *Hist. Ar.* p. 294; *de Syn.* 12; Theod. *H. E.* ii. 28 and Gwatkin, *Studies*, pp. 226, 180 note.

³⁸⁰² Lat. ‘dominio’ for ἄρχη.

Father, namely He sees all things because all things...because He is not changed in goodness; [but] not like in the quality of Godhead, nor in nature. But if we said that He was born of the quality of Godhead, we say that He resembles the offspring of serpents³⁸⁰³, and that is an impious saying: and like as a statue produces rust from itself, and will be consumed by the rust itself, so also the Son, if He is produced from the nature of the Father, will consume the Father. But from the work, and the newness of work, the Son is naturally God, and not from the Nature, but from another nature like as the Father, but not from Him. For He was made the image of God, and we are out of God, and from God. Inasmuch as all things are from God, and the Son also, as if from something [else]. Like as iron if it has rust will be diminished, like as a body if it produces worms is eaten up, like as a wound if it produce discharges will be consumed by them, so [thinks] he who says that the Son is from the Nature of the Father; now let him who does not say that the Son is like the Father be put outside the Church and be anathema. If we shall say that the Son of God is God, we bring in Two without beginning: we call Him Image of God; he who calls Him 'out from God' Sabellianises. And he who says that he is ignorant of the nativity of God Manicheanizes: if any one shall say that the Essence of the Son is like the Essence of the Father unbegotten, he blasphemises. For just as snow and white lead are similar in whiteness but dissimilar in kind, so also the Essence of the Son is other than the Essence of the Father. But snow has a different whiteness³⁸⁰⁴ ...

Be pleased to hear that the Son is like the Father in His operations; like as Angels cannot comprehend the Nature of Archangels, let them please to understand, nor Archangels the Nature of a Cherubin, nor Cherubins the Nature of the Holy Spirit, nor the Holy Spirit the Nature of the Only-begotten, nor the Only-begotten the nature of the Unbegotten God.

14. Now when the Bishop Athanasius was about coming from Antioch to Alexandria, the Arians Eudoxius, Theodore, Sophronius, Euzoius and Hilary took counsel and appointed Lucius, a presbyter of George, to seek audience of the Emperor Jovian at the Palace, and to say what is contained in the copies³⁸⁰⁵. *Now here we have omitted some less necessary matter.*

X. 15. Now after Jovian, Valentinian and Valens having been somewhat rapidly summoned to the throne, a decree of theirs, circulated everywhere, which also was delivered at Alexandria on Pachon x, Coss. Valentinian and Valens (May 5, 365), to the effect that the Bishops deposed and expelled from their Churches under Constantius, who had in the time of Julian's reign reclaimed for themselves and taken back their Bishopric, should now be cast out anew from the Churches, a penalty being laid on the courts of a fine of ccc pounds of gold, unless that is they should have [ba]nished the Bishops from the Churches and towns. On which account at Alexandria great confusion and riot arose, insomuch that the whole Church was troubled, since also the officials were few in number with the prefect Flavian and his staff: and on account of the imperial order and the fine of gold they were urgent that the Bishops should leave the town; the Christian multitude

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³⁸⁰³ Cf. Matt. iii. 7

³⁸⁰⁴ Text imperfect, 'Externo autem conniventes oculos egressi.'

³⁸⁰⁵ i.e. the memoranda printed as Appendix to *Letter* 56. §14 is used, but badly, by Soz. vi. 5.

resisting and gainsaying the officials and the judge, and maintaining that the Bishop Athanasius did not come under this definition nor under the Imperial order, because neither did Constantius banish him, but even restored him. Likewise also Julian persecuted him; he recalled all, and him for the sake of idolatry he cast out anew, but Jovian brought him back. This opposition and riot went on until the next month Payni, on the xiv day; for on this day the prefect Flavian made a report, declaring that he had consulted the Emperors on this very point which was stirred at Alexandria, and so they all became quiet in a short time³⁸⁰⁶.

XI. 16. iv months and xxiv days after, that is on Paophi viii, the Bishop Athanasius left the Church secretly by night, and retired to a villa near the New River³⁸⁰⁷. But the prefect Flavian and Duke Victorinus not knowing that he had retired, on the same night arrived at the Church of Dionysius with a force of soldiers: and having broken the back door, and entered the upper parts of the house in search of the Bishop's apartment, they did not find him, for, not long before he had retired, and he remained, staying at the aforesaid property from the above day, Paophi viii, till Mechir vi, that is iv whole months (Oct. 5–Jan. 31). After this, the Imperial notary Bresidas, in the same month Mechir came to Alexandria with an Imperial letter, ordering the said Bishop Athanasius to return to Town, and hold the Churches as usual; and on the vii day of the month Mechir, after Coss. Valentinian and Valens, that is Coss. Gratian and Degalaifus, the said notary Bresidas with Duke Victorinus and Flavian the Prefect assembled at the palace and announced to the officers of the courts who were present, and the people, that the Emperors had ordered the Bishop to return to town, and straightway the said Bresidas the notary went forth with the officers of the courts, and a multitude of the people of the Christians to the aforesaid villa, and taking the Bishop Athanasius with the Imperial order, led him in to the Church which is called that of Dionysius on the vii day of the month Mechir.

XII. 17. From Coss. Gratian and Dagalaifus (366) to the next consulships of Lupicinus and Jovinus (367) and that of [Valentinian II. and] Valens II. on Payni xiv (June 8, 368) in [this] Consulship xl [years of the Bishopric] of Athanasius are finished. Out of which [years] he abode at Treveri in Gaul [ii years iv months xi days³⁸⁰⁸, and in Italy and the West] xc months and iii days. At Alexandria [and] in uncertain places in hiding, when he was being harassed by Hilary the notary and the Duke, lxxii months and xiv days. In Egypt and Antioch upon journeys xv months and xxii days: upon the property near the new river iv months. The result will be exactly vi³⁸⁰⁹ months and xvii years and³⁸¹⁰ xx days. Moreover, he remained in quiet at Alexandria xxii years and v months x days. But also, he twice stayed a little time outside Alexandria in his last journey and at Tyre and at CP. Accordingly, the result will be as I have stated above, xl years of the episcopate of Athanasius

³⁸⁰⁶ §§15, 16 are used by Soz. vi. 12.

³⁸⁰⁷ i.e. in the western suburb.

³⁸⁰⁸ i.e. July 11, 335, to Nov. 23, 337, see above, p. 496.

³⁸⁰⁹ Migne xi. (misprint).

³⁸¹⁰ The following 14 words are left out by an error in Sievers.

until Payni [x]iv, Coss. Valentinian and Valens. And in the following consulate of Valentinian and Victor, Payni xiv, i year, and in the following consulships of Valentinian [III] and Valens III Payni xiv, and in the following Consulships of Gratian and Probus, [and the next of Modestus and Arintheus], and another consulship of Valentinian [IV] and Valens IV, on Pachon viii he falls asleep (May 3, 373).

XIII. 18. Now in the aforesaid consulship of Lupicinus and Jovinus, Lucius being specially desirous to claim for himself the episcopate of the Arians a long time after he had left Alexandria, arrived in the aforesaid consulship, and entered the town secretly by night on the xxvi day of the month Thoth (Sept. 24, 367): and as it is said, abode in a certain small house keeping in hiding for that day. But next day he went to a house where his mother was staying; and his arrival being known at once all over the town, the whole people assembled and blamed his entry. And Duke Trajanus and the Prefect were extremely displeased at his irrational and bold arrival, and sent officials to cast him out of the town. So the officials came to Lucius, and considering all of them that the people were angry and very riotous against him they feared to bring him out of the house by themselves, lest he should be killed by the multitude. And they reported this to the judges. And presently the judges themselves, Duke Trajan, and the Prefect Tatianus [came] to the place with many soldiers, entered the house and brought out Lucius themselves at the vii hour of the day, on the xxvii day of Thoth. Now while Lucius was following the judges, and the whole people of the town after them, Christians and Pagans, and of divers religions, all alike with one breath, and with one mind, and of one accord, did not cease, from the house whence he was led, through the middle of the town, as far as the house of the Duke, from shouting, and hurling at him withal insults and criminal charges, and from crying, 'Let him be taken out of the town.' However, the Duke took him into his house, and he stayed with him for the remaining hours of the day, and the whole night, and on the following the xxviii of the same month, the Duke early in the morning, and taking him in charge as far as Nicopolis³⁸¹¹, handed him over to soldiers to be escorted from Egypt.

19. Now whereas Athanasius died on the viii of the month Pachon, the v day before he fell asleep, he ordained Peter, one of the ancient presbyters, Bishop, who carried on the Episcopate, following him in all things. After whom Timothy his B[rother] succeeded to the Episcopate for iv years. After him Theophilus from [being] deacon was ordained Bishop (385). The End.



B.—The Festal Letters, and Their Index,

Or Chronicon Athanasianum.

³⁸¹¹ A short distance east of Alexandria, see *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Geog.* s.v.